If the law is rewritten to permit a certain amount of limited copying and if, with the aid of the new technology, that limited copying is sufficient to fulfill all educational needs, the result—at least in their view—would be the virtual loss of the educational market. Copyright owners are thus understandably concerned about detailed exemptions that might in time turn into monsters like the jukebox exemption.

Here is yet another case where the two sides to the controversy are dependent on each other, where both perform a vital public service, and where both stand to gain from a well-considered revision of the copyright law. I am sad to say that, despite obvious sincerity and good will on both sides, there has so far been little progress toward a real compromise solution of the problem. This places quite a heavy burden on the subcommittee to work out independently the solutions that preferably should come from a meeting of the minds among people with mutual aims and mutual problems. But, lest anything I have said be taken as an expression of discouragement or frustration, let me emphasize that the subcommittee is quite prepared to bear that burden. It will, if necessary work out a fair solution to what I consider one of the major problems now facing the Congress.

In conclusion I should like to pay tribute to the fine work of my colleagues on the subcommittee, and particularly to the acting chairman, ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, of Wisconsin, who has done and is doing an outstanding job. I also want to pay a special tribute to the Register of Copyrights, Mr. Abraham Kaminstein; Mr. George D. Cary, Deputy Register; Mr. Abe A. Goldman, General Counsel; and Miss Barbara Ringer, Assistant Register of Copyrights for Examining, for the splendid job they have done and are doing to help guide H.R. 4347 through the subcommittee.

Copyright law revision is an immensely complicated as well as an important subject, but the subcommittee in an atmosphere of completely objective bipartisan inquiry, has worked long and hard with the simple aim of reporting a good bill. I am convinced that this aim will be accomplished perhaps sooner than some cynics and pessimists may think, and that enactment of the bill by Congress will mark a notable and lasting legislative achievement.

Wake Up, America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, out of the thousands of constituent letters received from my congressional district in California this spring, one, in particular, stands out in my mind as being of unusual value to my colleagues and the multitude of Americans across the country who peruse the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on a daily basis.

The letter was written by Mrs. R. F. Patterson in San Diego. Before coming to America, Mrs. Patterson was unfortunate enough to have lived under communism in East Germany. If a title were to be accorded this wonderful letter, it should, in all probability be, "Wake Up, America."

The text of her letter follows:

My husband is over in Vietnam now for the second time, with 6 weeks home in between. Believe me, I don't like it. But I am a naturalized citizen from Germany and grew up in East Germany under communism and know what it is like. If more Americans would know what I know, they might wake up from their deep sleep and support the Vietnam war and Armed Forces over there more.

Peace and freedom is taken for granted here, but, believe me, if I could, I'd give my life for it. If the people of these United States of America don't wake up soon, they might have to find out the same thing I am trying to forget so desperately. Otherwise, this beautiful free America might not stay free for long.

Please somebody do something. Let's fight for freedom all the way. It's worth it, believe me.

X. PATTERSON.

Star Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, in these days of shifting farm population to urban centers, and reports that young men raised on farms turn their backs on farming as a career—it is refreshing to learn of instances of youths who have chosen agriculture as their vocation.

One such young man is Robert Wiles of Marienthal, Kans., in my congressional district. Robert, this year's recipient of Future Farmers of America's Star Farmer Award, is proving that farming can be a profitable pursuit. His success story is told in the following editorial appearing in the April 27, 1966, issue of the Wichita Eagle. As the title indicates, Kansas is indeed proud of Robert.

KANSAS IS PROUD OF HIM

One of the most heartening events in Kansas each year is the selection of a youth to win the Star Farmer Award of the Future Farmers of America.

This year's choice is Robert Wiles of Marienthal. He's 17, and a senior in Wichita County Community High School. And already he has done better in his chosen work than many an adult does in all the years of his life.

Robert, together with his brother, farms 480 acres near Marienthal, some 45 miles northwest of Garden City. Of his land, 160 acres is under irrigation. The rest is a dryland operation.

Besides raising wheat and milo, he has a small cattle project going, and in the past 3 years he has increased his net worth from $8,483 to $13,683, a record that would seem enviable to most adults.

He has had help, of course, but so have many other youngsters who have not prospered as he has. The training and encouragement given him by his parents and the Future Farmers have had a great part in making him the aggressive and forward-looking boy he is. But he also has had the qualities that permit him to benefit from this help.

Apart from the demanding farming tasks he has set for himself, he has found the time to be active in dramatics, debate, athletics, church work, the student council and Boys' State. This shows the range of his interests and energies.

It is a prideful accomplishment at 17 to have your life amount already to a success story. And that's what Robert Wiles has done. All Kansas should be proud of him.

Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14596) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I voted against the motion to add to the agriculture appropriation bill the proviso:

> That no funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to formulate or administer programs for the sale of agricultural commodities pursuant to titles I or IV of Public Law 480, Eighty-third Congress, as amended, to any nation which sells or furnishes or which permits ships or aircraft under its registry to transport to North Vietnam any equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime.

Presumably, the objective of the supporters of this motion was to reduce the flow of equipment and supplies to North Vietnam. I fully agree with this objective, as does the administration. As a matter of fact, the administration through the use of quiet, behind-the-scenes diplomacy, has pursued that objective with notable success. The flow of supplies to North Vietnam from non-Communist sources has actually been slowed to a trickle.

The reason I voted against the proviso is that I do not believe it will serve its purpose, and that it is likely to do severe damage to other objectives of our foreign policy.

I cannot say positively what the damage will be, because there was no debate in the House when this motion was made, or when an identical amendment was previously proposed. Nor was there any discussion of such a proviso, so far as I have been able to discover, in the committee hearings on the bill.

In other words, when this motion came before us for a vote, we had been given no information on the following questions: First, what nations receiving aid in the form of agricultural commodities are now shipping any goods to North Vietnam, and to what extent? Second, to what extent would the addition of the proviso serve to reduce this flow, if there is any such flow? Third, what harmful effects might the addition of this proviso have on other aspects of our foreign policy? The executive branch was given no opportunity to furnish answers to these questions.

Thus, for all we know, this proviso might require the stopping of the aid we recently voted to meet near-famine conditions in India. We cannot expect a nonalined country such as India to take action in support of our military efforts in the Vietnam conflict Yet this proviso represents a kind of blackmail in an effort to force all countries receiving our agricultural commodities to do just that. It may be that India is shipping nothing to North Vietnam, or only an insignificant amount. In that case, the proviso would only cause embarrassment to the government of Mrs. Gandhi, which might well find it impossible to answer a question in Parliament whether it was going to "knuckle under to American pressure" by legislating against any shipment of Indian goods to North Vietnam.

The method of attaining the agreed objective here is about like a policeman shooting at a thief in a dark room which is also occupied by a number of innocent people.

One final point, Mr. Chairman. As drawn, the proviso would continue to apply even after the end of hostilities in Vietnam and the achievement of a peaceful settlement, "so long as North Vietnam is governed by a Communist regime." This is contrary to our frequently announced policy that we are not seeking to destroy or overthrow the present Government of North Vietnam.

I hope that the proviso, which I regard as at best unnecessary and at worst mischievous, will be deleted from the bill in the Senate and in the conference committee.

Freedom of Information Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the House should soon have before it a bill known as the freedom of information bill. In my opinion, this bill—S. 1160—is one of the most critical measures to be considered by the Congress in the past 20 years. Simply, it provides greater access to Government information for the public and the press.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following comment on S. 1160:

[Editorial from the Washington (D.C.) Post Apr. 29, 1966]

The House Government Operations Committee's approval of the freedom of information bill already passed in the Senate no doubt will send the measure along to passage in the whole House. It ought to be enacted into law.

Few pieces of legislation have had more thorough study in both Houses of Congress. There were very full and complete hearings on the Senate side and the House committee gave it long and careful attention. The bill represents a cautious and painstakingly careful effort to meet the requirements of disclosure essential in a democratic society without putting in jeopardy personal rights to privacy or governmental security.

The bill acknowledges the right to know, delimits it carefully in many areas, and provides a court remedy for improper withholding. It should have been put on the statute books generations ago.

Hanford: After a Long Fight, a Significant Achievement

SPEECH
OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, back in 1962, there were a good many people who did not expect to celebrate the generation of power from Hanford, as we are doing here today. And I will admit that all of us who supported the project had some dark moments, as Congress rejected, first, the Federal generating plant, and then, on several occasions, the proposal by Washington Public Power Supply System which finally resulted in construction of the largest nuclear powerplant in the world.

Everyone associated with Hanford, and I include the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, both Republicans and Democrats, the Pacific Northwest's congressional delegation, Owen Hurd, and other WPPSS leaders, have demonstrated a rare degree of perseverance in bringing this project to completion. The late President Kennedy put the full force of his office behind his personal endorsement of Hanford.

Opposition to the Hanford project was often bitter; sometimes it was irrational. And so I believe we must also pay tribute to great good sense of the Congress in coming to see the value of this project, despite a blizzard of conflicting statements, letters, fact sheets, editorials, and other documents which created more heat than light.

From the very beginning, many members of the Joint Committee were determined to use the vast quantities of waste steam to be produced at the Atomic Energy Commission's new production reactor at Hanford. The alternatives were clear to us: the steam could be discharged into the Columbia River, resulting in the waste of a great resource on which could be placed a specific dollar value, and in the process creating possible pollution problems; or the steam could be used to generate electricity, taking the place of a conventional boiler, huge amounts of fuel, and great expense.

The answer seemed clear. As chairman of the Joint Committee, I came before Congress in 1961 as the committee's direction to get approval for Federal construction and operation of electric generating facilities associated with the NPR. That proposal was defeated.

Then the Washington Public Power Supply System, made up of public utility districts in the State of Washington, came in with its proposal to build and operate the NPR generating facilities at its own expense and without any Federal expenditure. AEC would sell the otherwise wasted NPR byproduct steam under contract to WPPSS at a price, approved by the Federal Power Commission, which would result in the receipt of up to $125 million by AEC over the life of the arrangement.

Participating utilities would turn over the entire output of the generating facilities to Bonneville Power Administration under appropriate power exchange agreements for distribution to public and private utility consumers.

At extensive hearings, the Joint Committee went over the proposed arrangements in great detail with witnesses representing all of the contracting parties. The committee was convinced that the arrangements were sound, and that they would bring great benefits to the Government. And amendments spelling out the arrangements in detail were introduced in the House, with the happy result that the Hanford project was authorized.

Compromises were involved in the Hanford fight; there were some who were not entirely happy with all of the details as they were ironed out; but the important fact is that the project was authorized, it has been financed, it has been built, and this month it produced its first power.

It is a matter of great pride to me to have helped in the creation of the world's largest atomic powerplant. It is gratifying to know that substantial income will be coming into the Treasury as the result of this project, and that additional power for the Pacific Northwest will stimulate new and expanded industry as well as providing for the needs of residential consumers. I am deeply pleased that a valuable resource is being used for a productive purpose.

I am obliged to add that the private utility companies of the Pacific Northwest, who enjoy 50 percent of Hanford power on an equal basis with the publicly owned systems are in a most happy position. Although the former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. John McCone, offered the waste steam from Hanford to these investor-owned utilities, there were no takers. No one stepped forward until WPPSS, composed of relatively smaller utility systems, undertook to finance this giant enterprise through the sale of revenue bonds. WPPSS has carried through its obligation to obtain financing, to accomplish the construction of the project, and to provide a 50-percent share of Hanford's output to the private utilities, although the publicly owned systems in the Pacific Northwest had indicated their willingness to buy more than 100 percent of it.

I can only hope that the private utilities will demonstrate an equal degree of cooperative spirit toward the public power systems in their planning for future additions to the electric power supply of the Northwest region.

It should be noted that Hanford not only represents a great regional resource in terms of additional power supply, it also will provide a training ground for the people of the area who already are looking toward the introduction of more thermal power into the predominantly hydrosystem which now provides for the region's needs. There is every reason to believe that much of this thermal power will come from giant nuclear-fired generation plants, and Hanford will lead the way.

Importance of Thorough Review of the Draft Recognized by Important St. Louis Newspaper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Sunday, May 1, entitled "The Undemocratic Draft," stresses the inequities of our system of military manpower procurement, the Selective Service System, or draft.

The editorial is a recognition by an important newspaper of an increasingly urgent problem. It reflects the concern of a great many Americans with a system that is at best antique. How long can we put up with such a discriminatory, costly, and inefficient manpower procurement system?

The answer in my opinion is to have a thorough review by an appropriate congressional body, which I believe would be a joint congressional committee composed of members of the House Armed Services and Education and Labor Committees and their counterparts in the Senate. Thus I am very pleased that the Post-Dispatch has chosen to endorse this concept.

The editorial referred to follows:

THE UNDEMOCRATIC DRAFT

Few Congressmen have been inclined to consider a serious investigation and review of this country's inequitable draft laws. The only time they harken to advocates of such a review is when draft calls and draft boards are making headlines. Then nobody will say a word against prevailing policies for obtaining military manpower.

Representative CURTIS, of Webster Groves, has heard all this before. With some other legislators from both parties, he likely is not too sanguine over prospects for a draft review now. Yet Mr. CURTIS is correct when he calls the draft an undemocratic patchwork of special exemptions that ill serve our national interests.

In a House speech, he called for a joint congressional committee to determine which military desk jobs could be filled by civilians. Why should so many youths be drafted and sent overseas when career soldiers remain in stateside billets? To what extent is this the practice?

Other missions of the committee would include studying the psychological impact of deferment on conscripts and their families, and examining the use of reclassification as a sanction against dissenters. Surely a lottery would be more fair than deferrals for collegians, and stifling free speech with threats of reclassification is inexcusable.

The well-being of the country may in the long run depend more upon the men registering for classes than those registering for uniforms. But it is a discredit to our democracy that an anthropologist might easily defend the premise that the draft does exactly what society wants it to do. The first to serve are the undereducated who lack financial means and membership in any elite. One ugly term is "cannon fodder."

The Pentagon should disclose the findings in the draft study it made last year. Congress should agree with Mr. CURTIS that exigencies of war and continuing demand for manpower provide even greater reasons to review an outmoded system.

Mexico's Welcome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JIM WRIGHT
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram is one of many newspapers I have noted, which hailed the success of President Johnson's visit to Mexico and the meaning of the warmth of his reception there.

The paper states:

> The Mexican Government and people apparently outdid themselves in seeing to it that the American first family was hospitably received.

Because this editorial speaks out on an important subject, I include it in the RECORD.

[From the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Apr. 16, 1966]

MEXICO'S WELCOME MEANINGFUL

President Johnson in Mexico received, not surprisingly, a welcome far warmer than the announced informality of the occasion called for. The Mexican Government and people apparently outdid themselves in seeing to it that the American first family was hospitably received.

It still is not exactly clear why the President chose this moment for a jumped-up visit to the Mexican capital, but the outcome of it suggests that his sense of timing has not been impaired.

Aside from the renewal of acquaintance he has been able to make with his "old friend," President Gustavo Diaz-Ordaz, of Mexico, and whatever opportunities he has had for conversations with him, the visit has been a demonstration to the rest of Latin America that friendship can endure and grow between the United States and a Latin American close neighbor.

Inescapable in the occasion was the warmth of spirit on the part of the huge welcoming crowd and the obvious security the President felt for his personal safety.

"While war clouds hover over some parts of the world," the American visitor told Mexico, "I hope soon all the world will live together in peace as do our two nations." He must have stirred the hopes of Latin America when he called for an end to the "problems that cause war: illiteracy, ignorance, disease, poverty, and misunderstanding."

The Presidential visit has been an occasion to remind of the great progress Mexico has made in reducing illiteracy, disease, ignorance, and poverty. Its economic strength and political stability stand as models for all of Latin America, and its prospects for the future are promising. It is helpful in encouraging this growth and extending it to the rest of Latin America to maintain unimpaired the cordial relationship that exists between the United States and Mexico.

Resolutions Adopted by the Congress of American Fishermen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WENDELL WYATT
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of American Fishermen at an emergency meeting of their board of directors adopted two important resolutions with respect to Soviet Union fishing vessels off the Oregon-Washington coasts which pose a severe threat to resources and existing fisheries of the United States. I commend these resolutions to all who are interested and concerned in protecting our fishery resources from the depredations of the Russian fishermen.

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN FISHERMEN—RESOLUTION 1, APRIL 21, 1966

Whereas the recent arrival of Soviet Union fishing vessels off the Washington-Oregon coast poses a severe threat to resources and existing fisheries of U.S. fishermen; and

Whereas U.S. observation of the Soviet activity indicates that normal and established rules of sound conservation are not being practiced; and

Whereas a continuation or expansion of the Soviet fleets or any other foreign power seriously threatens the entire future of the West Coast fishing industry, including groundfish, midwater species and salmon; and

Whereas the Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources of the High Seas as adopted at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1958, and now ratified by the necessary 22 nations, calls for special interests to the coastal nation on matters of conservation; and

Whereas it is our judgment that, despite the long continuing Soviet and Japanese fishery for groundfish stocks in Eastern Bering Sea and the Gulf of Alaska, no proper high level representation has been pursued with the Soviet Union with the view to obtaining catch information or a proper conservation regime; and

Whereas proposed legislation for fishery jurisdiction is now before the Congress: Now be it

Resolved, That the Congress of American Fishermen in meeting in Seattle, April 21, 1966, commend the three-point program as outlined by Senate Commerce Committee Chairman Senator WARREN G. MAGNUSON, which would include (1) immediate diplomatic confrontation with the Soviet Union concerning conservation requirements, (2) immediate implementation of the 1958 Geneva Fishing Convention, and (3) immediate hearings on S. 2218 with the view of amending the suggested jurisdiction to the extent in the national interest; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congress of American Fishermen provide any assistance possible toward attainment of goals outlined in the Magnuson program.

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN FISHERMEN, RESOLUTION 2, APRIL 21, 1966

Whereas foreign fishing fleets are now operating in the costal areas off the United States harvesting both latent resources and those actually harvested by American fishermen; and

Whereas in many cases there is no adequate conservation regime to assure future harvests; and

Whereas scientists estimate that about two-thirds of the present world population is suffering from animal protein malnutrition, and the annual population increase is presently about 65 million people, or the population of a nation the size of France; and

Whereas U.S. fishing fleets are either now capable to harvest these individual resources on a sustained yield basis, or are preparing to expand both fleet and processing facilities to do so in the foreseeable future; and

Whereas with the developing approval of fish protein concentrate many previously unmarketable species will now be in great demand; and

Whereas the importance of high protein fish flour in the U.S. AID programs has been deemed by the President of the United States and his science advisers as one of the best possible nutritional products to alleviate world hunger; and

Whereas world hunger is regarded by the President of the United States as one of the principal threats to world peace, and therefore a problem which demands the highest position in the Nation's national security program; and

Whereas the presence of large factory vessels operated by unfriendly powers up to 3 miles off our coastline presents a recognized danger to U. S. security: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress of American Fishermen, meeting in Seattle, Wash., April 21, 1966, urge that the United States either by Executive order or action of the Congress immediately establish a fishery zone extending from appropriate base lines to a distance of 200 miles offshore, or to the extent of the Continental Shelf, whichever distance is greater; and be it further

Resolved, That historic rights in consecutive practice for a period not less than 10 years be given consideration based on the average production by specie during said period; and be it further

Resolved, That the abstentian principle, as embodied in the International North Pacific Fisheries Convention, be made a part of U.S. fishery jurisdiction assuring protection and continuation of the anadromous fishery resources, and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be presented to the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee hearing on S. 2218 as an amendment to the 12-mile jurisdiction provided in that proposed legislation.

Salute to C. J. Chandler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the Wichita, Kans., chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews recently extended well-deserved recognition to Mr. Charles J. Chandler of Wichita. Mr. Chandler has been in the forefront of humanitarian causes in his home community and in our State of Kansas. He has consistently devoted much time and effort to public service, and particularly the work of the Kansas Crippled Children Commission.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Wichita Beacon saluting Mr. Chandler on the occasion of his honor by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The editorial follows:

SALUTE TO C. J. CHANDLER

The Wichita chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews honored Charles J. Chandler at their annual dinner Wednesday night.

Chandler was chosen for his long years of service to many humanitarian causes, and the choice was an apt one.

Chandler has for all of his adult life been active in church and community work. He has served in various important capacities with the Community Chest and its successor, the United Fund—the agencies that have raised money to support most of the public service organizations.

His interest in and service to crippled children dates back many decades, and he was preceded in it by his father, C. Q. Chandler. Upon his father's death he was appointed to be chairman of the Kansas Crippled Children Commission, and has been renamed to that post by Governors of both parties ever since. The unfortunate children who have been helped through his efforts in that time number in the thousands.

Wichitans should take pride that their community includes a man who has done so much for his fellow human beings, and should salute the National Conference of Christians and Jews for giving him the recognition he deserves.

Unlawful U.N. Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to place my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to include the following editorial column by Robert W. Boyer, editorial writer for the Altoona Mirror, Altoona, Pa.

UNLAWFUL U.N. ACT

A most outrageous abuse of justice under the law occurred April 9 when the United Nations Security Council authorized Britain to use force in establishing a naval blockade of all goods headed for Rhodesia.

Directly and violently contrary to its stated purpose, this U.N. action is a dangerous threat to world peace. It is an obvious violation of the U.N. Charter, and it serves to abuse and distort the whole purpose for which the world has been led to believe the United Nations was established.

The U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Goldberg, calls this action allowing for direct interference in the internal affairs of a nation as a precedent in international law. It is. A most dangerous one—for it in fact ignores the established law, and sets up its own, arbitrarily.

Under such a precedent, no nation could be safe from interference in its internal affairs.

Representative James B. Utt says, "The United States should hang its head in shame over its participation in this affair."

The U.N. action was based on chapter VII of the U.N. Charter. This section authorizes U.N. action against aggressor nations threatening the peace of the world.

One may disagree completely with Rhodesia's racial policies guaranteeing white supremacy, and its breaking away from the British Commonwealth. But, that is an internal problem of Britain and Rhodesia. It could not threaten world peace, if no other nation interferes. And, it is not properly and lawfully the business of the United Nations. Yet, we have backed Britain in this move, authorized by the U.N.

The U.N. action would allow Britain to establish a naval blockade of Rhodesia, and presumably to sink any ship running the blockade. This is a wartime measure that throughout the centuries has brought other nations into conflict. It is a war measure that could threaten the peace of the world.

Here is a case where the U.N. violates its own charter to bring about an action that could destroy world peace.

This double standard of the U.N., this manipulation of power to suit the convenience of certain nations—and the political implications of playing up to the new nations cannot be overlooked here—is one of the most dangerously dishonest actions the U.N. has taken.

One may ask, as Representative Utt does, Where was the U.N. with such action against North Vietnam? Against Red China when it invaded and took over Tibet? Where was it when Russia invaded Hungary and slaughtered the freedom fighters? This, Russia pointed out menacingly, was an internal problem of the Communist Government of Hungary, and none of the business of the U.N.

But, Rhodesia involves only Rhodesia, and Britain. Yet, the U.N. acts.

This action, however, threatens real disruption, more confusion in Africa, more world turmoil—the basis of Communist world conspiracy.

Representative Utt says, "It is interesting to note that the U.N., which is billed as the 'world's greatest hope for peace,' has done little to bring peace to a wartorn world. Forty wars of aggression have been fought since the U.N. was founded in 1945, and not one of them has been stopped by the U.N."

We may not agree with Rhodesia's internal action, but it is Rhodesia's business—and that of Britain, as head of the Commonwealth.

It is no more the business of the United States, or Russia, or the U.N. than our own racial strife. And, the U.N. Charter makes this abundantly clear.

This U.N. action sets the precedent which would allow the U.N. to be used by one nation for its own purposes against any other nation.

And, more importantly, it destroys the U.N.'s own principles of "world peace and justice under the law."

Philadelphia's Mayor James Tate Scores Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Philadelphia Inquirer for Monday, May 2, 1966, entitled "Fair Housing Council Hails Tate's Proposal."

As always, the mayor of our City of Brotherly Love continues in his efforts to provide safe, decent, and sanitary housing for the people.

The article follows:

LAW AGAINST BIAS URGED—FAIR HOUSING COUNCIL HAILS TATE'S PROPOSAL

The Fair Housing Council of the Delaware Valley on Sunday praised Mayor James H. J.

Tate's proposal for congressional legislation forbidding racial discrimination in the sale of real estate.

"There are those who will say that property rights will be eroded if national legislation barring discrimination in housing is passed," wrote Richard K. Taylor, executive director, in an open letter to the mayor.

"Yet property rights are not absolute * * *. Who of us would want to claim the right to inflict injury on the public at large or any substantial group of people?"

Taylor recalled a "time in our history when employers had the freedom to hire small children and work them long hours in sweatshops." Child labor legislation limited such freedom he said, but "would anyone doubt that all of us benefited immeasurably by such laws?"

No citizens, he said, should be subjected to the terrible frustration and humiliation suffered by minority group families in their search for homes.

Muffling the People's Voice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, the feelings of millions of persons in the United States concerning the proposed Dirksen amendment, which would reestablish the right of the people of any State to determine the composition of their legislature, were very aptly expressed in an editorial which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of April 24, 1966, entitled "Three-Time Loser." Mr. Speaker, I quote this editorial in full:

Three-Time Loser

The Dirksen amendment, having gone down to defeat for the third time on the Senate floor, presumably is dead. It remains, however, as an interesting commentary on the workings of our political society.

The constitutional change advocated by the minority leader would have modified the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling. Instead of requiring that both houses of a State legislature be chosen exclusively on the basis of population, Senator Dirksen would have permitted the voters of any State, if they wished, to elect one house on the basis of population and other factors—geography, political subdivisions and the like. In short, State legislatures could have been constituted along lines similar to Congress.

Had the amendment been ratified, a majority of the voters in a State would have had to express their preference for the modified system in a statewide referendum, and they would have had to renew this expression of preference every 10 years.

It is hard to think of anything more consistent with the notion that the people of a State, as distinguished from the politicians, should have some say in choosing their own form of government. But it was not to be.

This third vote on the Dirksen amendment was 55 for, 38 against. But a two-thirds vote is required to approve a constitutional amendment. So a minority of the Senate worked its will. And it did so on the perplexing contention that it was protecting the majority of voters in any State from domination by a minority. How this could be so, in view of the requirements of the proposed amendment, was never explained.

After the roll had been called, Senator Douglas, of Illinois, leader of the minority opposition, stood up and said: "This is a great victory for the American people." How's that again?

Wilcox Task Awaits Funds; Society Starts File of Items

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, as one of the sponsors of legislation that has passed the House and is now pending in the Senate, which provides for the acquisition of the Ansley Wilcox House in Buffalo, N.Y., as a national historic site, I am proud of the interest and contributions made by our local businesses and citizens. This type of cooperation has been most helpful and rewarding.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include below an article written by Anne McIlhenney Matthews, which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express, Buffalo, N.Y., on April 28, 1966, giving further evidence of the interest manifested in this undertaking:

Wilcox Task Awaits Funds; Society Starts File of Items

(By Anne McIlhenney Matthews)

INQUIRERS REASSURED

The furnishing of the Wilcox Mansion, "House of the Presidents," in Delaware Avenue waits on funds and authorization from (a) the Senate and (b) the U.S. Department of the Interior's National Park Service, which will take over completely the task of transforming the building into a national shrine.

This information was dug up this past week in response to letters flowing to supporters of the plan to establish the mansion as a national tourist attraction. These include me, Mrs. Reginald B. Taylor, Henry W. Bryce, chairman of the local Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Committee, and the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

LEGISLATION IMMINENT

Lester W. Smith, associate director of the historical society, says that all information about donors and sellers of antiques of the era, or of items that once were part of the Wilcox home furnishings, is being carefully tabulated.

"Final designation of the Wilcox home as a national treasure is on the floor of the Senate and should be passed soon," said Bryce. "When this is done, the project will be turned over to the U.S. Department of the Interior."

DETAILED REGISTER

"The National Park Service has a fine staff of historians and experts," Smith explained "They are old hands at this game and will be able to sort out the fine things that should be in the mansion from just ordinary furnishings of the era. Nothing can be bought at this time, or received for storage by us. We have to wait in the funds, and the implementation of the restoration.

"But, in the meantime, we are recording all names of the people who have items that might be desirable for this project and we are making a descriptive file of the items available and their historic significance to the project."

T.R.'S BED

Letters were received last week from several people with articles of interest. One told of owning some blue velvet valances that were obtained in the auction of the furnishings in 1935. Another described a leather trunk in her possession that belonged to Ansley Wilcox. A third, from a gentleman in Snyder, described seven pieces of solid walnut furniture, vintage 1870, that would be appropriate for the restoration. Meanwhile, Mrs. Nina Wilcox Bull of New York City has announced her intention of willing to the shrine some of her heirlooms.

These will include the bed that Theodore Roosevelt slept in at the Wilcox home just before he became the 24th President, Mr. Wilcox had been a Yale classmate of Theodore Roosevelt.

A Foul Deed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Record I would like to include an editorial from the Dothan Eagle, "A Foul Deed."

Mr. Speaker, under the guise of civil rights the Johnson-Humphrey administration, working through bureaucrats who are ruthless in demanding integration at any cost, are wreaking havoc upon the lives of thousands of people in Alabama and the South.

The latest outrage, depicted in this editorial, was the inhumane act of using mental patients as pawns in the game of winning votes of minority groups which seems to be the sole occupation of this administration. I hope that all decent, fair-minded Americans, regardless of which State in which they reside, will join in condemning such tactics.

The editorial follows:

A Foul Deed

Alabama has had its day of infamy.

It came last week when, to the shame of the Federal Government, 30 white female inmates of Bryce hospital for the mentally ill were transported 150 miles to the Searcy hospital for mentally ill Negroes and exchanged for 30 Negro men who were taken to Bryce.

This sadistic act so reminiscent of the Dark Ages was done in the name of civil rights. What it accomplished in that direction is beyond comprehension. Certainly, Alabama has never witnessed anything so cruel, so barbaric and so inhuman. That the Federal Government would even tolerate such a thing, much less be responsible for it, is unthinkable. Or, it is unthinkable among people who are civilized.

The lame excuse for this heinous act contended that it was compliance with directions from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. If so, then some drawing and quartering should be done there. Imagine—60 mentally sick, defenseless and helpless individuals hauled about to please a bureaucratic edict—to achieve some kind of racial balance. It would have been bad enough to wait for new admissions to begin such a mixture but, no, it had to be done now, uprooting unfortunate souls who had come to think of where they were as home.

Due to intervention by Governor Wallace, these human pawns have been taken back to their hospitals. Now, will the Federal Government go in and bodily move them again to prove its mighty point that it is supreme over all in this State—whether sane or not? Has such a thing been done to any other of the 50 States in this Union? It so, it hasn't been heard of.

Is there no depth to which the Federal Government will not stoop in its punitive expeditions against Alabama and Alabamians?

And some self-seeking politicians questing for crumbs from Washington profess to wonder why in Alabama there is dislike of the Federal Government. Do they expect foul deeds such as this to endear the Federal Government to decent, self-respecting Alabamians?

Congressman Annunzio Champions Serviceman's Cause

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Annunzio] is only a freshman in the House of Representatives, but in the short time he has been a Member of this body, he has established himself as a leader in the fight to protect our servicemen from loan sharks and sharp-practice credit extenders. He has visited military installations throughout the world, discussing this problem with servicemen of all ranks, and contributed immensely to the success of the recent investigation of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee into finance company operations.

On April 23, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Annunzio] visited Philadelphia to address the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Credit Union League. He discussed the problems faced by the military man in the area of credit and the attitude of the Department of Defense toward the problems faced by the serviceman. It is, indeed, an honor for me to place in the Record a copy of Congressman Annunzio's remarks before the credit union group.

Remarks by the Honorable Frank Annunzio, Before the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Credit Union League, April 23, 1966

It is always an honor and a pleasure for me to meet with credit union groups and I am particularly honored to have been asked to address the Pennsylvania Credit Union League. As a member of the House of Representatives Banking and Currency Committee, I sit with a number of Pennsylvanians, headed by the Hon. William Barrett, who has represented the city of Philadelphia in Congress since 1944. The western portion of your State is equally well represented on the Banking and Currency Committee by the Honorable William S. Moorhead, of Pittsburgh, and the Honorable Albert W. Johnson, of Smithport. In addition, the Honorable Thomas C. McGrath, Jr., of nearby Atlantic City, is a native of Philadelphia, and the Honorable Joseph G. Minish, who represents Newark, N.J., was born and raised in Thropp, Pa. Because of the Pennsylvania exposure on our committee, I feel at home when I visit your fine State.

LEADER IN CONSUMER PROTECTION

In addition to being a truly beautiful State, Pennsylvania is a leader among the States that have adopted consumer protection laws. Pennsylvania was the first State to adopt the Uniform Commercial Code and has been a forerunner in chattel mortgage registration laws, particularly with regard to automobiles. I also note that your legislature is presently considering a truth-in-lending measure which would govern all retail installment credit contracts. In support of the three-quarters of a million members of your league, I am certain, will go a long way toward securing passage of the measure. It is my belief that the strong consumer protection laws of this State and the pending truth-in-lending bill owe much of their success to the Pennsylvania Credit Union League. Pennsylvania is a great credit union State, with 1 out of every 14 men, women, and children in the State belonging to a credit union.

While I am a freshman Member of the House of Representatives, I am not a newcomer to the credit union movement. As director of labor for the State of Illinois in the cabinet of Gov. Adlai Stevenson, I marveled at the wonderful work that credit unions performed. I cannot count the number of times I learned of situations in which credit unions saved jobs and kept families together because they offered a helping hand to individuals in financial trouble. Since my election to Congress, I have become even more keenly aware of the outstanding work performed by credit unions, particularly with regard to members of our Armed Forces.

ADMIRABLE LOSS RECORD

I recall meeting several months ago with a high-ranking member of the Department of the Air Force who felt that credit unions were not as safe as other financial institutions because of the lack of share insurance. I pointed out to this individual that at the present time there are more credit unions in this country—some 22,000—than the combined total of commercial banks and savings and loan associations, and that credit unions have assets of more than $10 billion. Since the passage of the Federal Credit Union Act of 1934, I explained to the credit union skeptic, less than $1.5 million has been lost as a result of Federal credit union operations.

This is a truly enviable record when it is considered that the failure of a bank will result in insurance payments to certain depositors by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, but there is no insurance for stockholders of these financial institutions. When the amount of loss to stockholders in commercial banking institutions is included in the loss to depositors, it can readily be seen that credit unions have done a magnificent job in protecting the shares of their members. I feel that my Air Force friend is now convinced that credit unions do provide adequate safeguard for shareholders.

This morning, I would like to discuss two subjects of importance to the credit union movement. The first area deals with the attitude of the Department of Defense toward sharp-practice finance companies and other questionable credit extenders. I would also like to spend a few minutes discussing the role that credit unions must play in maintaining their position in the financial community.

CRITIZED DOD ATTITUDE

On September 23, 1965, I delivered a speech on the Floor of the House of Representatives entitled, "Does the Department of Defense Really Care?" The main thrust of this speech was that sharp-practice finance companies, loan sharks, and other high-rate credit extending companies were taking our servicemen for a ride, and the Department of Defense was looking the other way.

In that speech I made the statement that the "lack of action by the Department of Defense, unfortunately, adds to my feeling that the Department is, perhaps, more worried about pressure and lobbying tactics of the finance industry than the welfare of the serviceman."

Let me recap my reasons for that statement. For a number of months the House Domestic Finance Subcommittee, of which I am a member, conducted an investigation of Federal Services Finance Corporation, a worldwide lending institution that specialized in automobile and personal loans to members of the Armed Forces. Of the 12-member board of directors of Federal Services, 8 were retired admirals and generals, many of whom held high military posts. Most of the company's top operating personnel were also former military officers. It would appear that such a company, with its predominately military orientation, would go out of its way to protect the interests of servicemen. However, the subcommittee was shocked to learn the number of ways that Federal Services had abused the serviceman's trust and confidence. I would like to briefly list some of the practices that Federal Services has used in dealing with servicemen. The company has:

Charged interest rates that amounted to 100 percent of a 2-year loan.

Charged military customers for automobile insurance and did not notify the servicemen that the insuraince had been purchased.

In some cases the serviceman was charged for insurance but no insurance was placed on his automobile. In other cases the serviceman had already purchased insurance on his automobile and was thus forced to not only pay for his own policy, but for a policy supposedly purchased by Federal Services. In other cases Federal Services would not supply the serviceman with copies of the policy that they purchased on his automobile.

A $30 charge was levied against cars purchased overseas for what the company termed marine insurance. This is insurance which covers a vehicle being shipped back to the United States. A number of witnesses told the subcommittee that Federal Services did not notify the serviceman that he was being charged with this marine insurance. It is interesting to note that automobiles shipped at Government expenses are fully insured by the Government, thus negating the need for additional marine insurance.

Servicemen attempting to obtain the payoff prices on their automobiles were quoted one price by Federal Services and when they made payment in that amount were later informed that the serviceman still owed additional funds in many cases amounting to several hundred dollars. These extra charges were never fully explained nor documented to the serviceman.

REPOSSESSIONS MOST SHOCKING

But, perhaps, the most shocking abuse was in the area of respossessions. In order to increase its profit, Federal Services several years ago established its own used car lot in Fort Walton Beach, Fla., and since then, had added other outlets in Alabama. Many of the top-grade used cars that Federal Services repossessed were shipped to these wholly owned outlets for resale. In order to insure that Federal Services' used car lots were able to purchase the automobile, Federal Services used phony repossession bids so that it would appear to the serviceman that the company had obtained three bids on his automobile and that the Federal Services outlet was the high bidder.

A former Federal Services employee testified before our subcommittee that the Columbus, Ga., Federal Services office wrote "dummy bids" on repossessed cars, that is, bids that were concocted by the office personnel. A Columbus automobile dealer added in testimony that he gave Federal Services signed blank bids on numerous occasions so that the company could fill in its own amount and place this in the serviceman's file.

Prior to submitting these signed blank bids, the dealer told the subcommittee he had bid on a number of repossessed care held by Federal Services but was unable to purchase any of them, even though on occasion he bid well above the market price of the automobile. When he questioned company officials as to the reason why he had not submitted the winning bid, he was told that no matter what bid he submitted, he could not buy the car since it was already ticketed for Federal Services' own used car lot.

Another former Federal Services employee told a subcommittee investigator that when he first went to work for the company, he was given a large folder and instructed to make "dummy bids" on each repossessed car contract in the folder. When he left for lunch, he asked his secretary to continue the task of writing in phony bids. The secretary asked what names she should place in the folder as submitting bids. "Use any out-of-town motor company you can think of," her boss replied. When he returned from lunch, he found that the secretary had listed as the bidding company, "Out-of-Town Motors, Inc."

NO ACTION ON OFF-LIMITS REQUEST

On numerous occasions throughout the past year I have asked the Department of Defense to declare Federal Services off limits. I was not alone in my feeling that this company should not be allowed to continue to gouge servicemen. Three Army legal assistance officers who testified before the subcommittee stated that they felt the company should be placed off limits. As early as 1956, the antics of Federal Services were brought to the attention of the military by legal assistance officers, but no action was taken by the military.

Not only has the Department of Defense not taken any action to place Federal Services off limits, but has done just the reverse. Federal Services met with Department of Defense officials and stated that if the Department would provide their organization with a seal of approval, the company would clean up its operations. I was horrified by the action on the part of the Department of Defense and, while the pat on the head given to Federal Services by the Department of Defense may have fooled some people, it did not fool the serviceman. Even with the Department of Defense endorsement, servicemen would not deal with Federal Services. They felt—as I do—that the abuses uncovered by our investigation could not be corrected merely by a pat on the back, a smile, and a handshake.

PERFORMANCE NOT PROMISES

Federal Services will not be in existence after the end of this month. The company is being merged with another finance company that has promised to remove the military officers from the board of directors and to make certain that the rights of the serviceman are fully protected. I sincerely hope that the new company lives up to its promises, but more corrective action will be needed than a mere superficial housecleaning. As I stated when I first heard of the merger, "You cannot remove the smell from a garbage dump by calling it a rose garden."

It is interesting to note that the demise of Federal Services was not brought about by action of the Department of Defense, but was as a direct result of the serviceman's reluctance to do business with the company.

Federal Services was not the only loan and finance company to take advantage of the serviceman. The Judge Advocate General of a large military post near the Nation's Capital, in testifying before our committee, was questioned as to whether the practices of Federal Services, particularly with regard to repossession of automobiles, were standard practice throughout the industry. The officer replied, "Yes, it is a very vicious circle and it hurts the serviceman badly, and it is certainly something which should be controlled, but I regret to say it is rather a general practice among finance companies, particularly that finance automobiles."

Records submitted to the Domestic Finance Subcommittee by the various military services indicated a number of other finance companies that were causing problems among our servicemen. In addition to Federal Services, the military listed 17 companies as prime offenders. I wonder if the Department of Defense is aware that four of the prime offenders have been indicted in Massachusetts on alleged bribery and conspiracy charges to influence public officials in setting small loan rates and issuing licenses to small loan companies.

OVERSEAS PROBLEM CRITICAL

The sharp practices uncovered by the Domestic Finance Subcommittee are not limited to the United States. Last winter several members of the subcommittee and myself toured military installations throughout Europe to see firsthand the problems that the military men face when they try to obtain credit. The credit problems facing our Armed Forces stationed overseas are vastly different from the problems encountered in the United States. Many borrowing channels which are available to the serviceman in the United States are severely limited or closed to overseas military personnel. For the most part, there are no credit union facilities available in Europe although several credit unions in the United States do handle overseas loan transactions through the mail.

Most of the larger military installations in Europe have commercial American banking facilities, however, these facilities are set up primarily as limited service banks, designed to exchange currency, cash checks, sell savings bonds, and conduct other related banking activities. These banks do engage in a limited amount of short-term lending. Many officers and top-grade enlisted men stationed overseas still maintain banking ties with home-town financial institutions and are thus able to obtain loans through the mail. However, the lower grade enlisted men generally are without any low cost, completely reliable source of credit and must turn to the only available widespread source—finance companies.

EASY CREDIT, QUICK COMPLAINTS

These overseas finance companies are, for the most part, unregulated and the amount of interest that they may charge is virtually unlimited. They extend so-called "easy credit" to the military and are quick to notify a serviceman's commanding officer if the serviceman falls the least bit behind in his payments.

At one installation we visited, a first sergeant informed us that his organization spends 300 man-hours a month handling debt complaint letters, with the majority of the letters coming from finance companies. He added that upon investigation, 98 percent of these complaining letters did not represent valid claims. He pointed out that in almost every case when the finance company complained that the serviceman had not made his monthly payment, the serviceman was able to produce check stubs, money order stubs, or similar proof that the payment had been made. "I'm spending most of my time doing the work of the finance company," the first sergeant complained to our investigating group.

Without exception, every military installation that we visited in Europe felt that the establishment of overseas credit unions would go a long way toward solving the serviceman's credit plight. The request for credit unions came from servicemen of all ranks—from generals and privates, admirals and seamen. The general of one Air Force installation was so interested in establishing a credit union that he sent his aide to meet us at the airport to make certain that we would visit the general and discuss the possibility of establishing a credit union at his installation.

SUGGESTS PATMAN HONOR

As you well know, the Department of Defense has acted in two major areas to provide the serviceman with credit union help. The Department of Defensive Directive 1000.9 issued in August, for the first time provides Department of Defense endorsement for credit unions on military installation in the United States, and this past month the Department authorized the establishment of overseas military credit unions. The overseas directive is an end result of a plan submitted to the Department by the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable Wright Patman, of Texas.

It is my firm belief that Wright Patman has done more to further the cause of credit unions than any other legislator in the history of the movement. Because of his interest in credit unions and his authorship of the guidelines for establishing overseas credit unions, I have asked Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to officially designate the overseas credit unions as "Patman plan credit unions." I feel that in some small way this will be a fitting tribute to a great American.

I applaud the Department of Defense for its actions in writing the credit union directives, but at the same time, I do not feel that the Department has gone far enough to protect the serviceman-consumer.

Following my September speech to the House of Representatives regarding the Department of Defense's attitude toward Federal Services the Department published a directive entitled "Personal Commercial Affairs," which, for the first time, set up guidelines for companies doing business with servicemen.

I recall vividly a ceremony held in Chairman Patman's office in which the first copy of this directive was delivered to the chairman. The date of that presentation was September 29, 1965. Nearly 7 months have transpired since the presentation ceremony. Yet, the directive has not gone fully into effect.

PLANNING NEW DIRECTIVES

Less than a month ago I was informed that the Department of Defense was canceling the directive and, in its place, substituting a new directive. It was my hope that the Department felt that the old directive was not tough enough and was planning to add some beefed-up provisions, such as a disclosure requirement of a simply annual interest rate. I soon learned that my statement of 7 months earlier that the "Department of Defense is, perhaps, more worried about pressure and lobbying tactics of the finance industry than the welfare of the serviceman," was being brought into sharp focus once again.

The redraft pulled the teeth out of the old directive and puts the sharp operators right back on top.

Gone were the provisions to insure that the serviceman would have his rights protected. Gone were the provisions that would have prevented finance companies from grabbing a serviceman's car the moment he fell behind in his payments and selling it to a subsidiary used car lot. Gone were the provisions which would have forbidden sharp-practice operators and their trade associations from gaining admittance to military installations under the guise of conducting credit information programs. And, gone were most of the other provisions which would have protected our men in uniform.

DIRECTIVE CRITICISM NOT VALID

When the chairman of our committee asked the Department why it was rewriting the directive, it was explained that the Department's lawyers felt that the directive was "so vague and ambiguous as to require either substantial modifications or supplementary instructions." If these lawyers think that the directive was vague and ambiguous, I suggest that they read some of the contracts that finance companies require servicemen to sign when they borrow money or purchase an automobile.

Perhaps these lawyers would not be so critical of the directive if they were not viewing it from their snug offices in the Pentagon. Send these lawyers overseas for 2 weeks to talk to the men who have been bilked by unscrupulous operators. Let them visit the wives of servicemen who are fighting in Vietnam. Since these soldiers are busy defending our Nation, they do not have much time to answer loan company letters.

However, too many credit companies are hounding the serviceman's wife the moment that a debt falls past due. And let them talk to commanding officers who are unable to spend time on military duties because they are forced to answer hundreds of phony debt collection letters a month. Let these lawyers do this, and then ask them if they feel the directive is vague and ambiguous.

If the directive was not as perfect as the Department of Defense officials would have liked, it would seem logical that to correct the alleged mistakes, they would have consulted the persons with expertise in this area, such as Mrs. Esther Peterson, the Presidential Adviser on Consumer Affairs, or Chairman Patman. But instead, the Department called in to help rewrite the directive Mr. Marx Leva, general counsel of the American Industrial Bankers Association, a trade group of loan and finance companies. Mr. Leva, it must be recalled, is a former general counsel of the Department of Defense, and I would imagine he still has quite a bit of influence in the Pentagon.

Now that the facts are known, I ask the Department of Defense why the new version of the document deletes those portions which were objectionable to the finance companies but would have protected the serviceman from abuses.

The new directive, for instance, would allow finance company trade associations to conduct credit lectures on military installations. If the very companies whose dues support these trade associations are responsible for fleecing the servicemen, why, then, do we allow their associations to provide credit lectures at military posts? If this happens, we are faced with the situation of a group that preaches sound use of credit to the serviceman one day, and the next day tries to grab as much of his paycheck as possible.

The new directive has not reached its final form. I sincerely hope that before it does, the Department of Defense will carefully review its position in this important matter.

Recently, an investigator from our committee visited a large military installation in the South to look into the operations of a used car lot, that was operating less than 100 yards from the front gate of the military installation and was saddling servicemen with tremendous burdens of debt in the form of car payments. In order to entice the purchase of these high-priced automobiles, the car lot offered to allow the serviceman to pay only $50 per month for the first 4 months. After the 4-month period, the monthly payments skyrocketed.

A HELPING HAND?

This "balloon note" procedure was adopted because the servicemen were going through a training course which would ultimately make them officers. Thus the $50 payments were designed to carry the serviceman through the school and the figure would then be raised when the serviceman was drawing a higher salary. Of course, if the serviceman does not complete the school, he would not be entitled to the higher income, but would still have to meet the huge monthly obligations.

In one case, a 23-year-old serviceman will have to pay nearly $210 a month for 32 months following his short period of $50 a month payments.

The other cases uncovered by the investigator were equally shocking. Many of these servicemen were under 21 years of age. They were not required to make a downpayment nor was their credit checked. In many of the cases, the naive servicemen signed blank contracts.

When the servicemen were asked why they thought they were able to buy $3,000 and $4,000 automobiles without a downpayment and without a credit check, they said that because they were officer candidates, they would be required to pay their debts or possibly ruin their military careers. In short, the serviceman was not only signing his name to the contract, but was throwing in his career as collateral. The used car dealer was not selling cars to servicemen, but was selling cars to their uniform.

Our investigator talked at length with military officials at this post and he was assured that none of the servicemen had complained about the deal they had made at the car lot. Now, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, would you complain if you were able to buy a $4,000 automobile for no money down, without a credit check, and drive off with the automobile with little fuss or redtape? And, would you complain during the first 4 months of your contract if your payments were only $50?

I think the complaints would be very few. But, when your payments—after the 4-month period—were raised to $200, then, oh yes, then, that is when the complaints would start to roll in. As a footnote, our investigator also learned from an officer at this post, that despite the increased salary of these young soldiers after they graduated from the school, he did not see how they would be able to meet the monthly payments.

Instead of taking action to prevent the used car lot from getting the servicemen in over their heads, the military officials at the post are virtually endorsing the operations of the car lot and have stated that the low payments for the first 4 months greatly aids the serviceman in purchasing the automobile. Perhaps these officials are not aware that at some military installations the use of such techniques as balloon payments or sliding-scale notes are considered a cause for placing a company off limits.

I can only say to the authorities at this military installation and to the Department of Defense that if they do not act to protect servicemen from getting in over their heads and being exposed to sharp-practice operators, then I will request a complete investigation of the Department of Defense to see why it will not take action in this highly important field. Perhaps we will find some more retired admirals and generals lurking in the background. Perhaps we will find a former general counsel or two behind the scenes. But whatever we find, I can assure you that this problem will be solved.

CLOSE CREDIT UNION GROUP

Before closing, I would briefly like to discuss with you another area of grave concern to me. An organization is currently in operation in our Nation's capital called the "Bankers Committee to Eliminate Favortism to Credit Unions." One of the goals of this organization is to have industry and businesses across this country close their credit unions. Much of the literature put out by this organization is completely untrue but, unfortunately, there are those who may read this literature and not question its accuracy. To provide financing for this group, solicitors have been employed who telephone banks and businesses throughout the country seeking donations for the fight against credit unions. These telephone solicitors, I am told, are paid a percentage of the money they collect.

Typical of the propaganda being published by this group is a speech made by R. Earl O'Keefe, chairman of the board of Southwestern Investment Co., which—as you might guess—is a loan and finance company. Mr. O'Keefe is proud of the fact that his organization had a credit union but that it was liquidated because "We suddenly came to the realization that this arrangement was against many of the principles for which we stand." If credit unions are against the principles for which Mr. O'Keefe stands, I cannot help but wonder what principles he does believe in. Does he believe that borrowers should be charged an interest rate of "whatever the traffic will bear?" And, does he believe that the borrower is at the mercy of the loan company? It is strange to me, indeed, how anyone could be against the principles of a credit union.

WHAT IS ALIEN ABOUT SELF-HELP

Mr. O'Keefe has stated that credit unions are born of an alien philosophy. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is it an alien philosophy to make loans for provident and productive reasons at low cost? Is it an alien philosophy to encourage habits of thrift? Is it an alien philosophy to provide educational services in the area of consumer spending? And, is it an alien philosophy for a group of Americans to band together on a volunteer basis to help each other?

I can assure you that Government officials such as Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, do not feel that credit unions are born of an alien philosophy. Last fall Mr. Shriver, in a letter to Chairman Patman, praised credit unions for their work on the "war on poverty," and pointed out that a credit union was in the process of being established in the riot-torn Watts area to knock out the loan sharking which was a primary cause of the riots. In his letter, Mr. Shriver stated, "You can be sure that in the future, as now, any community action program interested in organizing a credit union as part of its program will receive our wholehearted backing in getting started. We hope for greatly increased activities in this field in the next 6 months."

I think that we would all agree that credit unions are not born of alien philosophies, but are born in the best interests and traditions of the American people that have helped this country grow to its position of greatness.

On the other hand, I do feel that it is an alien philosophy for organizations such as the Bankers Committee to Eliminate Favoritism to Credit Unions to operate under a cloak of secrecy. I note that none of that committee's publications which I have read, list any of the officers or members of the group. Let these gentlemen come forward and make themselves known. If they have nothing to hide, there can be no reason for the bankers committee not making public a list of its membership. Credit unions have nothing to hide. Why, then, should groups which oppose credit unions barricade themselves behind the printed word.

CREDIT UNION NEED EXISTS

Mr. O'Keefe denies that a need for credit unions exists. He also objects to what he terms subsidies provided credit unions. I ask Mr. O'Keefe if a need for credit unions does not exist, why is it that nearly 20 million Americans are members of credit unions? And, if a need for credit unions does not exist, why is it that servicemen throughout the world have written the Banking and Currency Committee asking about the prospects of establishing a credit union at their installation. And, if Mr. O'Keefe is unhappy with subsidies granted to financial institutions, let him look no further than commercial banking, which is the most subsidized industry in the United States.

What other industry receives millions of dollars in free Government funds for investment in the form of tax and loan accounts? What other industry has the exclusive right to create money? And, what other industry is provided hundreds of millions of dollars worth of free governmental services each year?

Mr. O'Keefe carefully avoids mentioning that the credit union movement is operated almost exclusively on a voluntary basis. He fails to mention that at many military installations credit unions' volunteer officers use their lunch hours and their vacations to perform credit union work. And if Mr. O'Keefe is worried that credit unions may be cutting into the profits of his company, then I suggest that perhaps his company should consider reducing Mr. O'Keefe's annual remuneration which, in 1965, amounted to $48,150. Incidentally, that is $3,510 more than the salary of the Vice President of the United States.

There can be no question as to the wonderful service that credit unions have performed for the American people. But when organizations, such as Mr. O'Keefe's, launch a smear campaign, credit unions can no longer rest on their "white hat" reputation. To counter these attacks, make certain that the people in your community and in the business and factories that you serve, know of the work you are doing. Fight Mr. O'Keefe and his group with facts and fight him hard. Keep your Congressman up to date on the work of your credit union. Let him know your legislative positions on key bills. Do not be afraid to tell your success stories to the public. If you do this, I cannot promise that it will prevent the formation of groups seeking to undermine the work of credit unions, but I will promise that these groups will gain little public sympathy and will have to operate in a completely secret manner.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you so much for your kind attention this morning.

Care and Treatment of Laboratory Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives last Thursday passed by an overwhelming vote H.R. 13881, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats intended to be used for purposes of research and experimentation. Since coming to Congress in 1961 I have had continuing correspondence from citizens expressing the need for such legislation to provide for the humane treatment of animals used in scientific and medical research.

The bill passed by the House demonstrates the concern of an interested public, a responsible press, and an enlightened medical community.

During recent hearings before the Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations Subcommittee, on which I serve, I had the opportunity of discussing the need for such legislation with Dr. James A. Shannon, Director, National Institutes of Health. Dr. Shannon acknowledged that this is a real problem which must be met by responsible action.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the testimony of Dr. Shannon in response to my question on a reasonable and responsible approach to the care and treatment of dogs and cats used in research:

CARE AND TREATMENT OF LABORATORY ANIMALS

Mr. SHRIVER. Last year you discussed this matter. We consistently get a great deal of mail on it. There has been a lot of discussion about maltreatment of dogs and other animals. There are a number of bills this year before the Congress.

What is your judgment as to a reasonable and responsible approach to take?

Dr. SHANNON. We have recommended to the Secretary that he seek broad legislative authority to deal with what, indeed, is a pressing problem. The National Academy of Sciences conducted a study 2 years ago which showed that too many laboratories have inadequate resources for handling animals in a satisfactory way.

This is unsatisfactory, whether viewed from the standpoint of the comfort of the animal or the success of the biological experiment.

It is our conviction that the use of experimental animals can be undertaken with care and consideration, but with the primary purpose being the good of man. The needs of the animal must be subservient to the needs of man.

To move from a situation of inadequate resources to one of adequate resources to insure humane treatment, we must do three things:

First, if we are not to impair the already established biomedical activity we have to broaden the resources available for the care of animals. This means actual construction.

Second, we have to provide for better training in animal caretaking. Too few biological laboratories have full-fledged veterinarians in charge of their animal facilities. They, in turn, have too few properly trained people to take care of the animals.

Finally, there has to be, I think, an objective assessment of the care provisions. We feel that this could be done through certifying procedures in precisely the same way as we now use private agencies to certify the adequacy of hospitals through the Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Hospitals. We were instrumental in supporting the initiation and development of such a certifying agency which went into business and is now on a trial basis. It has been operating about 9 months.

We feel, furthermore, that in view of the criticism, some of it justified—I am afraid a great deal of it is not but some is justified—institutions have to accept a broad responsibility for what goes on in their own environs. They have to develop a consciousness of their own obligation to exercise discipline over the operation within their facilities. We are pretty much convinced that this can best be done as we do it in our own institutes, by the establishment of a formal committee which concerns itself with the care and the utilization of animals.

We have recommended to the Secretary that these elements of an animal care program be incorporated in a new legislative proposal and submitted to the Congress. Hopefully, such legislation will have all of the essential features that would give us security in our own minds that these animals are being handled properly and well.

Accompanying this there is a recommendation that there be standards for compliance. If these committees are not set up, the departments which make grants or contracts or awards should withhold funds until objective evidence is produced that the institution meets the minimal criteria.

Quite frankly, it has been a long time. We proposed legislation which is not very different about a year ago. It was decided at that time to defer it until this year. I hope it will not be deferred again. We, too, get letters. I think we have a sense of urgency that this is a real problem. We feel it should be faced up to by the responsible people in the biomedical community, and we believe that there are ways of handling this without in any way deterring the advancement of science. We hope a legislative proposal will be brought up for consideration.

Mr. SHRIVER. A good answer.

Two Hundredth Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, 1966 marks the 200th anniversary of the Methodist Church in America. Baltimore was selected as the site for the bicentennial meeting to commemorate this occasion.

Recently 12 Methodist ministers in various parts of the United States saddled horses and headed for Baltimore, and in the tradition of circuit riders of long ago, preached the Gospel as they went. One of the twelve to undertake this arduous journey was Rev. Sidney Dillinger of McCracken, Kans.

Following is an editorial from the April 24, 1966, issue of the Hays Daily News, Hays, Kans., reminding us of the important role played by Methodist circuit riders in the development of our country, and saluting Reverend Dillinger for his participation in this event:

CIRCUIT RIDERS—A LA 1966

History today records that nothing did more to make America great than the tough breed of hardy pioneers who opened up the West. From the earliest days when the country was but a smattering of not cohesive States strung along the Atlantic seaboard, the urge of men and women was to push to the West.

The overwhelming desire, we would suppose, was to find a better life for their children, to find for them something they were denied in their current environment, for them to grow up to be somebody.

Fertile land, the material things of life, were desired. But for their children to achieve the noble goals sought, they were wise enough to know this was not enough.

This explains why, once the land was cleared and the cabin built or cave dug, the first thing they did was send for a schoolmarm and preacher.

In numerous instances that preacher was a Methodist. And because people were mighty few and far between in the wide-open spaces, the preacher more often than not had to be a circuit rider.

This year in America the Methodist Church is 200 years old. To mark its founding, the bicentennial meeting is being held in Baltimore, Md.

From the far reaches of the country, 12 Methodist ministers—including Rev. Sidney Dillinger of McCracken—saddled Old Faithful and are riding there, or have arrived, on horseback. And like the circuit rider of long ago, they have stopped along the way to bring the Word of God to listeners.

The meaning of this—the symbolism—goes beyond merely honoring the Methodist circuit rider. It even goes beyond honoring the poineer preacher of whatever faith.

Rather, the honor is to a nation whose founders in the Declaration of Independence forthrightly stated "with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence."

H-Bomb Recovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, it is a unique privilege to be able to recognize within our lifetime, the vision of a group of men who participated in the opening of the earth's last frontier. In early April a hydrogen bomb, lost for almost 3 months, was recovered from the floor of the ocean. What is important here is that a two-man submarine—named *Alvin*—designed and built by American industry in the State of Minnesota, dramatically demonstrated that man now can go down to the bottom of the ocean and perform useful work. The search and recovery was a prophetic fulfillment of the remarks of James H. Wakelin, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy during dedication ceremonies at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution on June 5, 1964. He said *Alvin* would be responsive to the interests of the Nation and its people. He went on to say:

> This first deep-diving submarine to go into operation anywhere will go places and do things that will undoubtedly make news for many years to come.

Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the University of Minnesota's Institute of Technology was on a National Academy of Sciences Committee that in 1959 urged a broad new attack on the oceans including development of a deep-diving craft. On the same committee was Allyn Vine, for whom *Alvin* was named. Vine led the early definition of requirements for vehicles to perform oceanographic research at great depths and was a key figure in gaining Office of Naval Research support.

In the hands of its capable crew, *Alvin* has made over 150 dives. It has within its potential range an area of the ocean floor greater than the area of the surface of the moon. Chief Pilot William O. Rainnie, Naval Academy graduate and his alternate copilots, Marvin J. McCamis and Valentine Wilson, by finding and initially securing a tether to the bomb, performed a feat requiring great technical competence and operational skill as well as personal dedication and courage. This outstanding achievement may provide us with the needed force to accelerate the Nation's program to develop the potential wealth of the sea for all mankind.

The remarkable submarine *Alvin*, developed and built by Litton Industries in Minnesota, is officially classified as a deep submergence vehicle. It is a triumph of technical know-how and advanced industrial skills. *Alvin* has successfully performed research and study tests at depths below 6,000 feet. High intensity floodlights, a mechanical arm, and complete maneuverability enable this two-man vehicle to accomplish a variety of underocean assignments more than a mile below the surface. The hydrogen bomb rescue effort was a very sensitive and demanding job requiring outstanding skill and precision. Minnesota is proud of its industrial contribution to technology, personified in this case by Litton Industries and *Alvin*.

Now that the urgency of the search is over and the mission accomplished, *Alvin* is being returned to Woods Hole aboard the ship that served as her mother ship in Spain. There she will be refitted and will return to the realm of scientific research. But I hope all of us will remember that while the world followed the retrieval of a bomb, we here should not lose sight of the true mission of undersea exploration.

Why Not Blockade North Vietnam?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Reader's Digest recently carried an excellent article entitled "Why Not Blockade North Vietnam?" which I feel every one of my colleagues will benefit from reading.

It was written by Hanson W. Baldwin, a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy who served as an officer aboard battleships and a destroyer before switching to journalism. Baldwin has authored many books and has been the military editor of the New York Times since 1942.

A Distinguished Military Observer Who Has Just Returned From a 3-Month Survey of Southeast Asia Poses a Cogent Question: Why Not Blockade North Vietnam?

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Soon—or never—the Nation must take the steps essential to victory in Vietnam. The alternative is to face the terrible consequences of stalemate or defeat.

President Johnson has increased our commitment in men and money in South Vietnam. But until the Navy and the Air Force are authorized to cut off the flow of arms into North Vietnam, our biggest guns are still muted, our strongest cards unplayed.

"If you want to cut off a stream of water, you turn off the faucet," an Air Force officer said recently in Vietnam. So far, we haven't seriously attempted to turn off the faucet of weapons supply for North Vietnam. We have bombed—though in low key—the railroad from Nanning in China to Hanoi. But ships still move freely into the port of Haiphong, among them Communist bottoms bearing thousands of tons of arms and military supplies.

Effective blockade and effective bombardment of North Vietnam are essential to victory; until they are implemented, neither Hanoi nor the American people will be convinced that we mean business. Have we decided to win? This is still the great unanswered question about our policy, and one that stalks every command post in Vietnam. For it provokes in the mind of every commander another question: "Are my men dying in vain?"

Our fighting men in Vietnam believe that the war they are fighting is worth while, that—in the words of one of them—"Vietnam is the right war in the right place at the right time." They know that it is a war against aggression and to keep a country free, a war to hold communism at arm's length from America—and that unless we win it, the consequences, now and to future generations, will be disastrous. Moreover, without exception, the responsible commanders believe that Vietnam is a "winnable war," that it can indeed be won—though not quickly or easily, and certainly not with half measures.

EASY ROUTES

The arms and other war materials (such as oil) come to North Vietnam from Russia, China and other Communist states. They come in three ways: by sea, by rail from China, and by land from China over roads and trails. The sea route—principally to the port of Haiphong—is the easiest and cheapest. Under the U.S. self-imposed ground rules, the docks at Haiphong so far have been immune to bombing. Ships under Communist and other flags steam past our carriers and destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin and, without molestation, unload antiaircraft weapons, arms and ammunition. To the fighting man, this makes no sense. Why bomb at all if we are going to let the enemy bring in weapons that will increase the cost of our bombing, decrease its effectiveness, and raise the casualty figures among U.S. soldiers fighting in the south?

U.S. attempts to use peaceful persuasions to decrease the seaborne flow have met with some success. Japan, Greece, Norway, Cyprus, Liberia, and Lebanon have eliminated or reduced visits by their ships to North Vietnam. The number of non-Communist-flag ships calling at North Vietnamese ports was down to an average of about 13 per month in late 1965, compared to 34 per month in 1964. However, these vessels carried mostly nonmilitary items.

British ships, many of them coastal craft, most of them registered in Hong Kong, are still engaged in trade with North Vietnam, and London has shown reluctance to do anything about it. The reluctance is understandable if undesirable. Many of the ships are manned by polyglot crews, including many Chinese seamen; and British, Hong Kong, and other nationals share their ownership, Britain is extremely conscious of the vulnerable position of her colonialism diadem, Hong Kong, which remains nominally British only as long as this is convenient to Peking. Hence she is reluctant to initiate steps which might increase friction with China. All the more reason for blockade. If we faced this issue squarely, it would take London off the hook.

More important, only a blockade will halt the flow of war goods in Communist-flag ships. These have brought a variety of advanced arms and military equipment, principally from Russia, and are still doing so.

SHALLOW AND NARROW

Geographic facts would simplify any sea interdiction program. Haiphong is the only good port. It lies inside the Gulf of Tonkin, and its approaches are shallow, narrow, and easily blocked. A formal naval blockade maintained by the surface ships and planes of the 7th Fleet could easily seal off the gulf and the coast of North Vietnam. A blockade is generally considered an act of war, and usually follows a formal war declaration. It would mean stopping and searching all vessels bringing goods to North Vietnam, including Soviet-flag vessels—a risk, but on the scene there would be nothing much that Russia could do about it. It would involve essentially the same risk as the sea embargo established by our fleet at the time of the Cuban missile crisis.

A variation of the formal blockade, which might ease some of the international complications, would be an "embargo" or "quarantine," or a so-called "pacific blockade." (See appendix.)

Still another possibility, one favored by some of our Air Force officers as least likely to cause international complications, envisages the mining of approaches to North Vietnamese ports and of the ports themselves. The minefields, laid by Navy surface ships and "filled in," if necessary, by minelaying from the air, would be limited to North Vietnamese coastal waters, thus avoiding the laying of mines in international seas. Nearly all Communist states claim a 12-mile limit, and the shallow Gulf of Tonkin makes mines a particularly effective weapon. All nations would be warned that their ships would approach the mined coastal waters at their own risk. But no attempt would be made to stop and search the vessels.

RESTRICTED BOMBING

Any of these measures could halt the bulk of the seaborne arms flow into North Vietnam, at little risk of escalation. However, most of our military men agree that, to reduce the arms flow, the limitations on our bombing of railroads, roads, and land targets in North Vietnam must also be eased. (See "What We Must Do To Win in Asia," the Reader's Digest, November 1965.) For the bulk of the ground weapons that equip the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces comes from China, by land routes—principally by the railroad from Nanning in China to Hanoi. This railroad changes gage at the North Vietnam border; it passes through defiles and tunnels, over scores of vulnerable bridges and culverts. Bombing has already interrupted it to some degree. But the limitations upon our bombers are many.

First of all, every bombing mission over North Vietnam must be specifically authorized in Washington. In addition, our fliers must not bomb closer than 30 miles from the Chinese frontier; they must stay out of a circle of 30 miles diameter around Hanoi; they must stay out of a circle of 10 miles diameter around Haiphong. Twice last year the Navy was permitted to bomb an important bridge between Hanoi and Haiphong. We have bombed missile sites within the 30-mile circle around Hanoi, a power station within the 10-mile circle around Haiphong—but these are exceptions, not the rule.

A sea blockade would be immeasurably helped by bombing the Haiphong docks. Some of North Vietnam's most important petroleum-storage facilities, many of her powerplants, and all the airports where Mig's and IL-28's are based are out of bounds to our fliers. Easing of these bombing restrictions and intensification of the attacks upon the Hanoi-Nanning railway line—but well south of the Chinese frontier—would make it more difficult for North Vietnam to maintain her antiaircraft batteries and missile sites, and to supply the Communist forces in South Vietnam. Elimination of her electric power and petroleum supplies would reduce considerably Hanoi's warmaking potential, and also reduce the use of trucks for weapons deliveries to South Vietnam.

WHAT RESPONSE?

To compensate the North Vietnamese would undoubtedly utilize their manpower in prodigal numbers (as they did at the battle of Dienbienphu) to move in arms from China. But the roads are few and tortuous, and air attack could make road running difficult, as our air attacks upon the Communist-held corridor in Laos are showing.

So long as we do not bomb China itself, large-scale, overt Chinese intervention is unlikely. China has everything to lose by it, including the very existence of the Peking Government and all of its hard-won industrial and economic gains.

Korea demonstrated that air and sea interdiction, no matter how intensive, will never completely stop the primitive manback supply route. Some arms will always get through. But applied against North Vietnam and in the corridor in Laos, and coupled with heavy, continuing offensive pressure in South Vietnam, these measures may well confront the enemy with a crisis of supply. Certainly they will make it far more difficult for him to continue fighting, and so will reduce U.S. casualties. While these measures alone will not win the Vietnamese war, we probably cannot win without them. If we try to, the increased price will be in blood—American blood.

APPENDIX

A BLOODLESS USE OF SUPERIOR FORCE

(By Raymond Moley, condensed from Newsweek)

For generations, freedom of the seas existed only because Britain dominated the sealanes of the world, keeping them free to commerce in peace but restricting them in war. Now the United States carries the burden and responsibility of that dominance. Yet we are permitting the ships of our friends, as well as of the Soviet Union and of Red China, to supply through the port of Haiphong the goods of war to H[illegible]i and the Vietcong guerrillas. Our enemies are enjoying the benefits of a license that we ourselves have created.

The U.S. Navy should be used to cut off all sea traffic in war material into North Vietnam. This is a bloodless use of superior force. Ships carrying contraband are turned back. Thus seapower can choke off the means of warfare, lessen and ultimately stop the conflict.

There are ample precedents for a "Pacific blockade." When the Soviets, in 1962, used the sealanes to build a mortal threat to the United States in Cuba, there were many who said we should impose a blockade, only to be met by the argument that a blockade is an act of war. So when President Kennedy acted—after the missiles were installed—the blockade was call a "quarantine." Whatever the name, the reality was the U.S. capacity to bar access at sea. And the subsequent reaction of the Soviet Union made it clear that the Kremlin understood the nature and capability of dominant seapower. The Soviet ships submitted, stopped and turned back.

The "Pacific blockade" was repeatedly used by Britain and France in the 19th century to enforce their rights or preserve the peace of Europe—in 1824, 1837, 1884, and 1886. It was used in 1902 and 1903, by Germany and Britain, and then by Germany alone, to bring to negotiation a Venezuelan dictator (who name, incidentally, was Cipriano Castro). It is still a legitimate means of arresting traffic where a state of war does not formally exist.

To repeat: It is U.S. naval power that makes freedom of the seas possible. During periods of belligerence, that freedom is subject to control. The bloody Ho Chi Minh trail, by which war materials move from North Vietnam into South Vietnam, is long and winding. It begins at sea.

What It Takes To Win in Vietnam?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, in the past I have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD editorials published by Mr. William R. Mathews on our foreign policy in Asia. Mr. Mathews on April 24, 1966, published in the Arizona Daily Star another editorial of such incisive nature, I felt it should be made available to all of the Members.

The editorial follows:

WHAT IT TAKES TO WIN IN VIETNAM?

(By William R. Mathews)

If there were anything easy to predict, it would be to forecast that the troubled domestic political situation in Vietnam amounts to a continuation of what has gone on in the past, and will continue in the future. There will be elections within 5 months, probably. Once the tallies are made public, there will be losers and victors. The losers will cry about fraud.

If a civilian government is established, the chances are that it will last not many months, and possibly only weeks. Another civilian government will succeed it, and it will go through much the same process. Finally another dictatorship, probably a military one, will take over. It, too, will last only some months, unless Washington gets tough with the religious and political leaders of the country, which will include some generals.

There are some good reasons to justify this forecast. One of the most powerful is war-weariness, which generates religious and patriotic passions, and divides a country into warring political fragments. Because South Vietnam is a country of fragmented political parties, civilian life will continue in a state of anarchy and thus weaken the military effort.

Amid all of this development, America will continue to wage war against the Vietcong as best it can. The South Vietnam Army obviously will be weakened, and will be unable to carry its share of the war load. Our bombing will continue and will have to be enlarged against basic targets, like oil storage farms in North Vietnam. It should be realized that North Vietnam has trucks, and that they run supplies and men south using gasoline or diesel fuel which we permit North Vietnam to import, store and use. If we finally hit those oil installations, the trucks would lack fuel. The supply line would be weakened at the source of its strength.

Thus the situation we Americans find ourselves in will continue probably for years—certainly until we get tired of it, or get tough with the leaders of the numerous religious and political factions. If enough of them do not agree to unify and create a war government with militant leadership, that will not tolerate any organized opposition during the period of the war, we should pull out. Unite and fight must be our policy, and we should mean it and not apologize for it. Our patience is no longer a virtue, because it is taken as a sign of weakness.

That it obviously has encouraged the leaders of North Vietnam is proven by their scorn of our failure to develop a unified war effort in South Vietnam. Until we do that, and add to it the extension of our bombing against military targets in all of North Vietnam, the leaders of North Vietnam will remain firm in their unwillingness to talk.

We have to break the will of their political and military leaders to resist. No war is won or even stalemated, until the will of such leaders is impaired or broken. Our Civil War was not won until the will of Gen. Robert E. Lee was broken. World War I was not won until the will of Von Hindenburg was broken sufficiently to have him demand that his Kaiser abdicate.

In World War II, the Germans were denied victory in their invasion of the Soviet Union by the will of Stalin to unite the efforts of his people in "the great patriotic war." The war was not won until the will of Hitler was broken by his own suicide.

The Korean war was not won by us because we did not have the will to win it. The persistency of the Chinese, led by Mao, endured long enough to win a compromise from us.

The war in Vietnam will not be won until we and South Vietnam unit with the determination to win it. For us to imagine that North Vietnam will talk to us as long as anarchy prevails in South Vietnam, and our political leaders openly proclaim our reasonableness, is wishful thinking.

The leaders of North Vietnam will not talk reasonably until the political Government of South Vietnam unites with our Army, Air Force, and Navy to wage war with a unity that can win and can hurt North Vietnam.

Consequently, if we are going to pet and pamper the political leaders of South Vietnam, and meticulously stand aside and thereby encourage anarchy and disunity, we will be stuck in Vietnam with an ever-increasing cost in American lives and wealth. That could become a devastating political issued by 1968 at least, and possibly in 1966.

Our intensified bombing of North Vietnam could be decisive if it were backed by a unified and competent Government of South Vietnam, whose armies would unite with ours in sea, land, and air operations that would drive the invaders from the country. The Vietcong will not give up until they see that they are licked, and neither will North Vietnam.

Speeches by Ambassador Goldberg, Senator Mansfield, and Secretary Rusk during the past week have been most unfortunate. These expressions of reasonableness will cause the VC and the political leaders of Hanoi to be more adamant than ever. They see them as proof of our political weakness and our lack of will to wage war.

In such circumstances, the confusion in Vietnam will continue; our soldiers out there will be more confused; so will many Senators and Congressmen. This confusion will grow among the people of the United States.

No wonder the Chinese people speak of us as a paper tiger.

Israel's 18th Birthday

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, in 1807, when the United States was 18 years old, we were a little nation situated along the eastern seaboard of a strange land across the sea. We were surrounded by some enemies who were savages, the Indians, and some enemies who were civilized but who acted like savages, the English and the French.

Now, there is a little land across the sea, situated along a seaboard, surrounded by enemies, and it also is now 18 years old.

The Americans of 1807 did not waste time worrying. Instead, they worked, conquered a wilderness, and they laid the foundation for the great Nation we enjoy today. And today, in this little 18-year-old land across the sea—in Israel—the Israelis are not spending their time worrying.

They are working. They are conquering, not a wilderness, but a desert. And they are laying the foundations for a great nation to come in the Middle East.

U.S. Mission to the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding public servants of our day is Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg. In a speech at the National Press Club on April 19, Ambassador Goldberg had some trenchant and enlightening comments to make on the state of the U.N. and its possible contribution to the Vietnam problem, on Communist China, and on Rhodesia. I commend this speech to my colleagues and other readers of the Congressional Record.

Address by Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. Representative to the United Nations

This is a very welcome experience for me. I well remember my first appearance at a National Press Club luncheon early in 1961, in fact less than 2 weeks after I had been sworn in as Secretary of Labor. Mr. Cosgrove has been more generous this time and has allowed me 9 months in which to learn my job before facing this board of examiners.

Your invitation gives me an opportunity which I value highly, because I know well the vital importance of close and frank contact between public officials and you gentlemen of the working press. And there is no area in which this contact is more necessary than in the arduous and complex search for international peace which we pursue at the United Nations.

Today I would like to give you a short progress report on the major questions that have taken up most of our time and energy at the United Nations in these 9 months since it fell to me to suceed—I will not say "replace," because nobody could replace him—the illustrious Adlai Stevenson.

The major questions have been, first, the crisis over the financing of certain U.N. peacekeeping operations; then the Kashmir crisis; then the Vietnamese question which we laid before the Security Council. In the background of Vietnam we have also the question of Red China's relation to the world community and specifically to the U.N. Finally, and most recently, we have had the crisis over Rhodesia. I would like to take up these topics in order, and then I will reply to your questions.

FINANCING AND PEACEKEEPING

When I arrived at the U.N., the organization was virtually paralyzed by the controversy over the obligation of member states to pay their assessed share for its peacekeeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo. It had become clear that, despite the opinion of the World Court and our own best efforts, the majority in the Assembly was not prepared to impose upon the delinquent member states the penalty laid down in article 19 of the charter—namely, the loss of their vote in the General Assembly.

In this situation it fell to me to announce our distasteful decision to agree that the General Assembly should resume its normal functioning with all members voting. I have no regrets over this decision. What was most immediately urgent was that the organization be enabled to continue to carry on its business.

But in the long run the U.N. has no more important objective than that of developing its peacekeeping capacity, and we remain very active in promoting that objective. Next week in New York the 33-member Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations will meet to consider changes in U.N. procedures for authorizing and financing peacekeeping operations. We attach great importance to the work of this body. The capacity of the United Nations to help in keeping the peace must not be weakened—it must be made stronger—and the United States will join wholeheartedly with those in the Committee and in the Assembly who work to make it stronger.

KASHMIR

Of course, even now, despite the financing crisis, the U.N. remains a potent peacekeeper. This was proven last September when the long-smoldering conflict over Kashmir erupted into large-scale violence. The United Nations was thereby confronted with what was perhaps the most serious armed clash between two member states with which it had ever dealt. It was, of course, all the more alarming to the United States because India and Pakistan are two very important nations whose friendship and progress we highly value—and because just over the Himalayas, Red China was sitting, eagerly waiting for a chance to pick up the pieces.

The cease-fire—which was the prerequisite to all the steps that followed—was achieved on September 22 as a direct outgrowth of the Security Council resolution 2 days earlier. This in turn paved the way for the Tashkent agreement which followed in January, leading to the withdrawal of forces. Tashkent, incidentally, offers a vivid illustration of a situation in which the Soviet Union perceives that its interest in a step toward peace runs parallel to that of the vast majority of nations of the world. May there be more such situations.

Of course the Kashmir question remains on the Security Council's agenda. It is a deep-lying issue involving long-entrenched interests and emotions on both sides. But by moving the immediate conflict off the battlefield and into the conference room, we achieved something substantial not only for India and Pakistan, but for the peace of the world. If the U.N. had done nothing else in 1965, that achievement alone would justify many times over the annual cost of the United Nations.

VIETNAM

Now let me comment briefly on activity at the United Nations relating to the conflict in Vietnam.

One of my first actions after presenting my credentials last July was to send a letter to the President of the Security Council, emphasizing the United States continued willingness to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Council in finding a formula which would restore peace to Vietnam. This was only one step in a continuous process of consultation with Secretary General U Thant and with many member states—particularly members of the Council.

Then in early January we informed all 117 members of the U.N. of our unprecedented diplomatic effort—unprecedented in intensity and variety—to open the path to negotiations; and we made crystal clear our willingness to begin negotiation and the goals we would seek in them.

But this effort—which included a 37-day unilateral suspension of bombing of North Vietnam—brought forth no helpful response. There was no letup in acts of war by Hanoi or the Vietcong; there was no reduction in infiltration, in acts of terror, in the supply of men and arms. The response in words was equally negative: a restatement of old conditions, and the addition of still another condition which the United States must accept before negotiations could begin.

It was against this background that the President ordered an end to the 37-day suspension of bombing of North Vietnam and, simultaneously, instructed me to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council. Our purpose in resorting formally to the Council was to make it clear that even though all the peace moves we and others had made had been rebuffed, we remained resolved to seek a peaceful settlement. Although the Council was unable to agree on any formal action, the presence of the Vietnam item on its agenda gives us a reference point which could be highly useful in the future.

On the Vietnam question, then, the United Nations up to now has served chiefly as a center of diplomatic communication. It is fair to ask whether we can realistically expect it to render any other kind of service in the search for a secure peace in Vietnam. The most immediate necessity is one which, in all realism, the United Nations is not now prepared to undertake—namely, the defense of South Vietnam against armed aggression. The situation is not the same as it was when South Korea was attacked 16 years ago, and a similar United Nations response cannot be expected. The United States must continue to help South Vietnam defend itself. As I have said before, America is probably not the ideal policeman, nor do we wish to be—but we are willing to bear our part of the burden.

In the longer run, however, we anticipate another need which will call for an international instrumentality such as the United Nations. Once the Geneva agreements have been reaffirmed and revitalized as a basis for an end to the fighting, somebody must police those agreements through effective patrol and supervision, and thereby keep the people of South Vietnam secure while they freely decide their government and the future of their homeland.

The United States has no desire to exercise that responsibility itself, and we recognize there would be valid objections to our doing so. In thinking of suitable machinery, our thoughts turn naturally to the United Nations, or some other appropriate international body. The U.N. has a record for effective, impartial, and independent actions in other situations where passions are high and suspicions ingrained.

Meanwhile, our search for peace, as President Johnson has made abundantly clear, will continue both steadfast and flexible. We will eagerly welcome any initiative, whether in the United Nations or elsewhere, that helps to move the Vietnam conflict from the battlefield to the conference table.

CHINA

Now I come to a question which has become somewhat interlocked with the Vietnamese problem, namely, the perennial and multiple problem of Communist China. I will not rehearse past history but only comment briefly on the current China situation as it relates to the United Nations.

The argument is sometimes made that the Vietnamese question or the disarmament question, for example, cannot be effectively dealt with in the United Nations as long as Communist China is not a member. This does not necessarily follow, since there are plenty of precedents for the participation of nonmembers in matters before the Security Council and other United Nations organs. I might add that we have been trying to interest Red China in exploratory disarmament talks outside the U.N.—but so far they have refused to join in such talks.

Leaving that point aside, however, the question recurs—as it has every year since 1950—what answer the United Nations should give to Peking's perennial claim to represent China in the U.N. In that context we still hear criticism that the United States has taken it upon itself to ostracize Red China, and that except for our strenuous efforts Red China would be sitting in the U.N. today, and so forth.

I doubt that very much. The country that has really ostracized Red China is not the United States; it is Red China itself. The list of their conditions for deigning to accept a seat in the United Nations is long and unrealistic. Among other things, they demand that the Republic of China on Taiwan be ejected from the United Nations, along with whichever other countries they have put on their "imperialist puppet" list. I don't think this would be an acceptable proposal among the members of the U.N.

In this situation some people have questioned whether the United States should continue this year the parliamentary strategy that we have followed in past years to exclude Red China at the annual session of the General Assembly. This is a highly intricate question, and no change in our policy has been made. Our tactics, of course, are under review. In any case, the matter of tactics ought not to obscure the underlying reality. The Communist revolution in China, coming to power in 1949, put that enormous country under the domination of a group which still adheres to the dogma that, in the words of Mao Tse-tung, "all political power grows out of a barrel of a gun."

They are pressing constantly in south and southeast Asia and elsewhere—even as far away as Africa and Latin America, although with dwindling success—to enlarge their power and domination in the world by subversion and by force of arms. Secretary Rusk has well described their state of mind as "a combination of aggressive arrogance and obsessions of their own making."

We desire very much, in the interest of world peace, to see the rulers of mainland China come to terms with the international community. Along many avenues, even in the face of numerous rebuffs, the United States has been trying to promote that result—not by yielding to their demands, which would bring only further demands, but by such means as our 11 years of contacts with Chinese representatives in Geneva and Warsaw; our proposals for contacts involving newspapermen, scientists, and others; and our expressed desire to see the representatives of Peking sit down and discuss disarmament and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons with the other powers.

They may not respond to these appeals next week or next year, but we look forward to the day when they will. Much is said about the patience and persistence of Communists, but we can be patient and persistent, too.

RHODESIA

Finally, I come to the Rhodesian question which has most recently been the center of our peace efforts at the United Nations. When the independence movement began to sweep through Africa a few years ago, the British Government made strenuous efforts to conciliate the white and African communities in their Rhodesian colony and to find a basis by which all the people could participate in the political life of an independent Rhodesia. As you know, these efforts failed. After the so-called unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith regime last November, the Security Council adopted two very strong resolutions urging member states not to recognize the illegal Smith regime—which none have—and calling for economic sanctions, including a specific embargo on oil and petroleum products.

Our latest action in the Council arose from attempts to break that oil embargo. The United Kingdom quite properly asked for the Security Council's instructions before taking the drastic step of intercepting oil tankers on the high seas. The Council promptly gave the authority that was sought, and the British proceeded to use it when their frigate turned away the tanker Manuela on its way into the port of Beira.

There has been some criticism from those who maintain that the step sanctioned by the Council—namely, the interception of ships on the high seas—was too novel and perhaps even unjustifiable under international law.

I agree that the step was novel, but it was not unjustifiable. At the Council meeting I said, and I repeat, that we made some new international law that night. International law is not a static concept—it is a developing concept. The United Nations Charter itself was new international law, and the decisions made pursuant to it add to that body of law—the process that moves us inch by inch toward the still unrealized goal of the rule of law throughout the world.

Article 39 of the charter gives the Security Council the duty to determine, among other things, when there is a threat to peace, and the further duty of deciding what to do about it. Pursuant to this article the Council, wisely and properly, found that the imminent arrival of tankers in defiance of the embargo and in support of the rebel regime was a threat to peace. Some people disagree with this finding, and even say that what has happened in Rhodesia is an internal matter. But I don't think anybody conversant with Africa can deny for a moment the incendiary nature of the situation in that part of the world. Happily, article 39 does not require the Security Council to hold its hand until the fire has broken into open flames.

Having made its finding, the Council further concluded that the necessary action to prevent this imminent circumvention of the embargo should be taken by the power which bears the chief responsibility in this whole matter; namely, the United Kingdom.

Was the United Nations wrong to take this action which was, in some respects, without precedent? Certainly not. The situation itself was without precedent, and, as the old saying goes, "New occasions teach new duties." This emergency was one more in the record of such new occasions which have punctuated the life of the United Nations from its inception: Iran, the Berlin crisis, Korea, the uniting for peace resolution, Suez, and the Congo, among others. If in each of these novel situations the organization had shrunk from taking new steps to uphold the charter, the United Nations today would be a dead letter—with consequences that I do not like to imagine.

Actually, what was done in the Security Council on April 9 is being criticized from two opposite directions. Some say it was too strong, others that it was too weak. Some would have us turn our backs on the whole situation; others insist that it be solved in a single stroke.

I think Lord Caradon, speaking for the British Government, wisely avoided both these extremes when he stressed the need to proceed step by step. It is clear that the one step we took on April 9 has had a major effect on the attempt to break the embargo. We will know in due time whether further steps are necessary to achieve the aim which has the overwhelming backing of the world community; namely, the restoration of the lawful British authority in Rhodesia in order that all of the people of that country may be enabled to join in determining their national future.

Let me conclude by expressing two convictions which I have long held, but which I find relevant to this work at the United Nations.

One is my belief as a lawyer, which was reinforced during my service on the Supreme Court, that law by itself cannot bring peace and stability. What brings peace and stability is just law—law that takes careful account of new facts and deals adequately with the legitimate grievances that arise. This requires a willingness to innovate and to work for peaceful change—because change itself is inevitable, and if we cannot keep it peaceful then heaven help us all.

My second conviction is that just law cannot always simply be imposed. On the Court the most important and, I must say, the most satisfying words I could use were those at the end of an opinion: "It is so ordered." We can't use those words very often at the United Nations. Into every ounce of enforcement we must mix a ton of persuasion and conciliation and careful listening. And then we must not expect to build the new Jerusalem in 1 day but must be content to proceed step by step.

When I spoke to the Press Club in 1961, I remember quoting a favorite passage of mine by the eminent Spanish philosopher, Salvador de Madariaga, and I want to quote it again because nothing could better express my point:

> "Our eyes must be idealistic and our feet realistic
> We must walk in the right direction but we must walk step by step."

Now I think the next step is for me to listen to your questions. Thank you.

A Double Standard of Morality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES D. MARTIN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. MARTIN of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in its mad quest for votes by courting minorities, the Johnson-Humphrey administration has adopted a double standard of morality which threatens the rights of all the people. In his column in the Washington Evening Star of April 30, Jenkin Lloyd Jones calls attention to how little attention is paid by the politicians, the liberal press, and many do-gooders when a white man is murdered without reason in a Negro neighborhood.

How far, Mr. Speaker, can America go in upholding such a double standard in morality and in law enforcement without bringing down in shambles this Republic?

The column follows:

A DOUBLE STANDARD OF MORALITY

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

A few weeks ago the notorious California motorcycle gang known as Hell's Angels announced that a rally would be held on a beach near Santa Maria. Many small California cities have, in the past, been taken over by the bearded, bare-bellied beats on motorbikes who symbolize rebellion without cause.

But this time the converging Angels found themselves with a massive police escort that led them into a dead end road. And when one of the frustrated Angels took a poke at a cop his trip to jail broke all known speed records. The rally faded out.

At a dinner in Santa Maria a few days later, Managing Editor Bill Misslin of the local Times told me simply: "We thought decent people should put on a demonstration for their civil rights."

Now, a demonstration is an attention-getting device. It can be a righteous arrest, as at Santa Maria, or a voice raised in the back of a lecture hall, or a brandished sign, or a full-scale riot.

But a civilization is on its way to chaos when it can't distinguish between demonstrations in support of civil rights and demonstrations that violate civil rights.

In the last couple of years whenever white night riders in the South have killed a Negro for no reason except that he was a Negro, an outraged delegation of college students, preachers, labor leaders, and politicians have swarmed into Dixie to weep at the bier. This is understandable. To murder a man for his race or his religion is the most heinous of all murders.

But, in Watts riot No. 2 this winter a white truckdriver, cauhgt making a delivery in the neighborhood, ran ahead of a howling Negro mob and begged refuge at houses, the doors of which were locked against him. So the mob caught and killed him.

Yet no furious delegation of preachers, etc., journeyed out to Los Angeles to attend the victim's funeral, even though he, too, had been killed for the color of his skin. Instead, there were the familiar owlish statements that the Watts rioters were "acting out of their desperation."

This double-standard of morality has now moved about as close to the seat of our National Government as it is possible to get. When 40 or 50 Mississippi sharecroppers pitched tents in Lafayette Park across from the White House to protest alleged delay in delivering them Government-provided housing down on the farm, this was in clear violation of all the laws. But a spokesman for the Departmnet of Interior said, "They're not camping. They are demonstrating." We'd like to see how long the storm troopers of George Rockwell's American Nazi Party would last if they tried a tent-colony demonstration in the same park.

Let us shed a tear for the sad experience of Sargent Shriver, who on April 14 attempted to explain the poverty program to 500 members of something called the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty. This outfit had previously been hopped up by an activist address by Walter Reuther and a weepy speech by our Vice President.

Hecklers paraded to the platform, shouted down Shriver, and finally broke up the meeting. One young man who said he represented "Youth in Action" of the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn shouted, "You people are old and gray and you'd better step aside. Us youngsters are going to take over."

Since Shriver had been invited to speak, one of his civil rights was certainly violated when he was not permitted to be heard. And Sargent was righteously mad, blaming professional demonstrators.

For the midnight editions even Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, vice chairman of the meeting, clucked his disapproval. But by the next morning Blake, who is also general secretary-elect of the World Council of Churches, was back to giving the proper kneejerks.

"It was a frustration against the slowness of an affluent society to spread its prosperity among all the people," said Blake.

Now, maybe we are going to have to make one fundamental decision: Do we believe in equality or don't we?

If we are going to require a higher standof the behavior from the night-riding rednecks of Alabama than from the rioters of Harlem or Rochester or Watts we are going to have to admit to a system based on inequality. Or at least, as George Orwell acidly put it, to a system of equality where "some are more equal than others."

The civil rights struggle was advertised as a fight to insure that all citizens are treated equally under law. Is there a new definition? Are we handing out selected licenses for irresponsibility, misbehavior, and even murder? Are we going to become racists while decrying racism?

Down that road lies an agony greater than we have ever seen.

Ability Counts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, in the 1966 National "Ability Counts" contest, which was sponsored by the President's Committee and State Governors' Committees on Employment of the Handicapped, Miss Elisabeth A. McLane, of Osterville, Mass., which is in my district, was awarded third place. Betsy, as she is known to me and to her other friends has brought deserving honor to herself, her family, and to Barnstable High School where she is a senior. It is a pleasure to see compassion for the handicapped and admiration for their achievements in one so young, and I offer her prize-winning essay, in its entirety, for inclusion in the RECORD:

How difficult it must be for the man on crutches to stand out in his community, for the blind to lead, for the deaf to teach. How insurmountably high must the walls of prejudice and superstition seem to the handicapped. Yet many of these people continue to climb, to achieve, to contribute.

In my town there is a man whose legs did not continue to develop as the rest of his body grew. As a television repairman he has made an asset of his disability, his short legs allowing him to crawl into small, awkward places. The fact that he is supporting himself is, of course, a contribution to our community. An even greater contribution, however, is his work with the Boy Scouts. As a patrol leader he has shown his boys that difficulties can yield to the enterprising.

The victim of wounds received during World War II, a successful dentist with an artificial leg is active in church, and civic affairs in the town, as is a real estate broker who was partially disabled in a car accident several years ago. With help of family and friends, one woman crippled by arthritis participates in community organizations as frequently as possible.

Another man, well known to our town both for his achievements and talents, is blind. Formerly an assistant professor of music at a large university in this State, he holds degrees from several schools, has written, composed, and lectured, and has given organ concerts abroad. He is probably known best to my community though, as the head of a singing group which has toured the United States, and France, as founder and president of a conservatory of music and the arts in our area, and as professor of music at the college in my town.

Families on welfare both in my town and in a neighboring town thank a woman handicapped by a withered arm for helping to lift their burden. On welfare herself, she supplies these families with food and services donated by local businessmen and runs a used clothing exchange. By acting as middleman she brings many things to these people which might otherwise be impossible for them to get. Her profits are completely spiritual.

The principal of the elementary school in a neighboring town is totally deaf in one ear and partially deaf in the other. His lip-reading ability enabled him to teach and now helps him to supervise at the school. In his early 40's, he is presently taking courses to obtain his master's degree in education, and looks forward to many more years of helping to teach the children of his village. He is active in many community affairs and is a member of the board of trustees at his church.

One of the most valuable contributions to my community by a handicapped person is a recollection. Our village was proud to have as a resident an outstanding young man who was a school, church, and civic leader, and recipient of the Eagle Scout award and several scholastic honors. Suffering from cystic fibrosis, he was not yet 21 when he died last year. We remember the high standards this boy set both for himself and for his acquaintances. We remember the example he set and try to live up to it.

Not all handicapped contributors are physically disabled. Members of a group of mentally retarded teenagers have also contributed to the community. This special class at my high school added a bright touch to the Christmas holidays both at the school and in Vietnam when they undertook the project of making greeting cards for our soldiers in southeast Asia. Several members of this group hold jobs and most help out around the school. They are indeed a credit to our community.

While these people are contributing to the community, they are also contributing to other handicapped people. Unfortunately, there are those who fear the handicapped, believing them to be victims of the wrath of God. Others eye the handicapped with antipathy, calling them misfit, malformed spongers, and half men who can take only half responsibility.

By contributing to the community the handicapped help to erase these false images. They are helping to tear down the barriers which hold other talented handicapped people back, thus again adding to the community.

We should learn by the fine examples which many of our handicapped people are setting that we should not look down on a man because he is handicapped, but should look up to him because he contributes despite his handicap. For it is as the ancient Greek philosopher Epictetus said, "It is difficulties which show what men are."

Where Do We Go From Here, Mr. Wirtz?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Salinas (Calif.) Californian, Apr. 20, 1966]

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE, MR. WIRTZ?

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz and his hired hand, Governor Edmund G. Brown, now are reaping the harvest of their unwise termination of the bracero program last year—higher consumer prices, a shortage of farmworkers, the overburdening of schools by children of migrant laborers, soaring welfare costs, and increased imports of farm products from Mexico.

All of these possibilities were pointed out to Secretary Wirtz and Governor Brown time and again by California growers last year but they went unheeded. Wirtz stubbornly plowed ahead, laying the groundwork for the chaos in which agriculture now finds itself on the eve of another growing season.

Consumer prices will increase because of the additional costs to farmers who this year will be forced to pay added costs for labor to cover not only the going wage, but also the added benefits for domestic labor.

Again this year there is no assurance that there will be enough migrants to harvest the crops. When bracero labor was available, growers were assured of adequate labor. But now there is no certainty that enough hands will be available to harvest the crop particularly with the aversion of the domestic workers to do what is known as "stoop labor."

The labor Secretary continually has harped on the theme that California had adequate help last year despite the loss of the braceros. But an Associated Farmers of California bulletin points out that during the first 10 months of 1965 U.S. Government figures showed that 52,748 wetbacks were caught by the border patrol. Add approximately 35,000 green card Mexican workers plus the braceros Wirtz permitted to come in and it's obvious that it was not a new-found domestic force of workers who harvested the California crops.

The statements by Brown and Wirtz were made before all the facts and figures of the 1965 season were in. The Crop and Livestock Reporting Service's yearend report showed a reduction of 42,000 acres of land devoted to melons and vegetables. This report also showed a drop of $55 million in the value of all crops.

Taxpayers will be hard hit because additional funds will be needed to provide schooling for children of migrants who will flood school districts already unable to keep pace with local growth needs. Migrants will be taking advantage of the educational facilities offered in the districts without presenting anything in return. They will pay no property taxes, which means they will contribute nothing from this district level to the schools. Almost amusing were the first hurt bleats that came out of Sacramento because agriculture was going to dump "without notice" all those migrant children on the school districts.

If those who complained didn't get the word they must be the only people in the world who didn't. For many years, agricultural leaders had predicted this would happen if the braceros were removed. We know for a fact that Congress, the President, Governor Brown, and the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture were warned time and time again by agriculture.

Monterey County knows from experience, the welfare load already has been heavy and will get heavier. The type of domestic worker available will have to bring his family to the harvest area and is likely to remain after there is no work to do, thus becoming dependent on the welfare operations of the county. This is in contrast to the bracero who was imported at harvest time worked, collected his pay, and returned to his homeland during the off season.

Finally, there is the problem of a shift of production from California to Mexico because of high labor costs. Senator GEORGE MURPHY pointed out at a recent hearing that in 1964 a total of $4,765,000 worth of strawberries, cantaloup, and oranges came into the United States from Mexico. This compares with $232,000 worth in 1956.

With all these facts available the Federal Government has taken no action to correct the situation created by Wirtz.

And even Governor Brown has been reluctant. Finally, however, when policies (geared to the Delano march on Sacramento) dictated, he came out in support of measures proposed to provide financial aid to districts hit by the influx of migrant children. However, the funds are not yet available and will come from a bond issue not yet approved by State voters.

But what can growers expect from Washington and Sacramento administrations "zeroed in" on a course of punitive treatment of California agriculture, the State's greatest industry?

Lake Erie Being Choked to Death by Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues Barbara Tufty's luminous exposition of the gradual, but persistent, death of Lake Erie.

In the April 23 Buffalo Evening News Miss Tufty brilliantly traces the life of Lake Erie from the ice age to 50 years in the future.

Her primary task is not to place the burden of pollution on anyone in particular, but rather to delineate the evolution of Lake Erie from a clear and glowing body of rich water resources to a murky and lifeless lake which is now so decayed that any thought of using without first subjecting it to complex sewerage treatment is barred from the imagination.

We all know what pollution has done to our vast water resources. And we all realize that in addition to recent concentrated willingness to fight stagnation and pollution, there is still much that needs to be done.

Miss Tufty's article imbues in the reader an even greater repulsion and disgust with the deplorable condition of our lakes and rivers which have become the norm rather than the exception. And she instills an even greater desire to enact additional meaningful legislation and intensified efforts on everyone's part to reduce pollution and clean up the already heavily polluted waters.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD Miss Tufty's commendable article for all to read in its entirety. Her portrait of Lake Erie, though bleak, holds open for the future revitalized efforts to halt water pollution and a semblance of former vitality and beauty:

LAKE ERIE BEING CHOKED TO DEATH BY WASTE

(By Barbara Tufty)

The vast sheet of inland water lies still and flat, reflecting the sky with a dull silver sheen like molten lead. Waves lap listlessly along the shore, sucking in and out among slimy green rocks, deserted filthy beaches and oily pilings of lonely piers.

No gull wheels and cries overhead, seeking rest and food from the lake—nor any duck, crane, or other water bird. Farther back from the lakeshore, once lively cottages and motels stand empty, with "for sale" signs stuck on pikes in the front yards.

Beneath the surface of the lake, there seems no visible life. There are few shining fish, eels, or turtles. The waters are a murky green, choked with algae and tiny organisms that thrive on the rich nutrients dumped into the water.

As these crowded living things grow, then die and decay, they absorb the lifegiving oxygen from the water, thus destroying desirable creatures like whitefish, lake trout and pickerel, and encouraging coarser fish, the leeches and other unpleasant forms of life.

Large patches of oil, chemicals, trash and sewage float desolately on the water's surface, an affront to sight and smell. Foaming, evil-smelling yellowish windrows blow and roll upon the shore.

This is Lake Erie—a wasteland, a lifeless body of water that has lost its sparkle and vitality, and is being hastened to its wretched, fetid death by man's effluent wastes and increasing activities.

POLLUTION

The large industrial cities along the American side of Lake Erie account for the lake's biggest problem—pollution.

Detroit adds waste from its automotive industries, from its steel, chemical, pulp and paper plants, and from petroleum refining.

Toledo dumps in leftovers from its automotive, glass, petroleum, and steel industries.

Cleveland contributes acids, oils, cyanides, and pherol from steel, automotive, and chemical plants.

Erie has pulp and paper wastes.

Buffalo contributes its pollution from its steel, chemical, portland cement plants, and flour mills.

To all this is added everyday refuse from the populated cities—disease-carrying human sewage; meat and vegetable wastes from houses, restaurants and packing plants; house detergents and small but lethal amounts of insecticides and sprays.

Every day, 10 million people help dump more than 18,000 tons of sewage, chemicals, fertilizers, and sediment into the lake, clogging and polluting the waters and speeding its death.

No other comparable body of water is undergoing such treatment and deteriorating so rapidly. Commercial fishing has almost disappeared, beaches are closed by health officials, residents who can, are moving from the area, and no tourists are signing up for summer boating, fishing, or swimming.

Men are beginning to realize with horror their roles in murdering the lake, and are setting up research projects and studies to "do something" about the problem. Yet even with Federal, State, private, and individual awareness, the situation is getting worse. As yet there is no truly effective operation in sight and it will be some time before things can get moving efficiently.

To clean up Lake Erie alone, researchers estimate a cost of billions of dollars. Even if all the rivers flowing into the lake were freed of contaminating material, it still would take about 20 years to flush Lake Erie clean. The situation will get worse before it gets better.

Every fresh-water lake is like a living individual. It is born, it grows, it breathes in a sense, and slowly dies a natural death. Through the ages, a lake slowly fills with dust and sediment and reeds and water plants begin to accumulate in shallow waters. An outlet stream may cut through the side of a lake and drain out the water, turning the lake into a swamp. Gradually swamp plants give way to sturdier plants of drier soil, and eventually the lake is dry land.

Thus all lakes die a natural death. The United States has lost perhaps half the lakes it had 12,000 years ago.

During its lifetime, a lake is a vital entity, not a passive object. It is a moving body of water, sensitive and responsive to the winds, the rains, the gravitational pull of the sun and moon, the blowing of seeds and dust, the flight of birds.

The lake shifts, swells with the tides, responds to its nourishing rivers, streams and springs. Like a great wondrous breathing body, it spawns its share of water creatures, protects others, and in turn nourishes men and land animals with its life-giving liquids.

In its vitality a lake endures shocks and insults, and is able to encompass the wastes and filth thrown into it. The waters assimilate the mess, help it decompose into other harmless chemicals, disperse it and then are able to return fresh sparkling waves to the land from which the pollutants come.

Yet there is a limit to a lake's capacity. As greater concentrations of people and industry pour more wastes into the water, the lake eventually becomes saturated, and is unable to purify itself. As the natural process of death is hastened, evil smells and sights begin to appear and suddenly man realizes the lake needs help to survive.

Of the five Great Lakes, Lake Erie is the first to be murdered. Lake Michigan is next in line. Lake Superior, the farthest north and least industrialized, is in the best condition. Lake Huron has no large cities and industries discharging wastes, and Lake Ontario, the smallest, has no immediate problem.

Lake Erie is the oldest, southermost and warmest of the five Great Lakes. Only 241 miles long, it also has the smallest volume of water, with almost a 10,000-square-mile surface area. It is very shallow, with an average water depth of only about 58 feet, and at its deepest point is only 210 feet. This lake has always been treacherous, much like jittery water in a shallow pan, and winds and tides can quickly build up waves and choppy seas, overturning boats and confounding swimmers and fishermen.

Last year, the water level sank to the lowest point since recordkeeping began in 1860. This declining water has alarmed water specialists and forced cargo vessels to lighten their loads to avoid getting stuck in the mud.

Some of the most troublesome wastes are phosphates from detergents and nitrates from industry and farmlands. Once in the lake, these nutritious chemicals promote the growth of algae and living organisms that use up the oxygen and suffocate the lake. This condition is called eutrophication or overfertilization.

Sometimes, when concentrated and thick enough, these sludgy elements can be dredged from the lake bottom, dried and turned back into the land as valuable fertilizers.

Even though pollution problems of the other lakes are less serious than those of Lake Erie, specialists are becoming more concerned over Lake Michigan, especially at the south end which is essentially a cul-de-sac, with little circulation and outlet for the polluted waters to flow.

Huge masses of fish and water birds have been killed, destroyed by the growing pollution.

A few years ago, Chicago officials and engineers worked a scheme whereby the Chicago River was made to flow backward in a southerly direction, and a sanitary canal was built. Now all the Chicago sewage effluent is carried down to the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers instead of being dumped on its own lakeshores.

Greater efforts are being made to clean the lakes and study the sources of pollution and their control. Water pollution is a many-headed tiger, involving such basic but different facets of life as water, health, agriculture, industry, and recreation—agencies often at odds with each other.

Federal, State, and municipal authorities are being forced to face the problem, as more and more voters are beginning to realize what is happening. As their recreation grounds, fishing spots, boating areas, and beaches are curtailed, these people are bringing pressure on industries and cities to help clean up the mess.

The cleaning bill is not small. Industries are having a hard time trying to justify spending money on pollution research and on expensive equipment such as filters, chemicals and processing plants, where once they merely dumped all their waste into the nearest water.

The Federal Government spends several million dollars each year on the Great Lakes pollution problem. Canadians are putting money into research, equipment, and enforcement, starting by cleaning up the interior of the land, so that when they work down to the lake, clear water will be flowing behind them.

The International Joint Commission and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have pollution studies underway. The University of Michigan devotes about $1 million a year to Great Lakes research, and the University of Toronto's Great Lakes Institute spends about $500,000.

Conferences and congresses are drawing more topnotch specialists into particular problems. The Ninth Great Lakes Conference at Chicago recently drew 500 scientists to discuss their research and ideas.

Recommendations are underway on such projects as making cities treat sewage to reduce the pollutants, prohibiting combined storm and sanitary sewers in all newly developed urban areas, prohibiting disposal of garbage and trash in the lake, and removal of existing dumps along riverbanks and shores.

By 1968, according to the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, industries must improve their treatment of such wastes as acids, oil, nitrogenous and phosphorus compounds, and foam-producing discharges.

It has even been suggested that the flow of water toward James Bay in Canada be reversed to divert fresh water into the lakes and flush them out.

The Great Lakes have celebrated over 1 million birthdays, having probably been born during the Ice Age. Their birth pangs were long and laborious, for the immense glaciers descending over the broad lowlands of the North American continent were not gentle, as they gouged and grooved the earth with their crushing weight of ice and rock.

As the snow, ice, and freezing cold of the glaciers finally retreated, the gouged-out depressions were filled with melting ice water. Plants, animals, and then men began to creep over the once frozen land and inhabit it.

For centuries prehistoric men and great tribes of the North American Indians roamed the shores of the inland lakes—the Eries, Iroquois, Hurons. Then came the paleface, pushing the Indians back and taking over the land with their forceful weapons and tools.

Lake Erie was the last of the Great Lakes to be discovered by the Europeans. Louis Joliet found it in 1669 while making his way around hostile Iroquois territory.

Soon the lakes were used as trade routes for trappers, voyagers, and settlers. Construction of the Erie Canal in 1819 brought streams of European immigrants, some of whom sailed across the lake to areas that were to become Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota while others stopped to strip the dense forests, till the land, and set up industries.

Rich coalfields of the Ohio Valley were unearthed, and the iron ranges of the upper lakes were mined. Steel industries began to crop up along Lake Erie, spewing soot into the air and wastes into the streams.

The lake became a busy thriving highway for traffic between New England and the growing West, and gradually the concentrations of people and industry grew to its present state. Experts estimate that the 10 million people of the lake area will be doubled in 50 years, all contributing to the deluge of municipal and industrial wastes, inundating the lake.

Perhaps by that time American ingenuity and drive will be handling the massive problems in massive manners, and strict regulations and controls will be doctoring the failing lake back to a semblance of its former health and beauty.

"What Handicapped Workers Are Contributing to My Country"—An Essay by Barbara Jean Chance, of Frankfort, Kans., First Place Winner in the Kansas Competition in the Essay Contest Sponsored by the President's Committee on the Employment of the Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, Barbara Jean Chance of Frankfort, Kans., was the Kansas winner in the essay contest sponsored by the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. As a State winner, she won a trip to Washington last week, and her essay tied for fifth on a national basis. She was accompanied by her teacher, Miss Thelma Morton, of Frankfort, and Mrs. Katherine Brawley, also of that city.

We in Kansas are certainly proud of Barbara's achievement and feel it pertinent to point out that Barbara's sister, Sondra, won a similar award in 1961.

Barbara's essay gives eloquent testimony to the slogan "Ability Counts" and I take pride in calling its message to the attention of my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that the award-winning essay by Barbara Jean Chance appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The essay follows:

WHAT HANDICAPPED WORKERS ARE CONTRIBUTING TO MY COMMUNITY

(By Barbara Jean Chance, Frankfort High School, Frankfort, Kans.)

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."[1] Last summer I was privileged to read these words molded into the iron of the Liberty Bell. Almost two centuries ago, this bell rang out the birth of a new nation. The Declaration of Independence gave the message that all men are created equal with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is difficult for the youth of my generation to realize the message of the Liberty Bell was ignored for years in regard to the physically handicapped. In our lives they function so normally as teachers, ministers, doctors, cartoonists, and on into an endless list. But through research, I have learned that in the past they were ridiculed and considered of no worth to society. Much progress has been made in changing this concept of the physically handicapped. Mankind is slowly but surely advancing to the time "when ability will be the key word, not disability; when opportunity will belong to all, not just some."[2]

As I survey our small rural community, I am amazed to find so many physically handicapped people. This should not be so surprising, considering that 1 out of every 10 Americans is physically handicapped.[3] These remarkable people are so well adjusted that they do not stand out as disabled individuals but as vital members of our community.

"Named as Leader of the Year—Awarded Trip to Washington, D.C.," these are common headlines seen in newspapers every day; but in our community, they held special significance. The farmer who had received these honors might have been a hopeless cripple today instead of a leader in our community. After he was married and had a small daughter, he was a victim of crippling polio. Through self-therapy he was able to walk again with crutches—and later with a cane. He resumed farming and served this community last year as county president of the Farm Bureau. This year he was named as one of the 10 Kansas Leaders of the Year and was awarded a trip to Washington D.C. This resourceful man is also a leader in his church. He is chairman of the board of trustees and serves as an elder. I asked him if he felt that his being handicapped had enabled him to live a more rewarding life than he might have otherwise. This was his answer; "I believe that a person can live a full life either way; it all depends on his attitude."[4] I was so impressed by his intelligent face, his inspiring philosophy of life, and his many contributions to my community, that I scarcely noticed his cane as he proudly walked away.

Throughout my community the contributions of the physically handicapped are clearly evident. If one needs overnight lodging, we have an excellent motel. The pleasant voice and the cheerful face that welcome you at the office belong to a polio victim. Although his lower limbs are paralyzed, he and his family contribute to the economic life of our community by caring for tourists. "From the Heart" is the title of a book of poems written by a lady who was bedfast for many years. Her poetry will always remind us of her undaunted spirit. One of the expert operators of heavy equipment in our community is a young man with only one hand. He has been so efficient at his job that he is now a supervisor. A seamstress in our community does enough to keep two ordinary people busy. Besides being an excellent homemaker, she teaches in church school. All this she accomplishes on crutches. The contributions of these individuals bear out the truth in Dr. Howard Rusk's theory; " A man can be truly crippled only in his mind."[5] The physically handicapped haye been able to make worthwhile contributions to my community because they have become physically and spiritually adjusted to their handicaps and have concentrated on their abilities that remain. My community has had the foresight to see beyond their handicaps and has given them equal opportunity.

Much remains to be done in your community and in mine. If our country is to remain a leader in the free world, we must first insure the rights of each individual; handicapped and able-bodied alike. The Liberty Bell proclaimed equal opportunity unto all men. Has your community heard the message?

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[1] The Bible, Leviticus 25: 10.

[2] Program Guide, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, 1960–61, p. 17.

[3] Program Guide, the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, 1960–61, p. 3.

[4] Mr. Howard Bronaugh, Frankfort, Kans., interview.

[5] Dr. Howard Rusk, New York Bellevue Medical Center.

Address to Council for Financial Aid to Education by Dr. Wallace Sterling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Wallace Sterling, president of Stanford University, is one of the Nation's most respected educators and his speeches are of national consequence.

On April 20, Dr. Sterling addressed the Council for Financial Aid to Education in San Francisco. I am pleased to include Dr. Sterling's remarks at this point in the RECORD. In my opinion this speech thoroughly explodes the mistaken theory that Federal funds have essentially eliminated the difference between public and private universities:

TALK BY WALLACE STERLING AT MEETING OF COUNCIL FOR FINANCIAL AID TO EDUCATION, APRIL 20, 1966

I am complimented to be here, not only to share the pleasure of your company but also to express my thanks for the leadership and work of the council for financial aid to education and for the gifts to education from American corporations.

I am complimented to be here for another and more personal reason. In the early 1950's, there was a commission on the financing of higher education. This commission had been proposed by the Association of American Universities and was financed by grants from the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations. As barely more than a freshman university president, I found myself a member of that commission. This was an experience of great value. It was almost like being pushed into deep water in order to ascertain whether or not I could swim. Another member of that commission was Mr. Crawford Greene. Between us there then began a friendship which time has strengthened and deepened, and I am gratified to be here today to acknowledge that friendship and to salute Mr. Greene for the work he has done for the council and for education.

The commission was a one-time thing—as commissions are prone to be. Its members were aware that in all of recorded history no commission report had ever become a best-seller, and it did not expect its report to be an exception. But it was anxious that some nongovernmental agency should be established which would concern itself with the financing of higher education. And its report so recommended. The council for financial aid became fulfillment of that recommendation.

I have just returned from 3 weeks in England. It is true that educational matters were not then making as many TV and newspaper headlines as were the aftermath of the national election, the Rhodesian problem, the worrisome condition of the national economy, or even the racing and football results. Yet there was ferment about education; there was concern about the number and quality of teachers; there was argument about the general certifying examination; there was speculation about what Lord Frank's report on Oxford—a report which has just gone to press—will have to say about that ancient institution; there was concern as to how the mounting needs of education, in a period of expanding enrollment, can be financed in competition with the needs of public transport, housing, and national health.

Already British universities derive 70 percent of their operating costs and 90 percent of their capital expenditures from the Treasury; and they need more. Among the several vice chancellors of universities with whom I spoke there is substantial anxiety—more than I have previously noted—that this financial dependence of the universities on the government will circumscribe their freedom.

I take the liberty of making this brief reference to Britain because I sense that universities in this country may have cause to be similarly anxious if they are not on guard.

Our nation's college and university enrollments have approximately doubled in the past 15 years, and may do so again in as many more years. Within this increase, the growth of graduate study is noteworthy. It is noteworthy as a thing in itself and because it is more costly in library and laboratory resources, because it places additional demands on quality instruction, and because so much of its product is of high value to business and industry and to government, as well as to education. And at a time when our society is asking our colleges and universities to teach more students, and to teach many more of them advance work, additional demands are placed on faculty—especially high quality faculty—for part-time governmental service at home and abroad.

There can be no doubt that higher education in this country will have to command more manpower and greater financial support if it is to do the job which society expect of it.

Whence will the financing come? Since the Korean war, the Federal Government, through its departments and agencies, has increasingly supported research in science and technology; and in the wake of the first Sputnik in 1957, it moved more strongly into student scholarship support through the National Defense Education Act. More recently it has supplied funds, usually on a matching basis, for research and library facilities. Federal dollars in support of these programs have been made available to universities in both the public and private sectors of American higher education.

The research dollars have made some of our institutions much stronger academically and have greatly advanced knowledge and therefore benefited society. But they have added little, if any, financial strength to these institutions. Indeed, Federal research contracts with universities have not fully paid indirect costs incurred by the universities in fulfilling the contracts, and there is still Federal insistence that the universities bear a share of these indirect costs. Universities have been subsidizing federally sponsored research. I believe that it is otherwise in the case of Federal research contracts with industry.

The Federal scholarship dollars have been of financial benefit to able students—and therefore to society—but not directly to the colleges and universities. The universities as such have benefited financially mainly from the funds for facilities.

Sometimes the Federal Government seems to act as if its right hand doesn't know what its other hands are doing. For instance, at this present time, while Washington is voicing its hopes to do more for education, there has been introduced into the Congress, House bill 8282. It was designed to amend and extend the Federal Unemployment Insurance Act. Buried in the bill was a section which would impose compulsory unemployment insurance tax on the payrolls of all nonprofit private institutions. It would not apply, however, to public universities and colleges.

This proposed legislation would cost the major private universities about $100 million. It would cost Stanford, for instance, more than $1¼ million. Because the great proportion of these funds could in no way be justified by the potential unemployment claims, it will not surprise you to learn, therefore, that we oppose the bill and are encouraging our sister institutions to do likewise. The issue is in doubt.

I mention these matters concerning the Federal Government because they affect the educational use which can be made of the dollars which universities receive from private donors, individual and corporate. If some of the dollars which you and I give to higher education go to subsidize Federal research or go to pay for unemployment insurance in the private sector only, it behooves us to know it. Federal legislation of this sort can affect the use of the gift dollar just as tax legislation can affect the capacity of the giver to give. And it would behoove the Federal Government to bear in mind that it costs a university much less to collect and apply a gift dollar than it does the Government to collect and apply a tax dollar.

Another source of financing higher education—and a very important source—is, of course, the tax dollars that flow to our State universities and colleges from their respective State governments. These dollars are inadequate.

State funds are withheld from the financing of some facilities and enterprises which public universities need and should be able to justify as a levy on tax funds. When these funds are withheld, the public institutions have no recourse but to go without or seek private support. And, although the total national private support for education has increased and must continue to increase, let there be no misunderstanding about the fact that in any given year it is not infinite, and the greater the share which goes to the public sector, the lesser the share to the private sector. So the dollars withheld by the State governments from the needed support of State colleges and universities can also affect the use made by these institutions of the gift dollars they receive.

Over the years, I have argued that there is great value and strength in the diversity of American higher education. I have argued also that the complementary relations of the public and private sectors of American higher education are likewise of great value, and I will continue to do so, because I believe that their relationship should be complementary. But in recent years, spokesmen for the public sector—in this and other States—have put an unnecessary strain on this relationship. They have advanced an argument so spurious as to deserve burial without honor.

This argument dwells on the flow of Federal dollars to our major institutions, both public and private, and attempts to foist the conclusion that because both sectors receive Federal funds, there is little difference in the financing of the two sectors. How spurious can an argument be? It pays no heed to the main and regular tax support which the public sectors receives—namely from State governments; it pay no heed to the tuition differential. And when this unworthy argument is used as justification for the public institutions' solicitation of private support, it deceives the prospective donor and demeans the solicitor. The public sector has better justification than this for seeking the private support it receives from foundations, corporations, and individuals.

Still another source of financing education is the immediate consumer himself—those who pay fees. There is a noble tradition in this country that the door of educational opportunity should be open to those whose incentive and ability entitle them to walk through it. That is why we have had tuition-free elementary and secondary schools, low student fees in State colleges and universities, and scholarship funds in colleges and universities of both high and low tuition. But the public sector of higher education has been re-examining its fee structure and in my view has much more re-examination to do. If those individuals who can afford to carry a substantial share of the cost of their own education—be it in either sector—are not expected and asked to do so, then our total support for education is thereby diminished. I believe that the collection of higher fees in our public institutions, coupled with an enhanced scholarship program financed from the percentage of these higher fees may very well be practicable, and that it would increase financial resources while essentially preserving the tradition opportunity.

Finally, may I mention private giving. This philanthropy is not limited to dollars. It includes the time, talent and interest which thousands of men and women devote to many worthy causes—of which education is probably preeminent. This philanthropy is personafied by the people in this room. Over the years it has created our great charitable foundations; it has built up the endowment of our colleges and universities, and of other nonprofit institutions. And it provides annual sustenance as well, through annual giving. For the year 1964–65, private donors, individual and corporate, contributed about $1½ billion toward total higher educational expenditures of about $9.2 billion—or 16.9 percent of the total. It is this giving which greatly nourishes the private sector of American higher education and enhances the strength of the public sector.

The recipients of this benefaction have reason to be grateful—as they are. They also have, in my view, a set of obligations—not least of all to corporate donors. One of these obligations is to state clearly what their needs are, and why. Such statements will vary from institution to institution. For some institutions at a given period of time the high priority need might be for bricks and mortar money, for another it might be unrestricted funds for improvement of faculty salaries or addition of faculty. Whatever the needs are, they should be stated clearly and, if possible, in the context of past accomplishments.

Another obligation is to account for the stewardship of funds received. The accounting for such stewardship is not as simple as it may appear to be to a donor who, understandably, wants the satisfaction of knowing in some particular how this contribution benefited the institution which received it. It is one thing—and very agreeable too—to be able to report to a corporate donor, for instance, that its unrestricted gift of $25,000 was used as seed money for the rebuilding of a given department, how it helped to attract other gifts of ever greater magnitude and how, well within a decade, that department had developed from mere adequacy to a position of great national, even international, distinction. And, may I say, Mr. Chairman, that this illustration is not hypothetical; it is an actuality of my own experience. Such a report is specific. It reads as a particular return on a particular investment and as such affords particular satisfaction.

By comparison, a report on the use of unrestricted gifts for the general improvement of faculty salaries or for additions of general endowment, can hardly be as particular, and may therefore afford less particular satisfaction. Yet such use of unrestricted gifts is vital to the sustenance and strength of a university.

Still another obligation, directly related to good stewardship, is the efficient use of money: how to get maximum mileage out of it. To this end a college or university must have an eye to the economy of its operations, and often that eye can improve its vision by consulting a specialist—in this case, a specialist in management drawn from the corporate world of business. It is pleasant to be able to report to donors that an annual saving of $100,000 or $200,000 has been achieved by applying the recommendations of a management consultant.

And an obligation, which is certainly not least important, has to do with saying "thank you." None of us likes to be taken for granted. How often have we heard the observation about our national foreign aid program that its beneficiaries fail to evince appreciation, or, what is perhaps more irritating, fail to use the benefaction to really good purposes. And whenever the thank you can be accompanied by an account of how the gift was used, so much the better.

I mentioned at the outset that I have just returned from England. We are all familiar with the system of primogeniture whereby hereditary titles are passed on to the eldest son, and to his eldest son, and so on. Have you ever paused to consider the plight of the younger son and brother? Each year many of these younger brothers in Britain have a dinner at a historic club in London. Before the meal, grace is said as follows: "For what we might have received may the Lord make them truly thankful."

Universities, like the oldest sons, would be well advised to be truly thankful for what they have received and to make their thanks known. Now let me conclude.

Education is a powerful engine. It moves into society the greatest resource we have—manpower with knowledge and special training. Such manpower has over the centuries rolled back, and in some instances dispelled, the fog of ignorance and prejudice; it has charted new horizons of knowledge about the physical world and thereby contributed greatly to material progress and abundance; it has waged war on disease and eased the pain and anguish of human suffering.

It has done all these things and more. Yet education as an institution, like you and me as individuals, must not be taken for granted. It too needs recognition and sustenance. It is a powerful engine, but it must be fueled if it is to produce energy. Its needs for financial fueling have never been greater, and these needs will increase. As a nation we must look to all available sources of such fuel.

That is why I have mentioned the Federal Government as one source, and tried to explain all too briefly and inadequately, the nature and complications of its support of higher education; that is why I have mentioned the State governments as another source, the greatest regular source of support for the public sector, and some of the present limitations of that source.

That is why I have mentioned the immediate consumer and suggested that his ability to pay for what he receives be included as another and important source of support, regardless of which sector of higher education is involved. And that is why I have mentioned private philanthropy and the increasing value and importance of corporate giving as another source.

If private giving were to dry up as a result of personal or corporate indifference or as the result of shortsighted punitive tax legislation, or for any other reason, the diversity which is the strength of American higher education would eventually die and with its death one of the great bulwarks of educational freedom would be circumscribed and opportunities for educational innovation would be diminished. The burden of support would fall on government, and education would find itself, as has happened in Britain, in more critical competition with other national and popular needs.

I suggest to you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, that this should not be allowed to happen in these United States. I urge you therefore not to be indifferent, but to continue to be alert in your attention to the needs of education, and as generous as possible in your support of it.

Loyalty Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech which I recently delivered in Gardner, Mass., in my district, on the occasion of the very impressive Loyalty Day program conducted there under the auspices of the Ovila Case Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars:

REMARKS IN PART OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN, LOYALTY DAY PROGRAM, GARDNER, MASS., MAY 1, 1966

When I received the kind invitation from my esteemed friend, junior vice commander Mimi Canu, of the famous Ovila Case Post, VFW, to attend your Loyalty Day exercises, it came to me virtually as a command, and I am very happy, highly privileged, and proud to be with you.

Your great post is one of the outstanding veterans' organizations in the country, and it is not at all surprising to me that your esteemed leadership should institute and arrange these fine exercises here today.

For what is more appropriate, especially in these days of crisis, strife, and conflict in the world than a Loyalty Day celebration to bring our people together in a concourse and outpouring of love, devotion, and fidelity for our great country and the liberties which it guarantees to every American, and to every person that dwells within its borders.

Loyalty, like courage, is one of the great qualities of the human heart, and a person or nation lacking in complete loyalty is poor indeed. As Americans, we can be thankful to the good Lord, to the Founding Fathers, to countless generations of Americans, to our parents and our teachers, that the spirit of loyalty has been engendered to such a remarkable degree in our country, and that it has been demonstrated time and time again in the daily affairs of our people, and especially in times of crisis and danger when we have rallied together to defend our heritage and protect our freedoms.

It is very appropriate, my friends, that we should gather here to reaffirm our allegiance to the ideals and principles of the country and demonstrate our loyalty and unity of purpose in protecting our free institutions.

We are living in a period of upset, contradiction, doubt, and fear. On the one hand, we observe the unprecedented growth and development of our national economy, which has reached a high all-time peak of prosperity, with most of our fellow citizens employed and business conditions better than they have ever been.

On the other hand, we are engaged in a bitter and bloody conflict far away from the shores of the United States testing our strength of purpose to establish peace and freedom against determined enemies seeking to spread tyranny in the world, and extend the boundaries of world communism.

Certainly, no one can doubt the powerful commitments of this Nation to the cause of just, enduring, international peace. Peace with freedom is indeed the great issue of our time. It is ardently desired, not only by the American people, but by all peoples of the world, except the tyrants who are intent upon imposing the iron shackles of communism upon other nations.

Lord knows, we have been and are striving for peace with every ounce of our being. Time and time again we have pleaded for peace, unilaterally, and in concert with other nations.

Our President, who is in charge of foreign policy, has most energetically sought peace, and is urgently seeking it at this very hour, and the same is true of the Congress, the representatives of the people, and practically everyone else in the country.

Notwithstanding these sincere, long-continued efforts for peace, our pleas, our appeals, our united efforts have met with stony silence from Hanoi, Red China, and most other parts of the Communist world.

Religious leaders, many nations, groups and organizations, including great religious personages and the United Nations itself, which was established to promote peace, have joined in the appeals for peace but, unfortunately, to no avail. There is no response from the Communists of the area involved who even now, as we talk, are intent upon and engaged in trying to impose their tyranny upon helpless peoples.

Time and time again, our Nation has offered to engage in unconditional negotiations for peace, but the answer has been the same—no response—no willingness to confer—no expressed desire for peace—nothing but the continuance of unabated aggression agaist the weak and the helpless.

The fires of discontent and rebellion, violence, strife, and warfare against existing institutions are raging in many parts of the world, and the Communist perpetrators are moving with vigor, strength, and every resource across a very broad front, embracing both the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres to overthrow freedom and substitute the trappings of the tyrannical police state of communism.

Only the great strength and power of this country, standing almost alone these days, is stopping this evil, aggressive movement from sweeping toward further world conquest.

That is the issue in Latin America, in Africa, in East Berlin, and that is the issue in Vietnam, where gallant American boys are fighting, yes, and dying, to hold back the hordes moving by infiltration and force to trample over small, helpless people seeking to be free, and pressing their conquest, not only to all of Asia, but ultimately to the rest of the world, as they are committed to do. To remain unmoved by these events, would be for this Nation to invite disaster.

Americans deplore and regret the necessity for our current involvement in this bloody conflict but most Americans know what the issues are—they know that freedom, liberty, security, safety, and survival are at stake.

They know that, if hard-core Communists once learn, as a result of our appeasement and lack of purpose and weakness, that they could successfully conduct aggressions against the weak and the helpless without opposition, they will run madly through much of the world, just as other despots and tyrants have done in the past, bringing destruction, desolation, conquest, and slavery everywhere, until they have achieved their aim of dominating all freedom-loving nations.

If there is a peaceful answer to this present conflict this Government has tried hard enough to find it. Our leaders have worked day and night to secure the peace, yet these feverish appeals have gone unheeded and unanswered.

None of us have any way of knowing what the future will bring, but we pray that it will be peace and understanding at an early date, even as we contemplate the apparatus of oragnized world Communists, as they join hands to test out the strength of our purpose to stand against their aggression, their designs, their moves toward our defeat and the conquest of the world.

For they know, as I think most Americans well know, that if we do not stand up firmly, and if we appease and retreat and give way to ruthless violence and oppression of the weak and the lowly, we may well face the greatest dangers of all and be confronted with escalated war, not only in Asia, but in other parts of the world that would threaten and endanger our security and very existence as a free nation.

Under the circumstances now confronting us, and until such time as the current situation changes, we are compelled to choose the way this Nation has always chosen in the past, the way that will best protect our liberties, insure our freedom, guard our security and defend our blessed land, the way of peace through strength and liberty, through our resolute will to protect the spiritual values of this unmatched democratic system and our way of life.

Let us make it clear that this Nation is firm in its determination to protect our heritage in every way that this may be required, with all our strength and power in behalf of the freedoms we love, and the just peace we seek, which we trust and pray is close at hand.

Let me congratulate you upon this great occasion, which reaffirms our loyalty to our country, and all it stands for, arouses us to the dangers that confront us, so that we may be all the more determined to face up to these crucial problems with courage, devotion, and unflinching resolution as Americans have always done.

I commend and thank Ovila Case Post and the city of Gardner upon this thrilling and moving inspiration of Loyalty Day. Let us stand united for freedom, peace, and justice in the Nation and the world. And may the light of peace soon dawn upon us.

Thank you very much.

Statement of National Milk Producers Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I think the proposal to more than double the import quota for Cheddar cheese over the next 15 months is entirely unjustified and unfair. I have gone on record with the Tariff Commission to that effect. The statement submitted to the Tariff Commission by the National Milk Producers Federation is, in my opinion, factual and convincing and I submit it herewith:

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL MILK PRODUCERS FEDERATION BEFORE THE U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION IN THE MATTER OF SUPPLEMENTAL INVESTIGATION TO INVESTIGATION NO. 6, UNDER SECTION 22 OF THE AGRICULTURE ADJUSTMENT ACT, AS AMENDED, WITH RESPECT TO CHEDDAR CHEESE, AND CHEESE AND SUBSTITUTES FOR CHEESE CONTAINING, OR PROCESSED FROM, CHEDDAR CHEESE

My name is Patrick B. Healy, assistant secretary, National Milk Prdoucers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C., and I am appearing on behalf of that organization.

The National Milk Producers Federation is a national farm organization. It represents dairy farmers and the dairy cooperative associations which they own and operate. Through these cooperative associations, farmers process and market the milk and butterfat produced on their farms. Practically every form of dairy product made in the United States is produced and marketed through cooperative associations represented by the federation. In addition, cooperative associations represented by the federation supply raw milk to dairy processing or manufacturing plants.

The National Milk Producers Federation very seriously considered the proposals at issue in this hearing and is opposed to any increase in import quotas for Cheddar cheese, either temporary or for an indefinite period.

Import quotas under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, are intended to supplement the price support program, which is authorized by section 201 of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (7 U.S.C. 1446).

In announcing the increase in Cheddar cheese quotas for the remainder of this fiscal year, and the Tariff Commission study concerning the advisability of higher import quotas for Cheddar cheese for an extended or indefinite period, the Secretary stated in his release of March 31, 1966:

"The actions are in response to the decline in U.S. milk production that has taken place in recent months, and the rise in prices of cheese."

The National Milk Producers Federation submits that the decline in U.S. milk production and the rise in the price of cheese are not reasons for increasing import quotas for Cheddar cheese, under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

The Secretary of Agriculture recognized the need for stemming the tide of decreasing milk production when on the same day, March 31, 1966, he increased the minimum level of support for milk and dairy products. In commenting on the price support increase he stated:

"The dairy farmer, particularly those who produce milk for processing into butter, cheese, and other dairy products has been among the lowest paid for all producers. He earns a very modest return on his investment, and his income represents an equivalent wage averaging hardly more than 50 cents an hour, in most instances."

The action of the Secretary of Agriculture increasing the price support level for milk and butterfat, April 1, 1966, should preclude any increase in Cheddar cheese quotas, since the effect of increased imports would be to depress the farm price.

Agricultural legislation dating back to 1933 has consistently been aimed toward improving farm prices and farm income to a level consistent with other segments of the economy. The Agricultural Act of 1949 requires the Department of Agriculture, through the Commodity Credit Corporation, to maintain a purchase program for dairy products to assure prices to farmers at minimum levels between 75 and 90 percent of parity, necessary to assure an adequate supply.

The purpose of the Agricultural Act of 1949, however, is clearly intended to result in parity prices to dairy farmers when supplies are not excessive.

Since enactment of the Agricultural Act of 1949, prices received by dairy farmers have been severely depressed, and supplies available have been such that the Department of Agriculture has purchased substantial quantities of Cheddar cheese, butter, and nonfat dry milk to support the farm price.

Table No. 1, attached to this statement, sets forth the parity equivalent prices for manufacturing milk, the minimum support levels established by the Department of Agriculture, and the average prices received by farmers by marketing years since April 1951.

Table No. 2, attached to this statement, shows the volume of products purchased by USDA in an effort to bolster farm prices by calendar years, beginning in 1950. This table also shows the percentage of butterfat and skim milk purchased as dairy products by the Department of Agriculture in an effort to support the farm price.

When the price support programs were enacted Congress recognized that import controls would be required to prevent imports from unduly burdening and disrupting the programs. These controls were provided in section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (7 U.S.C. 624). This policy has been maintained by Congress for more than 30 years.

As recently as 1962, Congress reaffirmed its position in this respect by writing into the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the following provision:

"Nothing contained in this act shall be construed to affect in any way the provisions of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, or to apply to any import restriction heretofore or hereafter imposed under such section" (sec. 257(h)).

Congress has made it very clear in section 22 that foreign trade programs and policies are not to override the programs which Congress has set up for American agriculture. Subsection (f) of section 22 provides in unequivocal terms that:

"No trade agreement or other international agreement heretofore or hereafter entered into by the United States shall be applied in a manner inconsistent with the requirements of this section."

The present wording of this subsection was adopted in 1951, and it applies directly to commitments to foreign nations respecting imports into this country. This positive and forceful statement of congressional policy is further emphasized by the fact that the 1951 amendment reversed an amendment of 1948 which would have prohibited the use of section 22 controls in contravention of a foreign trade agreement.

Section 22 carries its own provisions which make allowances for the interests of importers and of foreign nations. These provide that imports may not be reduced below 50 percent of the level which prevailed in a representative period. Beyond this, Congress has made it quite clear in section 22 that American agriculture and American agricultural markets may not be traded away by the Secretary of Agriculture or the State Department, or any other Government agency for considerations of foreign trade or foreign policy.

Neither can the Tariff Commission properly consider matters of foreign policy in determining whether a given level of imports would interfere with our domestic agricultural programs.

In effect, Congress has wisely withdrawn American agriculture from the bargaining table of international intrigue.

Section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act clearly and forcefully forbids interference by imports with the agricultural programs authorized by Congress. An integral and important part of the programs so authorized for milk and dairy products, and for other commodities as well, is the eventual attaining and maintaining of parity prices for farmers.

Congress did not intend by section 22 to permit imports to strike a program down each time it showed an inclination to rise above the minimum floors. On the contrary, an agricultural program has not really accomplished its goal until the industry has been able to rise above the support floor and maintain itself above the floor prices.

If imports are to be increased each time a support program shows some improvement, then all efforts to get an industry on its own feet become quite hopeless. In such a case, the minimum floor set by law and the action of the Secretary of Agriculture becomes the ceiling above which the industry can never hope to rise.

In evaluating the present supply in relation to the demand for milk and dairy products, we must consider not only purchases by Commodity Credit Corporation, but related Government actions and programs which have a bearing on the milk supply.

The purchase of stocks by the Commodity Credit Corporation is not the whole agricultural program for milk and dairy products. Increased use of milk and dairy products by the military forces and veterans hospitals, the school lunch program, the special milk program, the use of section 32 funds, and other less direct programs are all a part of the overall agricultural program, the objective of which is parity.

It can readily be seen that purchases alone are not an accurate measurement of the supply-demand status of the dairy industry. The present balance between supplies and demand depends on a continuation of Government distributions programs and the maintenance of import quotas. Changes in the Government programs can have a substantial effect on directing more or less dairy products through the price support operation of Commodity Credit Corporation.

Any increase in import quotas for Cheddar cheese would adversely affect the market for milk. An increase in cheese quotas would depress the price of cheese and the farm price of milk much the same as an increase in milk production by an equivalent amount.

Although this hearing was called specifically to consider increases in quotas for Cheddar cheese, the effect of granting such increased quotas must be considered in relation to their effects on the farm price of milk and butterfat. Cheddar cheese is made from milk. The same milk used in the manufacture of Cheddar cheese can be used in the manufacture of any other dairy product. An increase in the cheese quota, then, would be the same as allowing for the importation of foreign produced milk, but granted entry only if made into Cheddar cheese. The importation of each pound of Cheddar cheese serves to displace a market for 1 pound of American produced cheese or a market for 10 pounds of American produced milk. Each pound imported when added to the supply within the United States would serve to depress the market price for cheese and the market price paid U.S. farmers for milk. This is contrary to the intent and purpose of the Agricultural Act of 1949, and of all other major agricultural legislation enacted since 1933.

In the passage of agricultural legislation the Congress recognized the importance of agriculture to the national economy and it recognized the significance of a sound domestic dairy industry. Milk production, and thus dairy farming, is among the largest segments of American agriculture, and is engaged in throughout the 50 States. A healthy dairy industry is vital to the interests of consumers since milk and dairy products account for nearly one-fourth of all food purchases.

Although the price support program for milk and dairy products establishes minimum prices at levels between 75 and 90 percent of parity, it is clearly the intent of Congress that farmers should receive full parity prices if dairy farmers, economicwise, are to be on a par with other segments of the economy.

The fact remains, even at this time, the farm price for manufacturing milk is substantially below the parity target. Any increase in quotas for cheddar cheese will have the effect of depressing farm prices at a time when farm prices are below parity.

The argument of the Department of Agriculture in its letter of March 31, addressed to the White House, is faulty. It states:

"From a preliminary examination of the domestic dairy situation there is reason to believe that additional quantities of cheddar cheese may be imported for a temporary period without causing material interference with the Department's price support programs for milk and butterfat."

The importance from the viewpoint of the Agricultural Act of 1949, is not interference or lack of interference with the Department's purchase program for milk and butterfat. Rather, it is the effect on prices paid farmers for manufacturing milk. It was because of the depressed prices being paid farmers for milk and the exodus of dairy farmers from milk production that the Secretary of Agriculture, on the very same day, increased the price support levels for manufacturing milk and butterfat.

Our foreign friends cannot be depended upon to supply the needs of the U.S. market. They seek access to our market only with their surplus production. If their products are needed at home, or if there are more attractive markets elsewhere, they will feel no obligation to supply the American consumer. American consumers must depend upon a healthy domestic dairy industry.

A temporary increase in quotas is not realistic. Such a temporary increase would merely serve to establish a new norm for additional quotas at later dates. The whole history of actions under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act has been toward increased quotas and the trend also has been toward increased imports in circumvention of the intent of section 22.

The need for import controls is no less today than when first authorized by Congress. Congress, through a series of enactments attempts to maintain a reasonable standard of living for all Americans, and the agricultural programs are aimed at insuring farmers that they will participate in the prosperity of the Nation on the same basis as others.

Farmers in the United States cannot pay U.S. costs of production and compete with surplus production made available by other nations. Any comparison of U.S. wage rates with those prevailing in other countries is sufficient to prove that American dairy farmers must have protection from imports. Any analysis of prices as between those paid in the domestic market for cheddar cheese or other dairy products with prices at which such products are offered by other countries will clearly demonstrate that import quotas are necessary.

The fact remains that cheddar cheese and other dairy products are made from milk. Any increase in quotas merely adds to the supply and depresses the U.S. farm price. Farm prices for manufacturing milk are well below parity, and it is the intent of Congress that such prices should attain parity. Milk production in the United States is declining at an alarming rate while there is need for more milk to meet the requirements of our expanding population.

At the moment, while milk production is relatively equivalent to market requirements, farmers, for the first time since the close of the Korean war, have an opportunity to participate in our affluent society as a fullfledged partner. However, this opportunity is being withheld from dairy farmers by a policy which will depress farm prices through such actions as permitting greater imports of dairy products from abroad.

The request for increases in quotas for cheddar cheese, therefore, should be denied in the interests of farmers, consumers, and the U.S. economy.

TABLE 1.—*Support levels and actual prices of manufacturing milk and butterfat, 1951–66*

Year beginning April	Manufacturing milk					Butterfat				
	Parity equivalent price per hundredweight	Support level		Actual price		Parity price per pound	Support level		Actual price	
		Per hundredweight	Percent parity equivalent	Per hundredweight	Percent parity equivalent		Per pound	Percent parity	Per pound	Percent parity
						Cents	*Cents*		*Cents*	
1951	$4.26	$3.60	85	$3.97	93	76.9	67.6	88	74.1	96
1952	4.22	3.85	91	4.00	95	75.8	69.2	91	71.6	94
1953	4.14	3.74	90	3.46	84	74.3	67.3	91	65.7	88
1954	3.96	3.15	80	3.15	80	74.3	56.2	76	57.3	77
1955	3.88	3.15	81	3.19	82	72.9	56.2	77	57.7	79
1956	3.92	3.25	83	3.31	84	73.5	[1] 58.6	80	60.0	82
1957	3.99	3.25	81	3.28	82	74.5	58.6	79	60.3	81
1958	4.08	3.06	75	3.16	77	75.5	56.6	75	59.1	78
1959	3.97	3.06	77	3.22	81	73.6	56.6	77	60.7	82
1960	4.01	[2] 3.06	76	3.31	83	74.0	[2] 56.6	76	61.1	83
		[3] 3.22	80				[3] 59.6	81		
		[4] 3.40	85				[4] 60.4	82		
1961	4.10	3.40	83	3.39	83	75.2	60.4	80	61.7	82
1962	[5] 4.17	3.11	75	[5] 3.20	77	77.0	57.2	74	59.0	77
1963	4.19	3.14	75	3.24	77	77.7	58.1	75	59.3	76
1964	4.23	3.15	74	3.30	78	78.0	58.0	74	59.0	76
1965	4.38	3.24	75	3.45	79	80.6	59.4	75	60.7	75
1966		3.50	78				61.6	75		

[1] Price increased from 56.2 cents effective Apr. 18, 1956.

[2] Apr. 1 to Sept. 16.

[3] Sept. 17, 1960, to Mar. 9, 1961.

[4] Mar. 10–31, 1961.

[5] Calculated on basis of 2 product series through October 1962 and manufacturing series from November 1962.

Source: USDA.

TABLE 2.—*Dairy products: Purchases by USDA for price support and related programs, 1950–65*

Calendar year	Butter	American cheese	Nonfat dry milk [1]	Whole milk equivalent of butterfat	Skim milk equivalent of solids, not fat	Purchases as percent of production	
						Butterfat	Skim milk
	Millions of pounds	*Millions of pounds*	*Millions of pounds*	*Millions of pounds*	*Millions of pounds*	*Percent*	*Percent*
1950	127.9	108.9	358.0	3,661	4,135	3.0	3.7
1955	162.4	150.0	536.0	4,780	6,220	3.9	5.3
1956	164.7	187.9	724.5	5,224	8,370	4.2	7.0
1957	173.5	241.5	825.3	5,809	9,641	4.7	8.0
1958	183.8	80.4	886.0	4,713	9,750	3.8	8.2
1959	123.7	57.3	830.3	3,214	9,085	2.6	7.7
1960	145.4	.3	852.8	3,112	9,132	2.5	7.7
1961	329.5	100.1	1,085.6	8,024	11,979	6.4	9.9
1962 [2]	403.2	214.3	1,386.2	10,748	15,611	8.5	12.9
1963 [2]	308.0	113.1	1,220.3	7,777	13,536	6.2	11.2
1964 [2]	331.7	129.2	1,168.8	8,464	13,043	6.7	10.7
1965 [2]	276.3	48.9	1,102.3	6,475	12,043	5.2	10.0

[1] Contracts for 1947 and prior years; delivery data 1948 forward.
[2] Includes P.I.K. shipments.

Source: USDA.

China's Crisis of Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, a most penetrating article regarding China appeared in the New York Times magazine, of Sunday, May 1, 1966. Written by Prof. Donald S. Zagoria, of Columbia University, the article, entitled "China's Crisis of Foreign Policy," explains that Communist China is now at the crossroads in the evolution of its foreign policy.

Professor Zagoria suggests that it may be easier for China to reconcile her differences with the United States rather than with the Soviet Union. For this reason, he says, the United States must develop a dynamic foreign policy to hasten change within China.

I include Professor Zagoria's article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CHINA'S CRISIS OF FOREIGN POLICY

(By Donald S. Zagoria)

The Chinese Communist regime today faces the most serious and far-reaching-policy crisis it has ever confronted. This crisis is of such magnitude as to have seriously weakened Peking's influence in the underdeveloped countries, cast doubt on the legitimacy of even its reasonable international aspirations, and greatly sharpened existing divergencies among Communist movements all over the world. It is a crisis which will not be resolved without basic changes in Chinese Communist policy—changes which may not come until after Mao Tse-tung's death, but which are bound to be made in the foreseeable future.

The dimensions of China's crisis are global. Wherever we look in Asia, Latin America and Africa, the Peking regime stands accused of unwarranted intervention and arrogance. Its representatives are asked to go home; its intentions are viewed with growing suspicion. Where Peking a year or two ago seemed ready to set up a new Communist international alliance of Afro-Asian-Latin-American parties, Chinese influence is now at an all-time low. Only three Communist parties, those in Albania, New Zealand, and Japan, joined the Chinese in boycotting the recent 23d party congress in Moscow. The very fact that Peking decided to boycott the congress, rather than use it as a forum for anti-Soviet propaganda, as it has used all other international Communist meetings in recent years, testifies to China's realization of its growing isolation within world communism.

Communist China's foreign-policy problems began in 1957 when Mao, incorrectly assuming that the Soviet development of an ICBM had wrought a decisive change in the world's balance of power, abandoned his previous caution and embarked on a more militant course to achieve his primary foreign-policy goals: elimination of U.S. military power from Asia, recapture of Taiwan and international recognition of Communist China as a great power.

To achieve his goals, Mao counted on Soviet nuclear power to compensate for China's natural weakness. This was the meaning of Mao's euphoric statement in the fall of 1957 that "the East wind now prevails over the West wind."

It soon became clear that the Soviet Union was unwilling to back Mao's ambitious aims at the risk of war with the United States. Quite to the contrary, it soon made overtures for a detente with the United States. The "spirit of Camp David" and Khrushchev's subsequent efforts to persuade Peking to accept a modus vivendi with the Chinese Nationalists in control of Taiwan pressed home to Mao the fact that the Russians could not be depended on to help push the United States out of Asia. This difference of approach to the U.S. presence is among the fundamental causes of the Sino-Soviet split and explains the bitterness of Chinese feelings toward the Soviet leadership.

Peking then turned to the underdeveloped countries, encouraging armed struggles that would pin down American power in a series of storm centers. Mao's plans could not be carried out, however, without replacing Soviet by Chinese authority in the Communist and leftist groups of Afro-Asia and Latin America. But this gambit has fallen flat all along the line: Radical nationalists receptive to Peking's game are disappearing from positions of power, and Communist parties in Africa, Asia and Latin America are deeply divided and increasingly disenchanted with Mao.

What amounts, then, to effective containment of Communist China has been accomplished primarily by Peking itself. In a few short years the Chinese leadership has split with the only other major Communist power in the world; it has alienated itself from the international Communist movement and from the emergent nationalist forces of the developing countries, and it has not only failed to attain most of its pressing national goals but it has even prejudiced them. The rumblings of discontent with Mao's policies are plainly audible in China today. If Mao were a British Prime Minister, he would by now have been "elevated" to the House of Lords.

These failures are essentially the result of an erroneous assessment of the forces at work in the underdeveloped world. National self-realization rather than instant social revolution or an anti-American crusade is the immediate goal sought by the new countries. Peking's mix of subversion, helpful revolutionary hints and polemics on the evils of imperialism has inevitably found only a limited market where economic development and nation-building are the primary concerns. By the same token, Peking cannot compete with Russia or the United States when it comes to economic and military aid.

Similarly, Peking's loss of influence in the international Communist movement is the direct consequence of Chinese intransigence. Mao's failure last year to cooperate in a Soviet plan to send a limited number of Russian troops into North Vietnam and to station Soviet fighter planes in southern Chinese airfields provides a striking example of Peking's unwillingness to accept realistic measures in a situation of deep concern to the international Communist movement.

By its proposal, Moscow had hoped to reassure China as to its physical security, discourage U.S. bombing of North Vietnam and, at the same time, exert pressure on all participants for negotiations in the Vietnamese situation. Peking promptly charged, however, that the Soviet leaders were out to make a "deal" with the Americans, and suggested instead that Soviet supplies to Vietnam be sent by sea and that the Russians open a "second front" in Europe, preferably in Berlin.

Moscow countered by accusing the Chinese of unwillingness to help take united action against imperialist aggression—an accusation which found a wide echo in many Communist parties. The suspicion is growing among them that Peking is more interested in humiliating the Russians than in helping Hanoi, and that it is willing to fight the Americans, to the last Vietnamese.

The extent of the crisis now facing the Chinese Communist leaders is dramatically pointed up in the now notorious statement made by Marshal Lin Piao last September,[1] Ironically, there are two—and only two—countries in the world where Lin Piao's revolutionary smörgasbord is regarded as possessing some kind of magic: One is China, the other is the United States.

Two interpretations of Lin Piao's statement are current in the West, and both miss the point. On the one hand, there are those who dismiss it as some kind of Peking version of July 4 oratory. On the other are those part-time Pekinologists who call this Lin Piao's "Mein Kampf," ignoring the fact that it is basically a rehash of what Chinese Communist leaders have been saying on and off since at least 1949.

The analogy with "Mein Kampf" comes, therefore, a little late. But, more important, it is also harmful and misleading because it equates Maoist and Nazi ideology in such a way as to evoke the specter of overt Chinese Communist military and territorial expansion in Asia. Yet neither in the Lin Piao statement nor in the multitude of similar statements made in the past is there any suggestion of Chinese Communist intentions to engage in direct, Hitler-style expansionism.

Indeed, a cardinal point of Lin Piao's message is that the Vietcong and other Communist revolutionaries throughout the world must make their revolutions on their own, that they should not count on Chinese or any other outside assistance. Far from giving notice of any intention to intervene aggressively, Lin Piao is rationalizing Peking's unwillingness to give substantial aid to the Vietcong in a struggle which—let there be no doubt—the Chinese Communists regard as just and which is taking place on their very borders.

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[1] Published in the Peking press, the statement made this typical point: "The countryside * * * alone can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory * * * encircling the cities from the countryside * * *. Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called the cities of the world, then Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute the rural areas of the world."

The difference between "Main Kampf" and Lin Piao's statement, then, is that "Mein Kampf" was a blueprint for what Germany herself, under Hitler, would do, while Lin Piao was recommending to other Communist parties what they should do.

However, most Communist parties now recognize that Lin Piao's advice is largely inappropriate to their local situations and they are not about to act on it. The ingredients of the Chinese Communist revolutionary model, long put forward as a do-it-yourself model for foreign Communists, are well-known: a disciplined Communist Party, a broad united front, a protracted guerrilla struggle originating in the rural hinterland and based on armed peasantry, and the whole led by Communists from the outset.

How many foreign Communist parties are in a position to follow the model? With the exception of Vietnam, the answer is none—and for a very good reason. Not one Communist Party in Africa, Asia, or Latin America has a strong enough base, either in its society as a whole or among the peasants in particular. And this is an indispensable prerequisite for launching a Maoist-style guerrilla war.

The one party which came closest to having a mass base, the PKI in Indonesia, has recently been cut down by the Indonesian Army and is unlikely to recover in the foreseeable future. In India, communism is strong in certain areas, but it has not been able to generate mass support among peasants. In Thailand, strength, such as it is, is confined largely to the northeast. In Africa, Communist parties are for the most part nonexistent, and Peking has had to build on a most unlikely patchwork of local oppositionists, at least one of whom took $70,000 from them and then opened a bar from which, we may assume, instruction in Marxism-Leninism is not regularly dispensed.

This is not to say, of course, that the appeal of revolutionary communism has been entirely unsuccessful in the underdeveloped countries. Apart from the startling conquest of mainland China, it generated mass movements in Vietnam, Cuba, and, until recently, in Indonesia. But the conditions for its gains in these areas are not at all typical of other underdeveloped countries. The single most important element in the advance of communism in Vietnam, as in China itself, for instance, was that the local Communist Party captured a nationalist movement during and after World War II in the course of a national struggle against a foreign invader. Secondly, the nationalist opposition to the Communists in both China and Vietnam was divided, unimaginative, and without effective organization at the rice-root level. The Vietcong success in South Vietnam is inextricably related to the fact that Ho Chi Minh, like Mao, was able to capture a weak nationalist movement during the last war.

These successes should not, however, obscure the more fundamental fact that the Communists have been unable to seize control of a nationalist movement anywhere else in Asia, Africa, or Latin America since the start of World War II. This is no mere historical accident. It suggests that the Chinese and Vietnamese successes are not easy to duplicate even in the favorable circumstances of an anticolonial armed struggle. Witness the fact that in none of the recent or current instances of such a struggle—Algeria and Angola, for example—have local Communists played a leading role.

In those Afro-Asian countries which have already achieved independence (and these, of course, constitute the vast majority), it is exceedingly difficult for local Communists to exploit nationalism to their advantage or to outmaneuver the nationalists and the army in subsequent struggles for power. In the one instance where they were able, temporarily, to exploit nationalism; namely, Indonesia, they could not convert this into lasting power. Even in the many new countries which have been torn by strife at the top or are still groping with the problems of moderization, the Communists are nowhere close to power.

It is ironic that both Peking and Washington have seemed to share the view that somehow nationalists in the developing countries would prove to be pushovers for disciplined Communists. This has turned out to be a completely wrong assessment. On the contrary, the containment of communism in the underdeveloped areas has been accomplished in the main, not by Western military action, economic aid or the attractions of Western democracy, but rather by the growth of nationalist regimes with a strong desire not to imitate either Western or Communist economic and political institutions.

Since the Chinese Communist leaders have in the past shown themselves flexible enough to adjust policies when they go wrong, I see no reason not to expect that they will be able to recognize their present plight and adapt accordingly. True, what we have seen so far is not a sign of change in direction but rather the rationalization of past mistakes. But the Chinese cannot stay indefinitely in the corner they have painted themselves into.

What options do they have? They could try to reach a rapprochement with the Soviet Union, but so long as Mao lives, this is unlikely. They could improve relations with the United States. It is interesting in this respect to note that a recent French emissary to Peking was told that the Americans were, after all, only an enemy, and a respected one, whereas the Russians were traitors—and traitors could never be forgiven. The clear impression was that it might eventually be easier to adjust relations with the United States than with Russia. Thirdly, Peking could try to revive the Bandung spirit of the mid-1950's, when it sought to portray itself, not as a revolutionary power, but as a friend of the entire third world. But it is not likely to do any of these things until the issue of Vietnam is decided. Peking's old guard still cherishes the hope that a success there could turn back the tide.

The Chinese nourish this hope despite deteriorating relations with Hanoi. Among informed observers there is, I believe, general agreement that Hanoi is independent of Peking. The precise relationship between Hanoi and the South Vietnamese Liberation Front, however, is a more controversial matter. It is clear that the Liberation Front is controlled by a South Vietnamese Communist party called the People's Revolutionary Party. It is also clear that the People's Revolutionary Party is a branch of the parent Lao Dong Communist Party in North Vietnam. What is not clear is how much the South Vietnamese Communists and the Liberation Front have emancipated themselves from North Vietnamese control in the course of the war.

Important tactical differences between Hanoi and the front have been apparent for some time. In general, Hanoi shows greater flexibility than the front, whose position is closer to the intransigence of Peking. It is quite likely that the South Vietnamese Communists, having been abandoned by their northern comrades at the Geneva conference in 1954, are extremely fearful that Hanoi may do it again. The Communists, and especially the South Vietnamese Communists in the firing line, have their own Yalta complex.

Peking and Hanoi have both overlapping and conflicting goals in South Vietnam. They share an interest in eliminating American power and influence from South Vietnam, but Peking has a much greater interest in a protracted war. For Peking, the war in South Vietnam, which, to be sure, it did not itself start, nevertheless provides a test case for its liberation war strategy. More important, it provides an opportunity to humiliate, divert, and to weaken the United States with virtually no cost to itself. Also, the war in Vietnam provides an opportunity to end the Soviet-American détente, a long-sought Chinese goal. Finally, the threat of an American attack on China enables the Peking regime to create a domestic atmosphere of siege in order to justify the mass mobilization and discipline necessary for industrializing a backward country. For all these reasons, Peking, although concerned about the possibility of an American attack on China, is nevertheless not eager for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam.

Hanoi, on the other hand, has a clearly more limited interest, namely, the unification of Vietnam under Communist hegemony—a goal that might, under certain conditions, be achieved through negotiations rather than through protracted war against a determined and militarily superior enemy.

These different perspectives have resulted in differences in emphasis on the possibility of negotiations and the preconditions for them, differences that have gone largely unnoted in most of the American press. Peking has repeatedly been at pains to warn against U.S. deceit and, far more vehemently than Hanoi, has denounced all proposals to end the war in Vietnam short of U.S. disengagement. Moreover, Hanoi's conditions for negotiations have in general been more ambiguous and flexible than Peking's.

The crucial and, as far as U.S. policy is concerned, complicating factor is that Hanoi's leadership is itself divided. Hanoi has its own hawks and doves. Hanoi's hawks who remain predominant, seem to believe that the massive introduction of American power into South Vietnam has not greatly diminished Communist prospects for military success, while the doves believe that it has, and want to stress political rather than military struggle. Peking has consistently sought to strengthen Hanoi's hawks and the Chinese Communists have recently expressed considerable apprehension that the Hanoi dove faction is, with Soviet backing, on the rise.

In this situation there are some things the United States can, and in my opinion, should do. First, it seems to me imperative that we recognize—even if the Chinese Communists do not—that Communist successes in South Vietnam are not easily duplicable. They are the product of conditions that are extremely unusual in the former colonial world. This is not an argument for precipitate withdrawal from South Vietnam. But the price we are willing to pay, and the risks we are willing to accept, for an eventual settlement will depend in part on whether we regard South Vietnam as the first of a series of dominoes or as an exception to the general rule that the heyday of communism in the underdeveloped areas has passed.

Second, it appears that our best hope in Vietnam is to strengthen those groups in Moscow and Hanoi who have a more flexible approach to negotiations against the bitter-enders supported by Peking. The recent political crisis in Saigon is bound to strengthen the more moderate Communists who have been arguing for greater emphasis on political rather than military struggle. Instead of deploring the present political situation in Vietnam, we could turn it to our advantage if we used it to encourage a round-table meeting of South Vietnamese political forces. This could then appoint representatives to a Geneva Peace Conference.

The present crisis makes it patently clear that no matter how successful we are militarily in South Vietnam, no solution is possible without political stability in Saigon. Such stability cannot be achieved by any military junta under existing conditions. It can be achieved only by a broad-based condition of forces, including some Communists. The participants in such a coalition would be jockeying for power, and both we and the Communists would have to gamble on the outcome.

But the outcome is not foreclosed in favor of the Communists. We must rid ourselves of the Prague mentality. There have been a number of instances in which Communists entered coalition governments without emerging dominant. Non-Communist forces in South Vietnam today, which include the Buddhists, the Catholics, the Cao Dai, the Hoa Hao and most of the Montagnards, are determined not to be taken over by the Communists. Moreover, there are signs of restiveness among the peasants in the areas controlled by the National Liberation Front.

Even with the Communist advantages in Vietnam, then, it is still possible that they can be headed off. But this has to be done politically—and by the Vietnamese. The alternative for us is an increasing Americanization of the war, which will almost certainly lead to a rising tide of anti-Americanism and drive many of the present non-Communist forces into the arms of the Communists.

While on the subject of Vietnam, I want to make a specific proposal for neutralizing mainland southeast Asia after the Vietnam war is concluded. We can insure genuine neutralization of the area only if the smaller countries concerned believe that their security is provided for. If we merely talk about neutralization while withdrawing our military power, they will obviously be forced to accommodate to China on Chinese terms. We must convince all of these countries that the United States, preferably in conjunction with international authority and with the Soviet Union, will help them to resist any threat to their security by an outside power. To do this, I think we need two things: first, the continued physical presence of effective American power, even if it takes the form of the 7th Fleet; second, bilateral contingency plans which will set down the conditions for American action and the manner in which such action will be undertaken.

Some administration spokesmen are now defending United States China policy by arguing that China's isolation is self-imposed. This assessment is only partially correct and, in any case, the conclusion drawn from it seems to me erroneous.

China is not entirely responsible for its isolation. It is, after all, a fact that American policy has been largely instrumental in keeping China out of the United Nations and in preventing many other countries from trading with and recognizing her.

But granting that Chinese intransigence is largely at the root of its isolation, it seems to me that this is an argument for evolving a new policy, not for insisting on our present one. For one thing, many people, both in our own country and particularly in Asia, currently believe that we are responsible for Peking's isolation. A charge in our policy would serve two ends.

First, it would put the blame where it belongs. It is instructive to note that the Russians have in the past year greatly increased their prestige in the Communist world by demonstrating a readiness to compromise with the Chinese, thus letting the Chinese take the onus for the worsening of Sino-Soviet relations. Second, a change in our policy would remove an important source of friction in our relations with many of our friends and allies. The costs of Chinese isolation should make alternatives all the more attractive to some Chinese leaders, particularly after Mao dies and the succession crisis begins. I think it is now generally recognized that we missed the opportunity to strengthen the hand of the moderates in the Stalin succession struggle and we should not repeat the same mistake in our policy toward China now. There are credible reports that the Chinese leaders are increasingly divided over foreign policy and Mao's death will almost certainly exacerbate this division. We can give the Chinese moderates leverage by offering China incentives to abandon the militance which has led to its isolation.

These incentives should be of two kinds: On the one hand, we should continue to make it clear to Peking that the territorial status quo cannot be altered by means of violence. It must learn, as Moscow did, that promoting violence is both risky and likely to end in failure. On the other, we should offer to accept Communist China as a great power. This would mean among other things, diplomatic recognition, U.N. membership and an end to our embargo on nonstrategic trade. It will also mean our accepting a reasonable amount of Chinese influence in Asia.

In the immediate future such an offer would undoubtedly be rejected in Peking. In the longer run, however, confronted with the massive failure of its present strategy, and faced with tolerable alternatives to it, Peking's leaders might reconsider their present policies. We should not underestimate the profound effect of our own policies on those of the Communists.

Over the long haul, a change in our policy is necessary in order to begin a dialog with the Peking leaders that could aid us in probing Chinese intentions and help reshape the very primitive thinking of the Chinese leaders, especially about the United States. Such a dialog is necessary if we are ever to achieve stability in Asia and to solve a host of international questions, such as nuclear disarmament.

Our only hope to achieve a stable relationship with China is to do all we can to promote, not a change of system, which can be done only by war, but a change within the system. The kind of evolution that is already transforming Russia and the East European Communist countries will have to come one day in China, too. We can help to hasten it.

Humane Treatment Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, when H.R. 13881, the bill to regulate the transportation, sale and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes, came to the House floor, I joined with the overwhelming majority of my colleagues on voting for the proposal.

However, I would like to take this opportunity to explain that two amendments which were offered on the floor to strengthen this bill received my support. Unfortunately, these two amendments, offered by Congresswoman Bolton and Congressman Helstoski, were defeated by voice vote.

Although I would have preferred to see a stronger bill passed I feel that Federal legislation is needed in this field to protect animals against unnecessary cruelty and inhumane treatment. Some shocking examples of man's inhumanity to animals have been documented recently and therefore I felt that the committee bill, weak though it was, was needed and was better than no bill at all. For these reasons, I supported the Bolton and Helstoski amendments and when they failed, I supported the bill on final passage.

Dr. Seaborg Sees Partnership Among Science, Humanities and Government—Part 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission delivered an outstanding address April 22 to the American Philosophical Society meeting in Philadelphia. In this address, Dr. Seaborg discusses not only the relationship of science, the humanities and the arts but also their support by Government, with particular reference to the newly established National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include part 1 of Dr. Seaborg's address to be included at this point in the Record:

Science, the Humanities, and the Federal Government, Partners in Progress—Part 1

(By Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., April 22, 1966)

Speaking before a U.S. congressional panel earlier this year, C. P. Snow, the eminent British writer and scientist, stated in a discussion of the role of science in society: "I would far rather have choices made by wise men who are not scientifically educated than by unwise men who are." I am not sure into which category most of us here tonight fall, but I would think, or at least hope, that the majority of us could claim both some degree of wisdom and some scientific knowledge, because Lord Snow also went on to point out in his talk the importance of being scientifically informed and of having informed people in public life.

I bring up C. P. Snow at this time because the arguments resulting from the thesis he so effectively presented in his essays "Two Cultures" many years ago are still continuing. In fact, discussion of the roles of science and the humanities and arts and their degree of influence in our country have been somewhat intensified recently because of the role that the Federal Government is now playing in these areas.

Tonight I would like to spend some time discussing the relationship of science and the humanities and arts, their influences on each other and society, and what bearing Government interest and support have upon all of them. This may seem like a lot of ground to cover in one talk, but I think there is a focal point we can use. It is the quality of life we expect our civilization to provide in the years ahead.

In pursuing this theme I would like to make and expand on two major points: The first is that man's growing domination of his environment today demands that we take a new and broader outlook toward our future development. And secondly, in dealing with mankind's physical growth, with the mass society in a world of growing population, we must not neglect the individual human being and his basic need for a more satisfying, purposeful life.

One of the most significant phenomena taking place in our society today is our recognition of change—the extent and the rate of change occurring in this scientific-technological era, this nuclear space age. This age is a relatively new era in history. It was born some 20-odd years ago and has been growing rapidly ever since in its scope and impact. But it is only within the past few years that there seems to have appeared an overwhelming awareness of the implications of the ascendancy of science and technology, of their present effects and those possible in the future. Now it seems that nearly everyone is rushing off to conferences on technological change, the whole relationship between science and society is a subject of symposia and seminars, and a flood of books and articles is appearing on the topic, almost all of which are in essence asking the same questions—"Where are our science and technology taking us?" "What does this mean?" "What can we do about it?"—and apprehensively recognizing the rate of change, the word "explosion" is becoming one of the most overworked in our vocabulary.

I think this has all come about because more and more we are feeling, or being made aware of, some of the problems growing out of what in the past many of us have viewed as unmixed blessings. Improved medical science has brought better health and a longer life span but also an expanded population growth. More automobiles and better roads have brought speed and convenience but also traffic congested streets and an accident rate of epidemic proportions. More efficient agriculture has allowed the increased production of food by fewer farmers, but as rural population has declined, urban areas have grown rapidly, causing a multitude of economic, social, moral, and political changes in our cities. New technologies in business and industry provide greater efficiency of operation, but demand the reeducation and retraining of workers as certain human tasks and skills become obsolete. And as our industries have produced more and better products, so also have many of them—both producers and their products—contributed to the alarming pollution of our environment, a condition which has made us realize that the control and recycling of waste may be a major human problem from now on.

To add to these problems and pressures rising from "normal" growth and progress, we face other mixed blessings of potentially enormous consequences—potentially good or bad—rising from the development of new technologies whose full influence in either direction we have yet to feel. In this case, I refer to the use of nuclear energy and the technology of space. Naturally, we hope and we work toward making these outgrowths of our scientific age serve us beneficially (and I think we are making great progress in that direction); nevertheless, they add to the total picture of change and dramatically call our attention to it.

Another factor of which we have become increasingly aware is the totality of change and the influence and interrelationship of all the scientific and sociological forces producing change today. We see quite vividly, in our modern world, not only the interdependence of man as brought about by the web of specializations in a global civilization—one we have created by modern communication and transportation—but also man's ascendancy over his environment, now reaching the point where certain changes by man can have widespread, perhaps devastating, effects on our planet.

Having recognized the problems and complexities of the rapid change of our time, we realize that planned action is called for in order to control and direct it toward our needs and benefit. We are intrigued with our new-found power but we are also aware of its possible consequences and pressed by a growing sense of responsibility. We realize that mistakes made today are apt to be big ones and costly ones, and that even apparently small mistakes may have large and important consequences in terms of future generations. But at the same time the demands and dynamics of the times call for decisions. In most cases, inaction means retrogression—and a type of retrogression which, because of the pressures of growth, may be catastrophic.

All these factors—a recognition of the rate of change, its totality, and the fact that we can exercise some control over it through planning—lead to some of the most important questions facing the American people today. And they are questions not alone concerned with controlling physical change. For we have come to realize that in planning and working for the future, we must also reevaluate our goals. We must temper, adapt and redirect the enormous technological forces we have created to the end of serving the individual human being—an end for which the forces were created but which has begun to elude us as we have become more and more taken with the power, the momentum and the "open sesame" fascination that our modern science and technology have provided.

In a democratic society, the underlying quality of life for which we strive is represented not only by total economic and social change but by the welfare—the well-being—of the individual in society. Maintaining a maximum of freedom and opportunity for growth for the individual in a world of overwhelming technological forces and growing social interdependence and responsibility is a major challenge of our times. And it is a challenge which many feel cannot be met fully without a more meaningful interplay between the sciences, the humanities and arts, and government—forces which up to now have acted to a great degree separately, and sometimes at odds, in our society.

In bringing up the influences and interplay of these forces in a nation, and to gain some insight on the growth of the challenge facing us, we must take into account several factors which had an important bearing on our early development. The pragmatic spirit of our early settlers and our first citizens was of prime importance in shaping our entire destiny. From its birth ours was a nation of opportunity, of action and of mobility. The need for movement and growth was characteristic of America from its beginning. Fortunately, we were blessed with a land of vast natural resources, a growing population of vigorous people from a variety of cultural backgrounds, and, most fortunately, our early years coincided roughly with the beginning of the industrial revolution. All these circumstances combined to allow us to grow and prosper rapidly.

From our earliest times it was the Federal Government's responsibility to minister to the needs of the people, but to do so only when those needs were considered national and Federal action did not conflict with individual and States' rights. This was evident in the Federal Government's early role in science and technology—in its support of such a scientific venture as the Lewis and Clark expedition and its establishment of our first Federal scientific agencies, the Geological Survey, the Naval Observatory and the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Other Federal organizations of a scientific and technological nature were ushered into being as their need became apparent. But it was not until the 1900's, the period after the first World War, and particularly after World War II, that large-scale Federal involvement in science evolved. It was during this era when the chemical industry saw the beginning of rapid growth based on new discovery and innovation, and when in physics, as Robert Oppenheimer characterizes it, we shook the tree of earlier theoretical science and applied the knowledge we gathered to help us develop new and potent technologies to help us foster the scientific revolution, the tremendous effects of which we are experiencing today.

This scientific revolution, since the birth of the atomic age—and particularly since the challenge of sputnik—has had a pervasive influence throughout our society. It has led many people to "discover" science; that is, to realize its power to produce substantial material gains when its methods and knowledge are put to use by modern technology.

But what has been most notable about this scientific revolution—and probably what characterizes it as a revolution—has been the increasing speed with which theoretical discovery has found its way to practical application. And today as the time gap between discovery and application continues to narrow, so does the social impact of science grow with an almost exponential force.

There is no need to go into detail about the Government's role in this revolution and the combined effect on our society. Its overwhelming influence in most aspects of our national life is, of course, obvious. It has continued to shape our national personality along the pragmatic lines of our formative years—and I do not say this disparagingly, as we have accomplished a great deal in bringing a better standard of living to our people in our relatively short history.

But what of the other side of the coin? As opposed to our technological know-how, how have we developed valuewise, culturewise, or even wisewise? If we view America in terms of its intellectual and cultural growth we see that we arrive at a problem when we compare this with our "scientific explosion" of recent decades.

As I mentioned last year while testifying before a Senate subcommittee in support of a National Humanities and Arts Foundation, I feel we are developing an imbalance in our national personality, one which is arising from a well-intentioned emphasis on technological gain but one which is weakening our framework of values nevertheless. Among the elements which characterize this imbalance is a strong desire to satisfy material needs—some of which we create artificially—at the expense of satisfying some very important psychological and spiritual needs.

Today our concern with efficiency and economy, with power and production—with our overall desire to do the job—dominates our reasons for doing the job. In our preoccupation with "means" we have lost sight of many of the "ends." We set more production goals but fewer human goals. We think more of developing systems and less of developing individuals. We chart the course of our businesses and our economy but not the measure of our success or failure in providing human fulfillment. Granted there is no equivalent to the gross national product in the fulfillment of human values, we seem to give the former far more thought and concern than the latter.

Being a nation founded on concern for the individual—his freedom, his welfare, and his pursuit of happiness—it is all the more ironic that today our concern with the techniques for achieving many of these goals has somehow pushed the individual into the background. At times he feels sorely neglected as a human being. This is becoming more evident on our college campuses, in our big cities, and in our industries, where people, living and working together in large numbers, are reacting to the strange combination of the pressure of competition and yet the lack of meaningful human contact. It is evident in much of our current social behavior—in the pursuit of some of our more exotic fads and cults, in an excess of hero worship, in some rebellion only for its own sake, and even in an abundance of conformity to nonconformity.

But, most of this behavior has some constructive meaning. It acts as a form of release and fills certain superficial needs of the times. More importantly though, it calls our attention to needs which are being overshadowed in today's technological society—the basic needs of a person to have an individual identity, a sense of purpose and accomplishment in his life, and outlets for his physical and creative energy.

In today's restlessness and rebellion, once again we are made aware of change and of the need for action to deal with it. Within the context of the total change I spoke of before, I believe we can deal effectively with our social and psychological needs—as well as our technological and economic ones. I believe we can deal with them by emphasizing in our plans and work the human values which we have had for ages, but many of which in recent times have been overshadowed, overlooked, or inadvertently bulldozed aside by the momentum of a benign but often bumbling technology.

In the light of recent events, I think we have begun this reemphasis on man's role in the scientific age, or at least are at the point of beginning it. I feel that perhaps we are now at a time in our history where, breathless from a headlong pursuit of material gains, we have paused to look around and reflect, and this has engendered in us a new awareness of the total condition of our lives and a broader outlook of the future. During our reflection we have arrived at some badly needed insight into significant needs. And, among other things, this is leading to some important national planning toward preserving the natural beauty and resources of our land, toward beautification, toward fulfilling some of the obligations of our heritage which we have bypassed in our rapid growth. Who can doubt that these also are major goals of a truly Great Society, the pursuit of which deserves our firm support?

Transportation, Sale, and Handling of Dogs and Cats for Research Purposes

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13881) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs, cats, and other animals intended to be used for purposes of research or experimentation, and for other purposes.

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Chairman, because of a longstanding commitment to be in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to attend a dinner at 6:30 that evening in honor of His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Beran, archbishop of Prague, it was impossible for me to remain on the floor of the House of Representatives late enough Thursday afternoon to vote on final passage of H.R. 13881, on the transportation, sale, and handling of dogs and cats for research purposes.

Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on passage of this bill, since it represents a major first step toward eliminating unnecessary cruelty and abuse of these animals, without interfering with the legitimate demands and requirement of medical research.

I would hope that the passage of this measure by the House will not preclude further consideration by the Congress of additional action in this most important area.

The Chatfield Dam Could Have Prevented a Disaster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 7, 1966

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to apprise my colleagues in the Congress of a project that is of paramount importance to people of my district. Pursuant to that end, I should like to insert in the RECORD my testimony before House and Senate Committees on Appropriations on April 26, 1966.

Before entering the body of my comments, I would like to gratefully acknowledge and thank my distinguished colleagues from Colorado, the Honorable WAYNE ASPINALL, the Honorable BYRON ROGERS and the Honorable FRANK EVANS for their testimony. Let me also pay tribute to invaluable information contained in the testimony of Mayor Tom Currigan of Denver; Mr. Tom Heaton, chairman of the Denver Urban Mayors Association; and Mr. Jack Shapiro, president of the organization Action Now—Dam the Platte.

A vote of thanks is due Mr. H. R. Berglund, president of the Denver Wood Products Co. and Mr. William Chappell of the Canteen Co. of Colorado for going to the trouble and expense of coming to Washington, submitting further evidence substantiating and reenforcing conclusions emerging from this disaster.

Finally, but most importantly I wish to acknowledge the many vitally interested constitutents who, despite suffering severe damage to their property, took the time to write coherent, consistent and factual accounts that aided us in reaching the conclusions we present to you today.

The testimony of Mr. MCVICKER follows:

TESTIMONY OF ROY H. MCVICKER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE SECOND DISTRICT OF COLORADO, BEFORE THE HOUSE AND SENATE COMMITTEES ON APPROPRIATIONS, APRIL 26, 1966

The South Platte River overflowed and rampaged through a large portion of Colorado last June 16. The citizens suffered tragic losses of life, and damages were conservatively estimated to be in the neighborhood of $500 million.

The Chatfield Dam, a long-overdue flood control project, would have prevented this destruction and appalling waste of both lives and property had it been in existence at that time.

The Chatfield Dam, operating in conjunction with existing and authorized projects would provide a high degree of flood protection for Denver, Littleton, Englewood, and other communities and for the agricutural areas along the South Platte River below the dam site.

The half-billion-dollar flood devastation of June 16, 1965, the record flood of modern times, included damage to 2,033 homes, 6 apartment buildings, 612 business establishments and 167 house trailers.

Although 13 lives were lost in the South Platte Basin, the remarkable fact that no lives were lost in the Denver metropolitan area can only be accredited to alert local governmental agencies which compelled prior evacuation from flood hazard areas.

Without the controlling effects provided by the existing Federal reservoirs and floodwater structures in the basin, additional flood damage of nearly $130 million would have been inflicted on the Denver metropolitan area.

Had the Chatfield Dam been in operation at the time of the flood, practically all of the damages in the Denver metropolitan area would have been prevented and substantial damage reduction achieved. The benefit-to-cost ratio for the Chatfield Dam is 3.8 to 1.

The night of the June 16 flood I flew back to Denver and spent the following 10 days touring the area and talking to the people affected.

I initiated the setting up of a special flood disaster office in the affected area. Its purposes was to inform and assist flood victims who might be eligible for low-cost rentals, SBA loans, and other forms of aid. Needless to say, the Federal and local agencies cooperated in a most heartening way.

In July the House Committee on Public Works sent a special subcommittee, chaired by the Honorable ED EDMONDSON of Oklahoma, which I accompanied, to inspect the flooded areas in Colorado and Kansas. Shortly thereafter the Colorado House Members introduced disaster relief legislation and in October we testified before that subcommittee for its early passage.

The Denver metropolitan area's widespread public interest in this dam will certainly be damaged if a delay is allowed to occur but, more important, unless the appropriation we request is put in this year's budget for fiscal year 1967, the final construction of the Chatfield Dam will be delayed a year with the attendant risk of another flood.

The tremendous cooperation by the various Federal agencies who immediately stepped into the ruin left by the flood has done far more to dramatize the importance and effectiveness of Government projects than any other action of which I am aware.

Perhaps the real importance of our appearance here today is to let the people of Colorado know that the Congress continues to be responsive to their obvious human and economic needs.

We know how critical is the decision of this committee to the success of the Chatfield project. We also greatly appreciate the time and effort this committee has spent on behalf of the people of the Denver metropolitan area.

The 2-Year Housing Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in yesterday's Wall Street Journal, George Shea joined with a rising chorus of concerned citizens in their warning of the depressed status of the Housing Administration. Mr. Shea points up a problem that we have already brought to the attention of Congress.

My comments of March 31, and the legislation I have introduced expanding the Federal National Mortgage Association's secondary market operations were designed to call attention to the problem and provide some measure of relief for the housing industry.

Close attention should be paid to Mr. Shea's comments concerning aspects of specific softening in the economy. As I have repeatedly pointed out over the course of the last month, our preoccupation with the general has not allowed us the flexibility to deal with the particular. As a result we have a major problem on our hands.

Now that we finally recognize the problem let us being to consider solutions.

Mr. Shea's article, appearing in the May 2 Wall Street Journal, is as follows:

APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

A special feature of most business forecasts these days is that they project continuous growth as far ahead as they dare look. Quite often the authors cautiously say they believe that business-cycle downs as well as ups are still possible, but their estimates for the future, quarter year by quarter year, show nothing but rising figures.

Of course this is not surprising after a little more than 5 years of practically uninterrupted boom, starting from February 1961, the end of the last business recession. Anyone who during that period attempted to spot a downturn in general business failed miserably, and almost no one dares try that any more.

Nevertheless, this unwillingness to envisage the possibility of a general downturn flies in the face of all economic history. It also flies in the face of the fact that at least one large industry, housing, has been in an actual recession for 2 years, in spite of the fact that population trends, as well as general business trends, have been seemingly in favor of growing demand for new housing.

The record high year for new private nonfarm housing units started was 1963, with a total of 1,582,000. In 1964 the figure fell to 1,530,000 and in 1965 it was down again to 1,483,000. In 1966 first quarter's annual rate was down even further to 1,446,000, though March showed an upturn.

Yet the population between the ages of 20 and 44, which is where the keenest demand for new housing exists, grew quite a bit in those years, from 58.9 million in mid-1962 and 59.6 million in mid-1963 to 60.5 million in mid-1965.

Taking only the population from 25 to 44, on the ground that from 20 to 24 demand for housing is not yet fully effective, it held about unchanged, from 47 million in mid-1962 to 46.8 million in mid-1965. Even a static population in those ages should mean strong demand for new housing because each year about as many entered this age bracket as left it, and those that became 45 years old still needed their housing.

Today the question is whether housing starts should not soon turn up decisively, not only because they've been declining so long, but also because future population projections are so favorable. Between now and 1970 the number in the 25 to 44 ages is going to increase by 1.4 million, and the number 20 to 24 is going to expand a spectacular 3.4 million.

Pilgrimage Address at the Alamo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, each year in San Antonio, the city of the Alamo, the cradle of liberty, there is a pilgrimage to the Alamo in order to memorialize the heroes who died there in the struggle for Texas independence.

A highlight of the 71st Fiesta San Antonio was the talk given at the Alamo by Lt. Gen. William W. Momyer, commander of the Air Training Command, Randolph Air Force Base, during the ceremonies following the pilgrimage to the Alamo.

It is a pleasure to share this very apt and well-prepared address with my colleagues in the House:

PILGRIMAGE ADDRESS AT THE ALAMO

(By Lt. Gen. William W. Momyer, USAF, military coordinator, Fiesta San Antonio Commission, Inc., April 18, 1966)

We are assembled here to give tribute to the men who defended the Alamo. Some 130 years ago, a group of almost 200 men gave their lives in one of the most stirring battles of our history. The men of Colonel Travis' command fought off a superior force of more than 2,500 troops for 13 days.

The gallant defense of the Alamo stands as a living memorial to all men of courage. Knowing that no help could reach them in time, these men laid down their lives so Sam Houston might have time to gather additional forces for other battles to be fought. We know the valuable time the defense of the Alamo gave Sam Houston permitted him to defeat Santa Anna at San Jacinto and, thereby, established the Republic of Texas.

American history is punctuated with the outstanding courage of its fighting men. When men fight in defense of their freedom, courage and dedication to their fellow men are characteristic. The strength of our country is in our people and the willingness to fight for those ideals that have made us the greatest country on earth. Whenever our ideals have been threatened we have responded with heroic self-sacrifice in defense of those precious things.

Today, our ideals and way of life are being challenged again. And again we have responded with courage, determination and valor. It is a tribute to our strength of character that the same ideals which motivated the defenders of the Alamo also are the driving force behind our men in Vietnam.

Our fighting men have faced difficult battles in the past and shall face even more difficult ones in the future. Sam Houston didn't become discouraged because of the severity of the struggle. His cause and determination to succeed swept all obstacles aside. Our fighting men are led by the same dedicated leadership today.

The great struggles of World War II, Korea, and now Vietnam, demand a determination to make what sacrifice is necessary to protect our freedom and all people who cherish such common aspirations. We faced heroic battles in getting onto the beaches at Normandy. Our Air Force fought tremendous battles over Schweinfurt to get into the heart of the Germany industry. Our Army, Navy, and Air Force hung onto the tip of Korea at Pusan under determined assault from North Korean forces. Kasserine Pass is only a memory, but great courage was displayed by American forces in throwing back the armored and air forces of German Field Marshal Rommel. Who can forget the famous statement of John Paul Jones, "I have not yet begun to fight," or General McAuliffe when confronted with a German demand to surrender at Bastogne replied "nuts."

I think we need have no fear of the strength and will of our fighting men. We can all be proud of the example set by that heroic group of volunteers at the Alamo. Their display of self-sacrifice for a more noble cause should be a source of inner strength for all of us as we face the future, and an individual determination that we will courageously defend our freedom no matter how small or great the challenge. Yes, we remember the Alamo, because without the strength of character displayed by men like Travis, Crockett, Bowie, and Bonham there would be no freedom to defend.

The Year 1966 Marks the Polish Millennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to speak today about a truly great people from a land across the seas. Though thousands of miles separate the United States from Poland, our thoughts and feeling for that country and its now unhappy people are the same as if they were our own. I say this because we know them intimately from those who emigrated to America and gave of their talents to join with our people in making the United States the great Nation it is. We are justly proud of all Poles who so quickly became citizens of the United States.

As early as our own Revolutionary War, immigrants from Poland distinguished themselves as industrious, idealistic, and courageous people. Today we find their descendants as leaders in every phase of American life.

The year 1966 marks the Polish millennium, and it is right and proper that we here in the Congress also take note of May 3—the Polish Constitution Day. A thousand years have passed into the annals of history—a thousand years of a fine and courageous people.

While Poland is enslaved by its Communist overlords behind the Iron Curtain, they at least have the benefit of the leadership of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. The Polish people have always been deeply religious and suffered terribly from Communist hostility to religion.

The report to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Special Study Mission to Poland, issued during the 87th Congress, stated:

The exercise of the religious convictions of the God-fearing good people of Poland is being made progressively more difficult. Religious education is being gradually eradicated. The church in Poland is not permitted to receive, for distribution in Poland, medical supplies and other medical equipment from the free world. Through confiscatory taxation, sequestration of church and religious orders' properties, refusal to issue church, school, and other building permits, interference with the internal affairs of church bodies, economic and political pressures, and other means, the regime appears determined to achieve systematic repression of religion in Poland.

But let us examine the past and we can see that Poland pioneered liberalism in Europe.

It was on May 3 in 1791, barely 2 years after the adoption of its Constitution by the United States in 1789, that Poland without a bloody revolution or even without a disorder succeeded in reforming her public life and in eradicating her internal decline. But this great rebirth and assertion of democracy came to the Poles too late and did not forestall the third partition of Poland in 1795 by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

The greatness of the May 3 Polish Constitution consisted in the fact that it eliminated with one stroke the most fundamental weaknesses of the Polish parliamentary and social system. The Poles raised this great moment in their history to the forefront of their tradition rather than any one of their anniversaries of glorious victories or heroic revolutions.

We Americans who have been reared in the principle given us as a birthright by the founders of our great Republic, the principle of the sovereignty of the people in the state, which is the primary postulate in the 1791 Polish Constitution, can see how this truism cut off the Poles and the Polish political tradition completely from both the Germans and the Russians, who have been reared in the principle of state and not national sovereignty.

The light of liberalism coming from Poland was then as it has been throughout the years that followed and even today a threat to tyranny and absolutism in Russia and Germany. In 1795, Russian and Prussian soldiers were sent to Poland to partition and rape her. In 1939, Russian and Prussian soldiers met again on Polish soil, as the absolute totalitarian systems of nazism and communism again felt the danger of true liberalism coming from Poland, just as in 1791.

The Polish Constitution of 1791 was, indeed, a historic and progressive document. It adopted the principle that all power in civil society is derived from the will of the people. From this we can gage our spiritual kinship with them.

Unfortunately, the people of Poland never had the chance to live under that Constitution. The spirit in which it was developed alarmed the Russian rulers, who saw on their frontier the shadow of democracy. Much has happened since May 3, 1791.

Today, a thousand years of the brave Polish people, and 175 years since the date of their Constitution, the spirit and will of all Poles, despite harsh restrictions and unrelenting persecution by the Reds, is not crushed. The spirit of 1791 survives today brighter than ever.

By our observance of this special day, we demonstrate to the entire world that we are mindful of the plight of millions and millions of enslaved peoples in communistic lands. They know by our action that they are *not forgotten—that* they should not give up hope for eventual freedom. In the immortal words of our late President Kennedy:

> This country must never recognize the situation behind the Iron Curtain as a permanent one, but must, by all peaceful means, keep alive the hopes of freedom for the peoples of the captive nations.

Luci's New Idea, or Another Crack in the Wall?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, good editorials often originate in papers far from Washington, where the editor can observe with perspective, and evaluate from the vantage point of the citizenry, rather than from administration press handouts. Many programs need to be appraised on the basis of accomplishment and service to the citizen, rather than on the basis of prospective political potential for the administration.

I submit that the following editorial, by Editor Frank F. Orr, of the Watsonville, Calif., Register-Pajaronian, in my district, presents an important issue which should be read by every Member of this Congress, as well as by officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Social Security Administration.

> LUCI'S NEW IDEA, OR ANOTHER CRACK IN THE WALL?
>
> Luci Baines Johnson, the President's younger daughter, is a charming and intelligent person. We fear, however, that her nursing school training has omitted some basic principles of economics and taxation.
>
> What Luci wants, the President remarked the other day, is a program of eye examinations for children, to be paid for out of social security funds.
>
> This represents—if it should come to pass—a breach in the wall of principle which Congress so carefully erected in the thirties when the social security system was begun. The wall was to be solid: social security was to be an insurance program, self-supporting through contributions from employers and employees and interest earned on their funds. On the other side of the wall were to be expenditures of the welfare variety, paid for by general taxation and made on the basis of need.
>
> But we mustn't really blame Luci.
>
> She's aware of precedents for what she proposes—precedents strongly urged by her father. And who's to blame a girl for thinking that Daddy's ideas are wonderful?
>
> The wall protecting social security as a true insurance system stood for more than 30 years. The trust-fund principle was inviolate, even though some critics enjoyed arguing about bookkeeping.
>
> Then last year Congress opened the first hole in the wall. In enacting the medicare bill last year, it voted to provide hospital insurance for all persons 65 years of age or over, regardless of whether or not they ever had paid a cent of social security tax.
>
> When there's one hole in a wall, it's often easy to punch another. Congress, in its medicare extension, had already decided to tap the general revenue pot for more than half a billion dollars in the next 2 years and dispense it under the label of social security. So why not another step?
>
> The second step came this year. Congress voted social security payments of $35 a month for 370,000 persons aged 72 and over who had not been under the system and were not eligible for social security pensions as such. They, too, will get checks marked "social security."
>
> These, of course, were called "special cases." The fact remains that the wall has been breached.
>
> Now President Johnson suggests that there should be an across-the-board increase in social security benefits next year, and a new health program of dental care for children. Luci thinks their eyes should be checked, too.
>
> Doubtless, these things need doing. Existence on a social security check these days is a bit slim, and the cost of living makes it even slimmer. There are old people who are needy, and there were old people without social security protection who needed provision for hospital care. An investment in the health of children is one of the best investments this country can make.
>
> But if payments are to be increased to present beneficiaries, and payments made to new ones, and health programs for the old and the young inaugurated in the name of social security—and without an increase in the taxes levied on those of us who are still working—then we might as well quit fooling ourselves that this is a true insurance system or anything approximating it. At this rate, the Government will be taking some insurance money and mixing it up with some general tax money and doling it out, partly on the basis of eligibility and partly on the basis of need.
>
> This isn't what most of us have had in mind for the past 30-odd years, as we watched the weekly deductions from the paycheck. We believed that this was an insurance program under which even a millionaire could collect with entire self-respect when he reached retirement age, because he'd paid his share and because there was no "means test." Now there will be a "means test" for some people under the program, none for others.
>
> This isn't the way it was when we came in. Wouldn't it be far wiser to keep the necessary health and welfare program entirely separate from the insurance program. Evidently the President, and his daughter, and Congress would rather keep digging new cracks in the wall until there isn't any wall at all.

Leonard Marks Makes Mark in Many Fields

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 21, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished former Pittsburgher, already proving his worth as the new Director of the U.S. Information Agency, is the subject of an interesting profile in a recent issue of the Pittsburgh Press. Under leave to extend my remarks I ask that the article be included at this point in the RECORD.

[From the Pittsburgh Press, Apr. 10, 1966]

HAS A TOP U.S. POST: LEONARD MARKS MAKES MARK IN MANY FIELDS—YOUTHFUL DAYS HERE RECALLED

(By Douglas Smith)

WASHINGTON, April 9.—When Leonard H. Marks was a young fellow in Pittsburgh, he spent most of his spare hours in courtrooms listening to trials.

It was at about the age of 13, he thinks, that he decided he was going to be a lawyer.

Mr. Marks not only became one of the most successful lawyers in Washington, but now has one of the most important jobs in the field of communications, Director of the giant U.S. Information Agency.

TREMENDOUS OUTPUT

The USIA tells America's story to the rest of the world. To do so it broadcasts more program-hours than any commercial network, issues daily news items that can fill 10 columns in a newspaper, publishes 85 magazines and 60 papers in many languages, makes films that are seen by several hundred million people in a year, operates libraries that are used by 30 million foreigners, and even gives English lessons to as many as 2 million people in a year's time.

Because it does all this in foreign countries, the USIA is little known to Americans who do not travel abroad.

It is such an important part of the Government, however, that Mr. Marks sits in regularly at meetings of the National Security Council, where the President and the other top-level leaders of the Government make the most vital national decisions.

Still youthful at 49, Mr. Marks' day demonstrates the zeal and energy that made him an honor student at the University of Pittsburgh and a straight-A graduate of its law school.

STAFF CALLS AT 8:30 A.M.

He holds daily staff meetings at 8:30 a.m., an hour when few Washington officials have even arrived at their offices, and he and Mrs. Marks lead an active social life.

She (the former Dorothy Holloway) is a native Washingtonian who was a correspondent in the press corps when they met, and is currently president of the Women's National Democratic Club. They have two sons, Stephen, 16 at Mercersburg Academy in Pennsylvania and Robert, 14, at home.

Mr. Marks lived his first 25 years in Pittsburgh in the house where he was born at 253 Dinwiddie Street in the Herron Hill district.

He attended Miller Public School, was graduated from Fifth Avenue High School at 15, and got his bachelor's degree from Pitt at 18 and law degree at 21, in 1937.

FATHER AT COURTHOUSE

Young Leonard's early acquaintance with the courthouse at Pittsburgh came because his father, the late Samuel Marks, held variour jobs there, such as constable, during that period.

(His only Pittsburgh relative now is a brother, Irwin, who is comptroller for A. & B. Smith Co., art supplies dealer. Their mother lives in Beverly Hills, Calif.)

At Pitt, young Marks was outstanding in campus activities as well as in the classroom. He was president of the student body and on the staff of the "Pitt Panther," the humor magazine which had a weekly half hour radio program over WWSW. It was there Leonard had his first experience at interviewing celebrities, when Jean Harlow and Dick Powell came to town.

SO FLABBERGASTED

It was not an auspicious beginning for his career in communications, he recalls. "I was so flabbergasted at meeting her that I think Powell did most of the interviewing."

Mr. Marks taught at the Pitt Law School for 4 years after his graduation. Then, with the coming of World War II, he took an opportunity to go to Washington and help set up the Office of Price Administration.

The Federal Communications Commission invited him to join its foreign-broadcast intelligence service, where he spent much of the war monitoring and helping analyze enemy propaganda.

FCC LAW SPECIALIST

He also helped make an FCC report on a new service called television, and began to think of combining his profession as a lawyer with his newly acquired knowledge and interest in radio and TV. This lead to his going into private law practice in Washington as a specialist in FCC matters.

It was a good field to enter. There were about 600 radio stations then, he recalled; now there are 4,000 standard stations, 1,000 FM stations, and hundreds of TV stations. (Commercial television did not start until after World War II.)

Mr. Marks was appointed to the USIA position by President Johnson last summer and the choice was a personal one.

MRS. JOHNSON'S LAWYER

Early in his law career the wife of a little-known Congressman from Texas named Lyndon B. Johnson called on Mr. Marks to ask him to handle Washington legal matters for her radio station in Austin, Tex. This began a long family friendship, and, in fact, Mrs. Marks helped Mrs. Johnson move from their home here into the White House after the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963.

When the President asked Mr. Marks to take the USIA position, both knew it would mean a deep cut in income (to $30,000 per year) for the lawyer, but Mr. Marks said later, "I could never have lived with myself if I had turned him down."

He was delighted to find so many highly able people in the USIA, he says, and he thinks it is unfortunate that the public does not know how really effective the Agency is.

(In creating the Agency, Congress forbade distribution of USIA films and other material within the United States.)

When President Johnson spoke at the swearing-in ceremony for Mr. Marks, he quoted a paragraph of Mr. Marks' own writings:

"Communications is the lifeline of civilization. Without it, people live in small tribal societies, suspicious of strange and different customs.

"With improved communications comes better understanding and a removal of the barriers of suspicion and distrust. When we know our neighbors, we are more likely to become friends, philosophically and socially, and from this relationship may evolve a world dedicated to the preservation of law in an atmosphere of peace."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, Offers Draft Plan He Considers More Equitable, Efficient, and Less Confusing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished junior Senator from Massachusetts, the Honorable EDWARD M. KENNEDY, has written a most interesting and courageous article on the present draft law, pointing up its inequities and offering a plan that he considers more equitable and efficient, and less confusing. The article appeared in This Week, a Sunday supplement magazine printed for the Washington Sunday Star of yesterday, May 1, and with permission I insert Senator KENNEDY's views in the Appendix of the RECORD:

OUR DRAFT LAW IS UNFAIR—THE SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS OFFERS A PLAN HE CONSIDERS MORE EQUITABLE AND EFFICIENT—AND LESS CONFUSING

(By Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY)

The war in Vietnam has doubled draft calls. Two years in the service has suddenly become a very real prospect to college students, to married men and to others who have previously been untouched. Throughout our country, young men and their families look anxiously to their local draft boards for some indication of whether they will be called and when. The local boards look to General Hershey's Selective Service System for clarification of policies. Selective Service looks to the Pentagon for clear estimates of future requirements for manpower. The complicated way in which the draft works has given rise once again to the same kinds of fears and doubts, rumors, uncertainties and conflicts that plagued the country during World War II and Korea. For example:

Selective Service rules that single men in class 1–A are to be called up before married men. Yet local boards in some States began calling married men last December when over 100,000 single 1–A's around the country had not yet been inducted.

In January, General Hershey said that draft calls to meet the needs in Vietnam might rise as high as 80,000 men a month. This prospect of quadrupling calls stimulated enlistments and raised the prospect of early calls of all 1–A's. Yet informed sources in the Defense Department, where the decisions on how many men we need are made, say these predictions are highly exaggerated.

The need for more draftees has spawned arguments over which deferments should be curtailed. College presidents has objected to changing the present deferred status of students. The National Farmers Union says that as long as students are deferred, so should the farm boys. Other spokesmen can be expected to make their case for their groups.

I have talked about the draft to a great many young men in my home State of Massachusetts. Almost without exception they consider military service sometime in their lives as a responsibility which they are willing to shoulder when required to do so. But they showed considerable discontent at the way the present draft system works.

Parents of boys who do not go to college consider it unfair that their sons are drafted while college students are deferred. Their feeling—which statistics bear out—is that because of this the draft bears down most heavily on those in lower income brackets. Many college students feel strongly about being drafted after college and given assignments which take no advantage of the skills they have learned at school. They also feel that the new plan, to end deferments for some students in the bottom segment of their class, by subjecting them to a special test, penalizes those enrolled at the better colleges where competition is tough.

Married men are bitter about being called while single men in other localities have not yet had to report. And I heard many complaints about the policy that allows a man to escape effectively military service by getting married and having a child or by staying in college past the age of 26.

All these criticisms are valid, in my judgment. They spring from the way the draft law has grown up. In the Civil War and the first stages of World Wars I and II, men were drafted by lottery. When the present Selective Service Act was passed, we substituted for this simple method a complex series of judgments resulting in various types of deferments and a long list of critical skills and essential activities which allow men to escape service.

But the present draft law expires next year and Congress will be asked to extend it. It should also reform it. We need a system that is flexible enough to meet the heightened military demands of a period like the present, yet still work when demands fall to pre-Vietnam levels; that chooses who is to go in as fair and uniform a way as possible; and which lets a young man know, at any given time, how he stands with respect to his service obligation, so he can plan his life accordingly.

I propose replacing the present system of deferments and exemptions with a national lottery, conducted among men of the same age. This is how it could work: All men reaching age 18 would be examined by Selective Service, the same as they are now. Those who pass the physical and mental test would be assigned a number by the local draft board. Once each year Selective Service in Washington would pick numbers by lottery. The men whose numbers were picked first would be called first, and so on down the line. Thus everyone—rich and poor, college and noncollege, married and single—would take his chances on an even footing.

This system is roughly similar to that used in countries like Australia and West Germany today. It has the great advantage of letting young men know, at age 18½ or 19, whether they are going to be drafted. For if a man's number is not selected in the darwing of the year in which he is examined, his vulnerability to the draft ends. He could not later be drafted unless world conditions worsened to such an extent that our military requirements could not be met from just the pool of 18- or 19-year-old men. Our current military needs, higher than usual because of the fighting in Vietnam, are estimated at a maximum of 650,000 a year. And when you consider that only 150,000 of these must be draftees (the rest come from voluntary enlistments) and that the number of boys turning 19 this year is almost 2 million, it can be seen that those not picked in the lottery would have little chance of being called later.

A student could postpone his vulnerability until his college years were over, then take his chances with that year's 19-year-old group. He would not be allowed to escape the lottery by prolonging his education past the age of 26. A few hardship exemptions, such as those for sole surviving son in a family, would be retained.

One of the greatest benefits of this kind of lottery would come from ending the present practice of calling up oldest men first. Until the current crisis in Vietnam, the average age of induction had risen until it almost reached 24 years. We are told that the oldest are drafted first to make sure everyone who is fit for service actually serves. But hundreds of thousands of physically and mentally eligible men manage, through one deferment or another, to reach the age of 26 and thus effectively escape the draft.

The policy of "oldest first" forces our young men to plan their lives and families in an atmosphere of uncertainty. Surveys have shown that 25 percent of the young men in 1-A have actually been turned down on jobs because of their draft status. Business firms are understandably reluctant to hire a man who may be called tomorrow. And this is one of the reasons why unemployment among men of draft age is higher than the national average.

Drafting men from the 18½ and 19-year-old group by lottery would end these hardships. Younger men are less likely to have started building families or to have to give up well-paying jobs. Moreover, military men feel younger draftees make better soldiers because they are at their physical peak, easier to train and discipline.

Barring a major war, far beyond the dimensions of Vietnam, our manpower needs are not going to increase as fast as our population. Whereas today, over half of our young men 26 years old and over have seen service, in the 1970's, when many of today's young children will be of draft age, fewer than one in three will be needed. There is no fair method of choosing so relatively few from among so many except by lot.

Admittedly a lottery involves an element of chance. But it is hardly less chancey than the present system, in which so few men know what their ultimate prospect of being called will be.

There is no perfect system of conscription. War makes for agonizing choices. But that only makes it even more important for us to recognize the present defects and try out new ideas, in order that what President Kennedy called "the burden * * * of freedom" be carried in the fairest way.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg Recipient of Passover-Liberty Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 18, 1966

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, Temple Beth Zion in Los Angeles, Calif., honored U.S. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg by presenting to him the temple's 1966-5627 Passover-Liberty Award.

For the past 10 years Temple Beth Zion has celebrated the Passover festival on the second evening of this holiday with the presentation of a dramatized Haggadah—"The Story of Passover"—authored by Temple Beth Zion's spiritual leader, Rabbi Franklin Cohn of Los Angeles, Calif.

In this dramatized version of the Passover story, Rabbi Cohn has interwoven the traditional content of the Haggadah with its narrative of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, the liberation of the Hebrew slaves from their bondage to the accient Pharaohs, with the historic accounts of liberation of oppressed people everywhere in the world and their search for freedom. This fascinating drama recalls the promises for man's ultimate freedom from physical as well as psychological, economic as well as political, slavery.

Rabbi Cohn's Passover drama cites the events of persecution and oppression of the Jewish people and their dream for a messianic era; it recalls the great contributions which America has made to bring democracy as a most important part of the messianic dream to every corner of the world.

This modern version of the ancient Haggadah recounts how the spirit of Passover crept into the souls of all peoples, how this spirit was enunciated by Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, how the 20th century began on a note of hope.

Medicine had found a cure for the most crippling diseases. Sigmund Freud launched a battle against the tyrant that dwells in all of us—the unconscious that can enslave man if not understood; how Albert Einstein found truth relative, the universe finite, and how he showed that God governs by law. The struggle for better working conditions, shorter hours, higher wages, the fight for the abolition of child labor is recalled.

But then the promise of democracy, the march forward was shattered by the First World War, and in the 1930's, up came the fences, the barbed wire, the watchtower, the machineguns, the arc lights. The frenzied rage of a house painter, Hitler, started the Second World War. And Jews were killed by the millions. Yet those who survived kept the Messianic dream alive.

The author speaks of the great dream of the American Negro, that dream so eloquently expressed by Dr. Martin Luther King on August 28, 1963, on the steps of our Capitol. And, finally, the rabbi speaks with awe of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy who believed in an America where religious intolerance will someday end, how President Kennedy strove to promote the American ideal of brotherhood, of universal peace—by signing the nuclear test-ban treaty—and how President Kennedy spoke out for freedom and peace.

The dramatized Haggadah—"The Story of Passover"—as presented in Rabbi Franklin Cohn's script ends with the notes of hope and optimism which, the author assures us, Jews have always proclaimed.

Together with this dramatic presentation of the Passover story, Temple Beth Zion presents an annual Passover-Liberty Award. Among the former recipients are the late President of the State of Israel, Yitzchak Ben Z'vi, California's Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. Joseph Kaplan, Mr. Steve Allen, Los Angeles Times Commentator Paul Coates, and last year's recipient, the Honorable James Roosevelt. Among those who have narrated the dramatized Haggadah in previous years are Miss Shelley Winters, and actors Lou Ayres, Francis Lederer, and Edward G. Robinson.

On Tuesday evening, April 5, 1966, Temple Beth Zion welcomed Mr. Carl Reiner, actor-director-writer-producer as narrator and presented its annual award to Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg.

Ambassador Goldberg, not being able to be present in person, appointed Mr. Justice Stanley Mosk of the California State Supreme Court to receive the award. Mr. Lester H. Aaronson, president of Temple Beth Zion, handed to Justice Mosk two volumes of "The Book of Tribute" containing letters and telegrams of congratulations to Ambassador Goldberg and a beautiful plaque which bears an original photograph of the granite wall of the United Nations Building, presented to the U.N. by the city of New York, with the inscription of the Hebrew Prophet Micah's words:

> They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks;

nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more.

It was, indeed, a magnificent tribute paid by this Los Angeles Jewish congregation to Ambassador Goldberg and as such it was acclaimed by Mr. Justice Stanley Mosk.

Those who sent telegrams or letters of congratulations to and for Ambassador Goldberg were:

U.S. Senator George D. Aiken.

The Honorable Carl Albert, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Gordon Allott.

U.S. Senator Clinton P. Anderson.

Her Excellency Ambassador Eugenie Anderson.

Lt. Gov. Glenn M. Anderson, California.

Mr. Lester H. Aaronson, president of Temple Beth Zion.

His Excellency Ambassador J. K. Waller, Australia.

His Excellency Ambassador Dr. Ernst Lemberger, Austria.

U.S. Senator Birch Bayh.

His Excellency Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary C. Schuurmans, Belgium.

The Honorable Alphonzo Bell, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Alan Bible.

Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black, U.S. Supreme Court.

His Excellency Ambassador Sr. Fernando Ortiz Sanz, Bolivia, to U.N.

His Excellency José Sette Camara, Ambassador to the U.N., Brazil.

U.S. Senator Daniel B. Brewster.

The Honorable Edmund G. Brown, Governor of the State of California.

The Honorable George E. Brown, Jr., Member of Congress.

His Excellency Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations.

His Excellency Ambassador Charles A. Ritchie, Canada.

U.S. Senator Howard W. Cannon.

The Honorable Emanuel Celler, Member of Congress.

His Excellency Ambassador M. Michel Gallin-Douathe, Central Africa Republic, to U.N.

Mr. Justice Tom C. Clarke, U.S. Supreme Court.

Mr. Paul Coates, Los Angeles Times commentator.

The Honorable John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce.

The Honorable James C. Corman, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen.

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas, U.S. Supreme Court.

The Honorable Leonard Farbstein, Member of Congress.

Rabbi Dr. Louis Finkelstein, president, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

Mr. Justice Abe Fortas, U.S. Supreme Court.

The Honorable Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury.

The Honorable Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture.

His Excellency Ambassador Roger Seydoux, head of the French mission to the United Nations.

The Honorable Samuel N. Friedel, Member of Congress.

The Honorable John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. Nelson Glueck, president, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio.

U.S. Senator Ernest Gruening.

The Honorable Seymour Halpern, Member of Congress.

His Excellency Hubert H. Humphrey, the Vice President of the United States.

His Excellency Ambassador B. K. Nehru, India.

U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye.

His Excellency Ambassador Dr. Khosro Khosrovani, Iran.

His Excellency Ambassador Mehdi Vakil, Iran.

His Excellency Ambassador C. C. Cremin, Ireland.

His Excellency Ambassador Avraham Harman, Israel.

His Excellency Ambassador Michael Comay, Israel.

His Excellency Ambassador Piero Vinci, Italy.

His Excellency Ambassador Neville Ashenheim, Jamaica.

U.S. Senator Jacob K. Javits.

Dr. Joseph Kaplan, president, International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics.

The Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, U.S. Atttorney General.

U.S. Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

His Excellency Ambassador Hyun Chul Kim, Korea.

U.S. Senator Thomas H. Kuchel.

The Honorable Melvin R. Laird, Member of Congress.

His Excellency Chargé d'Affaires A. Spekka, Latvia.

U.S. Senator George McGovern.

U.S. Senator Tom McIntyre.

U.S. Senator Lee Metcalf.

His Excellency Ambassador Francisco Cuevas Cancino, Mexico.

U.S. Senator Walter F. Mondale.

U.S. Senator Frank E. Moss.

The Honorable Abraham J. Multer, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

His Excellency Ambassador James M. Nabrit, Jr., U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

U.S. Senator Maurine B. Neuberger.

His Excellency Ambassador Osman Ahmadu-Suka, Nigeria.

His Excellency Ambassador Hans Engen, Norway.

The Honorable Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General.

His Excellency Ambassador Ricardo M. Arias E., Panama.

U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell.

His Excellency Ambassador Carlos Mackenzie, Peru.

The Right Reverend James A. Pike, bishop, San Francisco.

His Excellency Vasco Vieira Garin, Ambassador of Portugal.

The Honorable Melvin Price, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Winston L. Prouty.

U.S. Senator William Proxmire.

The Honorable Thomas M. Rees, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Abraham Ribicoff.

The Honorable John J. Rooney, Member of Congress.

His Excellency Ambassador James Roosevelt, Ambassador to the United Nations.

The Honorable Edward R. Roybal, Member of Congress.

The Honorable William F. Ryan, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Leverett Saltonstall.

U.S. Senator Milward L. Simpson.

His Excellency Ambassador Marquis of Merry del Val, Spain.

Mr. Justice Potter Stewart, U.S. Supreme Court.

U.S. Senator Stuart Symington.

U.S. Senator Herman E. Talmadge.

The Honorable Olin E. Teague, Member of Congress.

The Honorable John V. Tunney, Member of Congress.

His Excellency Orhan Eralp, Ambassador of Turkey to the United Nations.

The Honorable Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior.

His Excellency Ambassador Enrique Téjera Paris, Venezuela.

The Honorable Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. Justice Byron R. White, U.S. Supreme Court.

The Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor.

The Honorable Lester L. Wolff, Member of Congress.

U.S. Senator Ralph W. Yarborough.

His Excellency Ambassador H. L. Soko, Zambia.

The Vanishing Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 19, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished House Republican leader, the Honorable Gerald R. Ford, of Michigan, and our distinguished colleague from Arizona, Representative John Rhodes, last week called the attention of the Nation to the crisis which exists in the merchant marine fleet, and the Vietnam shipping situation.

Specific suggestions for immediate steps to correct this crisis were suggested by my fellow Californian, Representative William S. Mailliard, with whom I serve on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. But, Mr. Speaker, the crisis still exists. It appears that this administration, including the Maritime Administration itself, just does not know what to do to save our merchant marine and the world trade that it is supposed to carry. Where is the leadership? What has become of the national maritime policy pronouncements we were promised long ago?

Mr. Speaker, let us get America's merchant marine fleet off this sandbar of indecision. Let us get our ships moving again. This Nation must make every effort to reclaim its position of leadership on the high seas, and in international trade.

The weekly news magazine U.S. News & World Report in its May 2, 1966, issue calls attention, on page 80, to this serious problem. I commend this article to the attention of Members of Congress.

The Vanishing Merchant Fleet

A new stir has broken out in Congress over an old issue—the dwindling role of U.S. ships in world trade.

This country's merchant marine is fast losing its place on the seas.

The United States has dropped to 12th place among shipbuilding countries.

Last year, less than one-tenth of America's foreign trade was carried in American ships. In 1950, that figure was above 40 percent.

Now charges are being made in Congress that lack of seaworthy American vessels is a threat to U.S. security.

Defense Secretary McNamara has denied that shipping difficulties are hampering the war in Vietnam.

On April 20, however, a group of Republicans in the House contended that the United States "is facing a crisis of major proportions with respect to its merchant marine."

Representative John Rhodes, Republican, of Arizona, chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, said that many of today's maritime difficulties stem from Secretary McNamara's decision several years ago to "reduce the role of ships in the defense picture" in favor of air transport.

Four years after this decision, said Congressman Rhodes, "two out of every three soldiers in Vietnam had to be transported by ships, and as of January of this year, 98 percent of the supplies and cargo for the war went by ship."

The U.S. Navy is said to be alarmed as it measures the potential problem of overseas supply in time of emergency against the limited shipping that can be brought into use.

WHAT RUSSIA IS DOING

The Soviet Union, in the meantime, is building a modern merchant fleet to go along with a modern navy.

Russia's active merchant fleet of almost 1,500 vessels is larger than that of the United States. By 1975, it will be twice as large. The Russians are putting to sea 100 new ships each year. The United States is fortunate if it launches a dozen.

Yet this country could be moving toward a highly mechanized merchant fleet, fast and efficient, shipping authorities say.

Engine rooms now can be manned with a fraction of the number of men formerly needed. Because of automation, the skipper needs less help in controlling the ship from the bridge.

New engine and ship designs can increase speed, reduce weight and boost carrying capacity.

There are ways to assure fast, low-cost loading and unloading.

The potential exists for a fleet of nuclear-powered ships to speed U.S. commerce anywhere in the world.

American ships, in the words of one maritime executive, "could be the fastest and most modern afloat, operating at great savings below present-day costs."

WHERE PROBLEM LIES

The trouble surrounding the U.S. merchant marine is described as centering on the demands of maritime labor—and the inability of Government to bring about a moderation in those demands.

The nub of the problem is the size of crews on up-to-date, automated ships.

The shipping firms, to hold down costs and keep competitive, are building ships that are highly mechanized. These can sail with crews of fewer than 40 men, compared with an average of 50 to 60 men on older merchant vessels.

Maritime unions are balking at cutting the size of the crews to the extent the shipping companies demand.

As a result, some newly delivered ships are idle. The series of manning disputes between ship operators and several maritime unions also threatens to immobilize vessels now under construction but soon to be launched.

"The whole future of the merchant marine rests on this issue," says James J. Reynolds, Assistant Secretary of Labor. "So far, our efforts to get a settlement have been fruitless."

Negotiations have been dragging along since last August. At that time, President Johnson declared that a uniform procedure "for the handling of manning and related issues in the maritime industry has become an absolute necessity."

Mr. Johnson asked Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO, to work out an agreement that would end the controversy. That has not been accomplished.

THE COST FACTOR

Underlying the immediate dispute over automated vessels and their crews is a far more persistent problem—the steady rise in the cost of building ships in U.S. yards, and of keeping them operating on the seas.

New ships can be constructed in shipyards abroad for about half what it costs to build them in this country.

Foreign shipowners, too, can operate ships at far less cost because their wage rates are lower. Monthly base pay plus fringes for an able-bodied seaman in the United States is three times as high as that for a British seaman, and four times as much as that for a Japanese sailor.

In the face of these costs, the U.S. Government has been forced to pay out increasing sums in subsidies in order to get new ships built and to keep some merchant shipping going under the American flag.

LAG IN REPLACEMENTS

A program for replacing aging ships owned by the 14 lines now getting subsidies was started more than 10 years ago. It called for 300 new ships, at a cost of $4.5 billion. But this program is now 90 ships behind schedule, officials say.

Shipping subsidies have been in effect since 1936, when an act of Congress provided that U.S. ships meeting certain standards could get "parity payments" to help them meet the costs of competing in world commerce.

Since that act was passed, the Government has paid out more than $2 billion in subsidies. About one-fourth of the total has gone to underwrite ship construction. The rest has gone into operating subsidies—largely for seamen's wages.

Subsidies for ship operation currently amount to about $200 million a year.

This money is paid out by the Maritime Subsidy Board, headed by Maritime Administrator Nicholas Johnson.

The Board, in some recent instances, has refused to approve subsidies for larger crews than it believes new ships require. To do so, it says, would undermine the whole concept of advancement in maritime technology. But this stand by the Board has complicated efforts to settle the long-standing dispute over the size of crews.

An example came into the news on April 6, involving construction of five ships for American President Lines.

The Maritime Subsidy Board and the ship line had drawn up a contract for ships that would carry 37 crewmen and 2 cadets. The Government agreed to pay 54 percent of construction costs.

The shipping line then engaged in long negotiations with maritime unions to draw up a contract for manning the vessels. The unions insisted on a crew of 46 men and 2 cadets.

When the line could not get the unions to budge, it applied to the Subsidy Board for a change in its contract, to permit berths for 48 men. The Board denied the request.

Then the shipping company appealed to Alan Boyd, Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation. On April 6, Mr. Boyd directed the Maritime Subsidy Board to authorize berths for 48 men. But he also cautioned the line that this did not mean it would get any more construction subsidy money than the Board had originally agreed to pay.

Still unsettled, too, is the question of whether the Government will be willing to pay wage subsidies for the additional seamen, if American President Lines puts them on its new ships.

CARGO-HANDLING DISPUTES

Another problem surrounds a dockside cost-cutting system known as containerization.

This is a mechanized way of handling heavy cargo. A factory's product is packed in a van-size container at the plant. Taken by trailer to shipside, it is hoisted into the hold. The same technique is used for unloading at the cargo's destination. Shippers say this method eliminates pilferage, and reduces breakage. Insurance costs are lower as a result.

Yet some shipping lines making use of containerization find that they still must hire full-size longshoremen's gangs to satisfy union demands.

Under Secretary of Commerce Boyd believes that ultimately there must be some kind of confederation of the unions concerned with maritime matters. Efforts to bring this about are now under way, Mr. Boyd adds.

Most maritime officials agree that labor peace is a key to rehabilitating this country's declining merchant fleet and to trying to compete with other maritime nations.

"The shipping industry has always been strike prone, and that has discouraged investment by both operators and the Government," says one shipping authority.

Grace Line noted in its recent annual report for 1965 that two shipping strikes last year cost the company $4.5 million. Lykes Bros., had had a new $12 million ship tied up in port since January because of union demands for one more engineer than the company thinks is justified.

Dock workers on the west coast started negotiations April 15 with shipping companies on a new contract to replace one that expires July 1. The union has threatened to strike if its pay goals are not met.

WHAT DOES FUTURE HOLD?

Labor problems such as these are throwing blocks in the way of what Maritime Administrator Johnson sees as a bright future for merchant shipping.

"We have demonstrated a capacity to build ships roughly twice as productive as the ones we were building just 3 years ago," Mr. Johnson says, and "we now have under consideration proposals from operators for ships that are, again, roughly twice as productive as those we are now building."

The unanswered question, say this country's shipping companies, is whether agreement can be reached with labor unions to permit the new, more efficient ships to be put into service.

Loyalty Day and Law Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, it is significant to note that May 1 is observed in the United States as both Loyalty Day and Law Day. The contrast between our concept of a government by law and the

Communist view of terrorism as a legitimate tool of government must be understood, if we are to comprehend the essentials of the conflict between the ideologies of freemen and those who have a contempt for individual dignity.

Respect for law, by all citizens, whether they be in private or public life, is central to the continued success of our system of representative government and is our best protection against oppressive bureaucracy on the one hand and anarchy on the floor.

We need only to look behind the military operation in Vietnam to see the fearsome consequences of a philosophy which rejects law and undertakes, methodically, to substitute a rule of terror for civilian authority based in law.

We need to reflect on the treasure we have in the United States, in the form of a system of law related to the protection of the individual. This system, as adapted to the needs of other peoples desiring and appreciating freedom, is the best hope of avoiding a return to the law of the jungle, which latter animalistic rule is undergoing a systematic revival by the Communist oppressors of the ordinary citizens of the towns and villages of South Vietnam.

The following recent press account by Ward Just, appearing in the April 29 issue of the Washington Post tells, in the cold, undramatic language of statistics, how the Communist aggressors have continued a systematic effort to demonstrate their unlawful, fear-based power by the coldblooded execution of district officials and village chiefs:

Minor Officials Assassinated by Vietcong

(By Ward Just)

Saigon.—In a slow, laconic voice yesterday afternoon, a U.S. mission spokesman announced the March totals of village and hamlet officials killed, kidnaped and wounded by the Vietcong. The figures were 32 dead, 22 kidnaped, and 14 wounded.

This was a figure not very much greater than the February totals, and no one bothered to delve into precisely who the casualties were. They were, for the most part, faceless men—a district chief in Binhdinh Province, a village chief in the delta, a hamlet chief in the 1st Corps area. In fact, 8 district officials, 7 village officials, and 17 hamlet officials were killed by the Vietcong in acts of individual terror.

FIVE GOALS

The Russian anarchist Kropotkin once called terror "the propaganda of the dead." Theorists here see the Vietcong killings as a somewhat more intricate pursuit of five objectives: morale building in their own ranks, advertisement of the muscle of the movement, disorientation and psychological isolation of the individual Vietnamese, elimination of the opposition, and provocation of the government.

In 1964, the first year in which reasonably accurate figures were kept, 479 government officials were killed and 663 abducted. In 1965, 608 were killed and 804 abducted. So far this year, the terror has seemed to slacken slightly. In the first 3 months, 130 have been killed, 96 abducted.

These are officials. Civilian terror is another matter, and another category. Last year, there were more than 2,000 killed, nearly 7,000 kidnaped, and more than 2,000 wounded in the Republic.

Most of the interest here has centered around the officials, district, hamlet and village chiefs, and their aids. The assassination pattern appears to be directed against the very best and the very worst officials, "against the highly popular and effective government civil servant and against the most corrupt and oppressive local official," according to one expert here. "Such a policy obviously stimulates mediocrity among civil servants."

One survey of assassinations committed against Vietnamese officials indicated that in almost every case of killing and kidnaping the officials were native to the village they served and were not Saigon appointees brought in from the outside.

SOME ARE REPRISALS

As often as not, the assassinations are simply reprisals.

Last October, for example, the Government launched one of its periodic psychological warfare campaigns in the delta after a day of public demonstrations in support of the Government in a hamlet of Phongdinh Province. Petitions of loyalty were presented to the hamlet chief and his deputy. That night, a Communist force invaded the hamlet, hauled the two men out of their homes, and shot them on the spot with machineguns.

Captured Vietcong documents indicate the care with which the killings are planned: "The plan for elimination of tyrants must be very carefully worked out," reads one such paper. "Investigation of those to be eliminated must be meticulously conducted. Leaflets must be disseminated to make the people clearly understand the crimes of the tyrants to be executed and our motives in executing them and to warn other tyrants * * * (we must) take advantage of the deaths of the tyrants to terrorize the enemy generally and cause the lower echelons of his organization to disintegrate."

DEATH WARRANT SENT

There is often an attempt, in keeping with the Vietcong view of itself as the legitimate government, at legal processes. A court meets and the villager, not present, is condemned to death. His death warrant is often sent him through the mails or left on a doorstep. It declares that he has been tried and has been found guilty and is to be punished, which always means execution "in accordance with the decision of the people's court." Then the villager is assassinated.

The Vietcong themselves advertise the method of assassination. The Australian Communist, Wilfred Burchett, broadcasting over Hanoi radio, quoted a Vietcong giving this account of one assassination:

"In Moduc district * * * was one Chau, a main Diemist agent responsible for the deaths of hundreds of former resistance members. We sent a group of guerrillas disguised as Diemist officers to his house * * *. Four men persuaded him that the next day was Ho Chi Minh's birthday and that the Vietcong would certainly make trouble, so action must be taken that night * * *. Eventually he agreed and we set out with some of his agents. About 1 kilometer from his house he was assassinated and his agents were arrested."

LEADERS ELIMINATED

From the evidence, officials here say that the primary objective is nothing less than the elimination of an entire class of Vietnamese: the local leaders and government representatives as well as the natural leaders of the village.

"The Vietcong does not pursue terror in a random and indiscriminate pattern," says one American. "On the contrary, the killing of individuals is done with great specificity."

One result of the campaign against district, village, and hamlet (the designations correspond roughly to county, township and town) officials is that when one is murdered or kidnaped a replacement is not readily found. When one is, he often refuses to sleep in the hamlet, preferring instead a nearby army post. Security deteriorates and isolation increases.

The terror war in the countryside continues with little hope of improvement. In many provinces, the Vietcong seem to strike almost at will. The men best able to organize the villages to resist them are being systematically killed or kidnaped.

The Buffalo Plan: A Unique Approach to Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article in the April issue of Buffalo which delineates a unique and cooperative approach to unemployment and the need for more skilled manpower.

This "Buffalo plan" is known as the Opportunities Development Corp.—ODC. Emerging out of a unique and commendable partnership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce, the ODC was initiated as a self-help effort to train unemployed workers, to provide jobs for them and needed manpower for Buffalo's booming industry.

I call this organization to your attention because I believe that the founders and participants have shown outstanding initiative and ingenuity in attempting to expand the employment opportunities for economically deprived residents of the Buffalo area. It certainly is a pleasing and healthy development when disparate organizations like the chamber of commerce and the NAACP can get together and work in a friendly, cooperative atmosphere for shared goals. And, if I may say so, it speaks well of my hometown.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the article from Buffalo in the Record. It outlines more specifically the goals, objectives and individual participants of the ODC.

Chamber Report

A new nonprofit corporation was announced last month to expand employment opportunities for economically deprived residents of the Buffalo area.

Announcement of the formation of the Opportunities Development Corp. (ODC) was made at a luncheon meeting held by the corporation in the Statler Hilton Hotel. Making the announcement were the cochairman of the founding organization, NAACP President Donald Lee and Henry Coords, plant manager of Western Electric Co.; Inc. and vice president, public affairs, of the Buffalo area chamber.

Speaking at the luncheon, Coords said the new corporation was established following a series of meetings held since last September between officials of local community-interest organizations and the chamber's executive committee.

This group, he said, identified the most pressing problem confronting the Niagara Frontier today as "providing jobs for the area's economically deprived persons." It was agreed in these meetings that no reversal of the chronic unemployment pattern among the economically deprived—which are predominantly but not exclusively Negroes and Puerto Ricans—can be expected until training programs and better employment opportunities are made available. The ODC was inititaed as a self-help effort by the community groups with the full support of the chamber.

ODC proposes to solve the problem through the following courses of action:

1. Securing of skilled and semiskilled jobs for those presently categorized as "economically deprived" by determining the present and future needs of area industry and business.
2. Establishment of a program for upgrading the employment levels of those already employed.
3. Development and implementation of remedial educational training and retraining programs.
4. Gathering and distribution of information with existing and anticipated needs of the area's labor market.

Cords added that ODC is intended to serve as a unifying force in accomplishing these objectives by working closely with business, community and government agencies.

The organization in its formative stage has already received wide acclaim by Federal Government groups who have examined its program. Its unique blending of representation from the community, civil rights groups, State employment service, CAO, and the chamber may well make it a model for other large cities. Already the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has expressed interest and has extended an invitation to the participants to make a presentation at its annual meeting in May.

Also announced by Coords was the appointment of Allen H. Bush, of 205 Marine Drive, as full-time executive director of the Opportunities Development Corp.

The new executive director, who received a doctor of podiatry degree from Long Island University in 1947, is presently on leave of absence from the New York State Employment Service, where he served as associate manager of the youth opportunities center.

Dr. Bush has been with the State employment service since 1948, serving progressively as employment interviewer-counselor, minority group representative, and acting supervisor of placement unit, and minority groups service coordinator for Erie County. In 1962, he was coordinator of a special committee which worked with the University of Minnesota in studying the effects of the closing of vast tracts in the Mesabi Iron Range on employment among several large minority groups in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

ODC has been financed thus far by contributions from selected companies in western New York. With the official establishment of the corporation, it is anticipated that additional revenue will become available from the community at large, from foundations, and from Federal grants-in-aid.

The new corporation is an incorporated, independently financed, professionally directed, not-for-profit organization. The governing body is a 12-member board of directors, 6 from the chamber's board and 6 from the community organizations. ODC will operate from offices on the fifth floor of the Manufacturers & Traders Trust Co. Building.

Serving with Coords on ODC's executive committee are NAACP President Donald Lee, chairman; Community Action Organization Director Ambrose I. Lane, secretary; and Manufacturers & Traders Trust Co. Chairman Charles W. Millard, Jr., treasurer. Directors include Charles Brewer, president-elect of CORE; Leeland Jones, associate director of the Buffalo Urban League; George Rose, president of Citizens Community Interest; and the Reverend Milton Williams; and the following members of the chamber's board: Jack D. Bunis, president, Sample, Inc.; Jack E. Clark, general manager, New York Telephone Co.; Max B. E. Clarkson, president, Graphic Controls, Inc.; Edmund T. Platt, president, William Hengerer Co.; Lawrence G. Riley, manager, American Airlines, Inc.; and Herbert D. Clay, president, Iroquois Gas Corp. Riley and Clay are alternates on ODC's board.

Buffalo's gift to its Japanese sister city, Kanazawa, was shipped by American Airlines and Pan American Airlines March 17. The gift, a bronze statue of a bison, was sculptured by Mrs. Reginald B. Taylor, and was partly financed by a public subscription drive.

John M. Galvin, chairman of the executive committee of the Marine Midland Trust Co. of Western New York, and chairman of the Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce's Boost Buffalo Committee, announced that Marine Midland Trust would underwrite a portion of the costs of casting the statue which were not met by the drive.

Michael J. McGoldrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, amidst the horror and terror of war, there are always stories of courage and bravery and dedication. There are some heroes who become the subjects of novels or movies. But there are also stories of unsung heroes, modest men of quiet courage who have the strength to do what they believe is right.

Such a man was Sp4c. Michael J. McGoldrick, age 20, who was killed in action in Vietnam on April 16, 1966.

In "Last Thoughts of a Young GI," published by the New York Post on April 20, 1966, Jay Levin presented a moving portrait of Michael McGoldrick. He was a devoted son who wrote mild letters to his mother to spare her excessive anguish. He was a considerate brother. He was a thoughtful boyfriend. He was a fine athlete who starred at Good Shepherd School and George Washington High School—the son of John McGoldrick, a famous star of Gaelic football. He was a courageous soldier who gave his life for his country.

The story from the New York Post follows:

[From the New York Post, Apr. 20, 1966]

LAST THOUGHTS OF A YOUNG GI

(By Jay Levin)

Michael Joseph McGoldrick, like so many others who are there, kept his letters to his family free of the sounds and sights of death. His letters home from Vietnam were no more revealing than the postcards of a summer camper. "I am fine. How are you?" was their substance.

The death of a friend went unmarked and unmourned by his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth McGoldrick, because he would not be the bearer of painful news. Only once, in a typically brief letter, did he hint at the hideous reality of the war.

"Went on operations," he wrote. "The trench I was in had four others in it. They all got hit but me * * * I was lucky. Tonight I'm going to a movie."

But what Michael felt compelled to conceal from his mother, he shared with his girlfriend, 17-year-old Noreen O'Connor. It was to her that he wrote of his fears and doubts.

His final letter to her was written last Thursday. "If I had listened to my mother," he said, of his having enlisted for 3 years instead of advancing his 2-year draft as his mother wanted, "I would have been out yesterday."

This letter arrived Monday. But the day before the Defense Department had sent its man to tell Mrs. McGoldrick her son was dead.

And late yesterday, the Pentagon, on its latest casualty list, made known publicly that Sp4c. Michael J. McGoldrick of 502 West 213th Street, had been killed in action.

That is all. No details of place or time or the significance of the death. And that is all Mrs. McGoldrick learned Sunday when she answered her door at 7:45 a.m. and saw an obviously nervous Army captain who asked if she were Elizabeth McGoldrick.

"For a second I thought he was a friend of Michael's. Then I remembered the new policy—no more telegrams. He took out a piece of paper and read from it, just that Michael was killed in action. I said "How can you stand there and read so coldly?" He said it wasn't cold, it was just part of his job."

Michael Joseph McGoldrick, who was 20 and who lived the first 18 years of his life in the same comfortable five-room apartment on 213th Street, did not want to worry his mother with the harsher realities of a soldier's life. He never told her, for example, that he had once taken upon himself the burden of easing the pain for a dead friend's family by writing to the friend's son.

"I know he didn't want to trouble me. He was the youngest of my six children. He was my baby. He knew it. My husband died 2 years ago and Michael didn't want me thinking about what could happen over there. He never did make any complaint in any of his letters."

Vietnam, where Michael had fought since February, changed him. He had quit school 4 months after his father died in December 1964, to become a soldier. He volunteered for the paratroopers and duty in Vietnam. But he had to wait until February of this year, when he turned 20.

"He thought being a soldier was the greatest thing," said his brother John, 26. "I never thought he'd be able to take the discipline. But he made specialist fourth, he went to the paratroopers, and he was good enough to instruct ROTC classes at West Point last summer. He once even mentioned making a career of the service."

But not after shipping out to Vietnam with the 27th Infantry. "He wasn't disenchanted," Mrs. Mary Buenaga, 30, his sister, explains. "He was just scared. He wanted to come home and get married."

Michael Joseph McGoldrick was the son of John McGoldrick, "the Babe Ruth of Gaelic football." When he came here in the 1930's—John was—he still is—hailed as the greatest player of Irish football. From him, Michael acquired his love of things physical.

At Good Shepherd Grammar School he played basketball. Later he was an end for the Inwood Rams football team, played CYO basketball, ran track and high-jumped at George Washington High School. His many trophies include the John F. Kennedy Medal for physical fitness and another from his battalion during basic training.

Aside from his brief flirtation with a military career, he had one vague dream. "He wanted to become a detective who worked with kids," another sister, Margaret, 21, says. "He so loved kids he thought he might help them as a cop."

He was always available to babysit for his six nephews and three nieces, the children of his brother, John, and sisters, Mary, Mrs. Ann Shields, 25, and Mrs. Elish Hickey, 28.

He brought Army fatigues and caps for his nephews, who, John says, "loved him tremendously."

And now this friendly, freckled boy, who once gave artificial respiration to an old man after an accident and never told his family about saving him, is coming home to lie beside his father at St. Raymond's Cemetery in the Bronx.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Gov. Hulett Smith, of West Virginia; Surg. Gen. William Stewart; and Former Gov. George Leader, of Pennsylvania, Join in Crusade Against Cancer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, a few days ago in Morgantown, W. Va., a timely program was held in the crusade against cancer. Gov. Hulett C. Smith, Dr. William H. Stewart, Surgeon General of our Public Health Service, and former Gov. George M. Leader, of Pennsylvania, were speakers. Walter L. Hart, civic leader, presided.

The meeting was sponsored by the American Medical Association, the West Virginia University Medical School, and the Monongalia County Medical and Cancer Societies in an effort to call to the attention of everyone the need to strengthen the fight against cancer.

Dr. Stewart commented:

Viruses have been firmly linked with cancer in many experimental animals. Recently scientists using the electron microscope have discovered viruslike particles in the blood of human patients suffering from leukenia. These particles resemble known animal leukemia viruses. As this line of investigation is pursued further, we can begin to envision the possibility of cancer vaccines on the horizon. Prevention is, of course, our highest goal.

Thus there is now hope of finding a method of combat for this dreaded disease. Much research is being carried on throughout the Nation and commenting on the part West Virginia is performing, Dr. Stewart added:

There is increasing hope, also, in the treatment of cancer using surgery, X-ray treatment, and drugs or combinations of these procedures. West Virginia University Medical School here in Morgantown is participating in one of the largest experimental programs ever undertaken in medicine—the cancer chemotherapy program—whereby many thousands of chemical compounds are tested each year for their possible effectiveness against various types of cancer.

Discussing methods of prevention, the Surgeon General stated:

Of all the new discoveries and procedures that have come out of our multibillion-dollar investment in cancer research over the past three decades, this one—stopping smoking—could save the most lives. It's the simplest one of all.

Governor Leader, vice president of the crusade, who has made many significant contributions toward the cause of combating cancer, also spoke before this university city group, whose citizens are constantly striving to be better informed while helping their fellow man.

Governor Smith, addressing the group in the terminal at the Morgantown Airport, said:

We know that cancer, if discovered early, can be stopped if we're on our toes. Yet often I find across this State, that because of our great advances in medicine, there is a sort of complacency on the part of many people. Nothing could be more dangerous. This is not a time for complacency. The greatest battle to be fought against cancer is the battle that is fought by the individual.

The Governor continued:

Forty-eight million people now alive on this planet will become victims of cancer. Some will be cured. Our work must be toward the day when all will be cured.

It is with this thought, dedication, and service, that each of us must share our burden in overcoming this killer which continues to claim thousands of unnecessary lives each year. I was pleased to participate in the program, and I ask unanimous consent to include at this point in my remarks the addresses of Governor Smith and Surgeon General Stewart.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY GOV. HULETT C. SMITH OF WEST VIRGINIA, AT MORGANTOWN, W. VA., APRIL 17, 1966

There's an old proverb that says, "He who has health has hope—and he who has hope has everything."

There is no area in the field of medicine where there is more hope than in the drive to seek a cure for cancer.

But while this is still only a hope, it is a very real one, because the determination of groups like this one give it meaning and direction.

We know that cancer, if discovered early, can be stopped if we're on our toes.

Yet often I find across this State, that because of our great advances in medicine, there is a sort of "complacency" on the part of many people.

Nothing could be more dangerous.

This is not a time for complacency.

The greatest battle to be fought against cancer is the battle that is fought by the individual.

We know this to be the case, for the danger signals of cancer appear first to the individual. This is why every man, woman, and child should be familiar with them.

President Johnson told us in his message on health:

"We must not allow the modern miracles of medicine to mesmerize us.

"The work most needed to advance the Nation's health will not be done for us by miracles."

That's why your cancer drive this year is so important.

You are not only seeking funds to carry on this fight.

You are seeking to educate our men, women and children to the warning signs of cancer.

Life is at stake.

Forty-eight million people now alive on this planet will become victims of cancer.

Some will be cured.

Our work must be toward the day when all will be cured.

That is how important this drive is.

Morgantown is to be commended.

Surgeon General Stewart, this program today is typical of the enthusiasm and dedication that goes into worthwhile projects in this university city.

The American Medical Association, the university medical school, the Monongalia County Medical and Cancer Societies have joined to sponsor this program, and to call to the attention of everyone the need to step up the fight against cancer.

I congratulate all of you on your determination and your enthusiasm.

I know this campaign will be a success.

The fact that the Surgeon General of the United States has joined us underlines the importance of this event.

General Stewart, on behalf of the people of West Virginia, I welcome you to our State—and introduce you to a people who like to get things done.

We are honored that you chose to spend Sunday afternoon with us.

And we want you to know that we in West Virginia join you and the President in every effort to bring both health and hope to the American people.

PARTNERSHIP FOR BETTER HEALTH

(Speech by William H. Stewart, M.D., Surgeon General, Public Health Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)

I am very happy to be with you today as you focus the attention of your city and State on one of man's hardest struggles—the long war against cancer.

This gathering symbolizes in many ways the strong alliance that we in America have formed over the years to combat disease. All elements of that alliance are represented here: the private practitioners upon whom the delivery of health care ultimately depends; the university medical school, which has become the great generating force for now health knowledge as well as the teacher of practitioners for the future; the governmental sphere, which is lending increasing support to the Nation's health efforts; and finally—and most important of all—the voluntary efforts of private citizens. Let me address my first remarks to the volunteer health workers upon whose efforts the success of your cancer program will depend.

It is part of my job, as a representative of the Federal Government, to view the health problems of people from a national window—to assess overall needs and search for generalized solutions.

But it is necessary that I keep a few basic truths firmly in mind—that every "national" health problem is no more than the sum of individual patients who are sick or injured, being treated by individual physicians and nurses, needing care at community hospitals and nursing homes. Medicine is a peculiarly human science. Health administration is a particularly human challenge.

It is most important, therefore, that those of us who are concerned with broad national health problems meet with groups which are coming to grips with these problems in their own communities. We need the invigoration of people like yourselves who are on the firing line of community health efforts.

I consider it a distinct pleasure to meet with men and women who are making such an important contribution to our society. You here are identified with the finest type of civic responsibility—unselfish devotion to the conquest of disease and the advancement of human well-being.

Each of you is affiliated with a number of organizations. Your interests encompass a variety of causes. But you share a common bond of compassion and dedication. You know the needs of people for medical care, as well as for friendship, companionship, and the kind of services that make life more rewarding—and each of you is doing something about it.

Ours is a time of high expectation for health services and high hopes for the conquest of disease. The explosive growth of scientific knowledge in the past two decades has brought many once hopeless diseases within our powers of control and has brought us to the threshold of still greater achievements.

It is even a time of high hopes in the field of cancer—once considered the very image of hopelessness.

Recent research, for example, suggests that viruses may be involved in the causation of human cancers. Viruses have been firmly linked with cancers in many experimental animals. Recently scientists using the electron microscope have discovered viruslike particles in the blood of human patients suffering from leukemia. These particles resemble known animal leukemia viruses. As this line of investigation is pursued further, we can begin to envision the possibility of cancer vaccines on the horizon. Prevention is, of course, our highest goal.

There is increasing hope, also, in the treatment of cancer using surgery, X-ray treatment, and drugs or combinations of these procedures. The University of West Virginia Medical School here in Morgantown is participating in one of the largest experimental programs ever undertaken in medicine—the cancer chemotherapy program whereby many thousands of chemical compounds are tested each year for their possible effectiveness against various types of cancer.

Progress is painfully slow, but definitely visible. Patients with certain kinds of cancer have experienced prolonged remission of symptoms following treatment by some of the chemicals screened in this program. Not long ago our best claim was that we could save one-fourth of cancer victims. Now the percentage has moved up to one-third, and cancer experts tell us that we could save half if the disease is detected in time and if the best in modern medical care were universally accessible.

We are also moving forward on these two fronts—early diagnosis, and channeling new knowledge into widespread practice. Partly as a result of a new Public Health Service program, more and more women each year are being tested for cervical cancer—a form of the disease that is almost always curable if diagnosed in its early stages. An excellent diagnostic test—the Papanicolau smear test—has been available for 30 years. Yet until recently relatively few received the benefit of this lifesaving measure, and cervical cancer has continued to claim thousands of unnecessary deaths each year.

Another diagnostic procedure of high promise—known as mammography—is now being put to work to detect breast cancer at an early, often curable stage. Getting these procedures into general practice is a tough job. It involves educating the public, educating the medical profession, and training sufficient numbers of technicians to carry out the processes. Across the country, with the help of the whole health partnership, these educational tasks are being undertaken.

And then, of course, there is the most mystifying problem of all from a health standpoint—the problem of lung cancer and its association with smoking. More than 2 years have passed since my predecessor as Surgeon General, Dr. Luther L. Terry, released the report of his distinguished Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health. All the additional scientific evidence that has been built up since the report simply strengthens its conclusions. There can be no doubt in any reasonable mind that cigarette smoking is directly linked with lung cancer, that lung cancer is now the deadliest of all forms of cancer, and that its toll will continue to increase unless there is a radical change in the Nation's smoking habits.

Yet we, as a nation, go on smoking cigarettes in greater numbers each year. There has been a decline in the per capita consumption, which reflects the fact that some people have been convinced by science and are tough enough to act on their convictions. But the total number of cigarettes keeps going up as the population grows.

Of all the new discoveries and procedures that have come out of our multibillion-dollar investment in cancer research over the past three decades, this one—stopping smoking—could save the most lives. It's the simplest one of all.

And this brings me back to my point of departure. National health problems are the problems of individual people. That's why the voluntary part of the health partnership is probably the most important of all in the long run. Private citizens, working among their neighbors in their own community, are the heart of the Nation's health effort.

The people of Morgantown and the State of West Virginia can take great pride in your achievements. Your shining modern medical school is taking vigorous part in the process of building the scientific knowledge upon which tomorrow's medicine will be based. It is preparing young people to practice that medicine of tomorrow, to bring its benefits to the State, the Nation, and the world.

Most of all you can take pride in your personal dedication to better health that has caused you to devote your efforts to the long struggle against cancer. Thomas Jefferson once said, "Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly."

It is the willingness of your hearts and hands that will help us scale new heights in the unending battle against disease and suffering and premature death. You can be very sure that what you do desperately needs doing. We need the dedication and the inspiration of the volunteer health worker.

It is a great pleasure for me, as Surgeon General, to salute you for the important contributions you are making and wish you every success as you prepare to meet the challenges of tomorrow.

Pottery Plans To Rebuild Plant Destroyed by Blaze

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, on April 28, 1966, the Ungemach Pottery in Roseville, Ohio, was destroyed by fire as a result of being struck by lightning. The damage was estimated at one-half million dollars.

Sixty employees were affected by the loss of the pottery. The response of competitors and many other firms and individuals in the Roseville community gives more than adequate testimony to the American tradition that "we are our brothers keepers."

An article from the Times Recorder, Zanesville, Ohio, presents a picture of cooperation and friendship seldom, if ever, equaled in the history of our country:

POTTERY PLANS TO REBUILD PLANT DESTROYED BY BLAZE

Plans were underway yesterday to rebuild the Ungemach Pottery which was destroyed Thursday when two successive bolts of lightning went through the west end of the building causing a flash fire that razed the structure in less than an hour and a half.

Contractors were on the scene, where rubble was being cleared by volunteer help, drawing up plans to have a newly expanded plant under roof in approximately 3 weeks. The three allied kilns, the heart of the pottery operation, were able to be salvaged and placed back in use. Bob Ungemach estimated that production might be started in 5 to 6 weeks.

The cooperative sprit of the entire Roseville community supported Bob and Klemm Ungemach through a long day of hard work clearing debris which was all that was left of the pottery that had been in production for the past 35 years.

Robinson-Ransbottom Nelson McCoy and Watt potteries jointed together to supply heavy equipment and trucks free of charge to help in the clean-up operation. Five trucks each were furnished free of charge also from Carroll Dunn and OK Coal Co. Sidwell Bros. offered a Caterpillar and power shovel. Clyde O. Dilts and Hiram Ihinger also gave equipment and cutting torches for the operation. Roseville City Council authorized the use of the city truck and Roseville fire department was on the scene at night flooding the working area with light. Village policeman, John Thompson, maintained a constant vigil to keep trucks moving through village streets at a continuous pace as they hauled debris to the city dump.

Many of the firm's 60 employees worked through the day and evening, off the payroll, to clear out the rubble from areas the heavy equipment could not reach. Charles and Jack Shields, foremen at Ungemach Pottery, directed operations and equipment throughout the day. The female employees of the pottery got together to furnish coffee and sandwiches to the crews at work. Many sent sandwiches, cookies, and coffee to the site. Jay Short supplied refreshments for truckdrivers and heavy equipment operators.

Ruth Cannon offered the Ungemach brothers a building on Main Street in which a temporary office could be maintained, and Chuck Alexander from Business Equipment set up a complete office on loan, with all the necessary office equipment. Before work crews left, nearly three-fourths of the debris had been cleared.

In the meantime, Robinson-Ransbottom pottery has offered to hire some of the Ungemach employees on a loan basis until the expanded, newly equipped plant is in operation again. Local moldmakers have offered to make molds in advance so that the molds will be ready when the building is ready.

The Ungemachs said they were overwhelmed at the spirit of the community to restore them back into production again.

Asian Art Efforts Noted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, recent events in Asia emphasize the importance of the work of the Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation, Inc. Organized in 1952, the foundation has already presented many collections of oriental artifacts to various educational institutions.

Now another important collection is to be presented in the near future to Cheyney State College at Cheyney, Pa. The details of this presentation are outlined in a letter to the college president, Dr. L. B. Allen, from the foundation president, Mr. S. Kriger.

Because I believe this letter will be of interest, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 27, 1966.

Dr. L. B. ALLEN,
President, Cheyney State College,
Cheyney, Pa.

DEAR DR. ALLEN: Mr. Robert A. Klein, vice president of WDAS Charities, Inc., has sent to us a letter under date of April 21, 1966, confirming the plan to present to Cheyney State College a comprehensive collection of oriental artifacts, art objects, and printed reference material. He enclosed with that letter a photostat of your letter of April 5, 1966, to Mr. Bradley, at radio station WDAS. The foundation is happy indeed to assist in, and contribute to, this important and worthy project.

Our objective in sponsoring and in contributing to such presentations to educational institutions is to develop among the adults of tomorrow knowledge and understanding of Asian peoples by means of study of their cultures and history so that our students may be able, when they assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, to assist in solving or avoiding such grave misunderstandngs as exist today.

It is our system to have our planning officer, Mr. Robert Humphreys, work closely with a member of the faculty, appointed for that purpose, in selecting the items to comprise the gift in order that the material may fit the particular needs of the recipient institution. I am sending Mr. Humphreys to visit you and to give you the necessary data and to meet your liaison appointee.

Following our tradition, for the presentation ceremonies and for a limited time thereafter, we plan to exhibit on loan at the college, a large and supplementary collection of exceptionally valuable and important objects of art. This will enable your faculty, students and invited guests to view an extremely wide range of oriental art that cannot fail to arouse interest in, and appreciation and increasing respect for, our fellowmen in Asia.

In connection with this second phase of our plan for your college, I am assured of the heartiest cooperation of the friends of Asian Cultural Exchange Foundation, Inc., who live in your vicinity, such as Senator HUGH SCOTT, of your great State, Mr. Robert A. Klein, Mr. Robert G. Calder, Jr., Colonel J. J. Imhoff, Dr. A. Somlyo, and many others—all collectors of note and generous supporters of our work.

We are establishing an important precedent in sponsoring and participating in this presentation to your college and have high hopes for its success due to the standing of your institution and its major fields of activity. We feel that Asia, containing over 50 percent of the world's population, is looming more and more as of the utmost importance to the future of civilization, even of mankind itself, and that the college can contribute greatly in helping to educate its students in a better knowledge and understanding of the Orient and its teeming peoples.

In conclusion, I speak for all of us in the ACEF in expressing our deep regard and respect for WDAS in demonstrating its public spirit by selecting your fine college as the recipient for its and our gift.

I hope that the result will be to arouse interest among other educational institutions in your area and that others may be able to follow your example. I hope, too, and this is most important, that friends of the college will present, from time to time, additional objects so that the collection may be continuously and increasingly effective as time goes on. I shall be glad if you will arrange to invite the faculty and students of neighboring elementary and high schools to view the collection as a source of information and inspiration for them.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,
S. KRIGER, *President.*

Staten Island Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a message which appeared in the April 1966 News and Views, a publication of the Staten Island Chamber of Commerce. This comprehensive statement concerning the problems of an expanding urban area is an indication of the awareness of one of our first citizens, Mr. Albert Melniker, of the problems we must meet:

At the southern tip of New York State the 60-square mile area known as Staten Island has become the focal point for many of the problems related to the city of New York. Optimistically in the early post-World War II days, it was termed "Treasure Island" by a visitor who was impressed with its potential. Today it has become somewhat of an enigma, a puzzle, and a pawn in the hands of the city of New York. A constant tug of war takes place between the necessity for good planning and sound thinking and expediency to satisfy the needs of those who are not interested in the greatest good for the total community. Today's problems are manifold and the history of the island is in order to determine the possible solutions.

Before World War I, Staten Island developed in a slow, carefree manner. World War I brought a suge of shipbuilding and other activities that resulted in a carryover after the war ended. The breaking up of the older estates and the influx of new population from other boroughs created a building boom in the twenties which was cut short by the 1929 depression. Planning during this period was not comprehensive, but was basically piecemeal. It was difficult to visualize the forces that would shape Staten Island in later years. The thirties brought a period of stagnation, lack of planning, and lack of imagination as well. Suddenly at the end of World War II, Staten Island found itself facing the problems of housing, returning GI's, problems of commercial development, schools, roads, sewers, ad infinitum.

The post-World War II era has seen a period in the development and planning of the island which was not worthy of the great potential that Staten Island holds. The influx of people and buildings in areas that were not prepared for this has aggravated the entire development of this island, and has created a stalemate at the present time which has seriously hurt our image.

With the chamber's principles of a balanced community and a partnership between community and government, it has been most distressing to find that—

(a) We do not have a comprehensive master plan.

(b) We do not have a carefully considered zoning.

(c) We do not have a totally developed plan for sanitary and storm drainage.

(d) We do not have a comprehensive highway system except on paper.

(e) We lack waterfront development to properly use our great natural features.

(f) We do not have a general aviation airport.

(g) We do not have a civic center.

(h) We do not have an industrial park.

These items are basically the program of the chamber and by necessity should be the program for Staten Island. Our hope is that our partnership between community and government will realize these items and will give to Staten Island that which it richly deserves.

The chamber is dedicated to raising the image of Staten Island from that of a "commuter bedroom" to a community in balance. To be in balance Staten Island must be able to offer its residents, its businessmen—including industry—and its professionals adequate job and business opportunities based upon a sound economy and set in surroundings dictated by sound planning, beauty, and good taste befitting all islanders. But merely to desire such a community is not to say it will be self-achieved—carefully thought out planning and resolute followthrough are our only keys to success.

ALBERT MELNIKER, *President.*

The Constitution: An Obligated Way of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, every year the American Legion sponsors a national high school oratorical contest.

The award to the Legion's department of New Jersey oratorical contest winner is a trophy which I was happy to donate more than 10 years ago.

The 1966 New Jersey winner is Dennis Milton Frenchman, a senior at the New Brunswick Senior High School, who expresses so well his own sense of patriotism.

I ask unanimous consent that his prizewinning essay entitled "The Constitution: An Obligated Way of Life" be printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Constitution: An Obligated Way of Life

(By Dennis M. Frenchman, North Brunswick, N.J.)

The Constitution of the United States of America is probably one of the most penetrating social and political instruments ever devised in the history of man. Through both stated powers and extenuating interpretations, it has formed for Americans a binding structure which has held our society together since 1789. Although forming a government, it has also reached far into every facet of our economy, social institutions, and code of ethics. In short, although a political doctrine, it has also established a way of life. This relatively brief document has brilliantly succeeded in transforming the basic tenets of a democratic government into a democratic society. The Constitution has accomplished this mainly because it, first of all, establishes and guarantees certain basic human rights; secondly, institutes a representative government, which although ruled by the majority, protects the rights of the minority and is based, fundamentally, upon the individual; thirdly, provides an atmosphere in which free enterprise may flourish by guaranteeing competition, private ownership, and freedom of choice; and, lastly, insures under the right of trial by jury the premise of innocence and equality of all citizens under the law.

The Constitution, because it is based on these four ideas, brings itself down from the lofty pedestal of law into our daily life, in the form of such things as pure food, traffic lights, and free places of worship. This idea of government as a way of life has become deeply ingrained in Americans over the course of our 180-year history. Such a democratic state of mind is a secret source of strength for the American people. It is a hidden element of power, the potential of which our enemies of the past have never fully realized. The American people have always possessed the ability to draw on this spirit, which lies often unnoticed but never inactive, as a source of determination in times of crisis. In this light it is difficult to conceive of the Constitution being overthrown by an outside force.

Governments are easily crushed, but to kill a state of mind by external force nears the impossible. The democratic way of life, however, is pitifully susceptible to decay from within. It is easily crushed by the diseases of apathy, indifference, and ignorance. It is these enemies, internal ones, which Americans must constantly resist, and they can only be combated by active, informed citizens seeking to fulfill the obligations which are inherent in a democracy, such as jury duty, military service, voting, paying taxes, and above all, keeping informed. Without acceptance of these responsibilities by all citizens, our way of life simply cannot survive.

Gladstone, the British statesman, characterized the Constitution as, "The most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the mind and purpose of man." The Constitution has certainly lived up to this statement, for it has guided us as a nation for over seven generations. It has proved amazing in its ability to serve the interests of a changing citizenry. Frontier farmers and nuclear scientists, blacksmiths and automobile industrialists, laborers and artisans has all enjoyed throughout our history the equality of freedom, justice, and humanity under this document. "The great principles of the Constitution," states authority Clinton Roster, "have always been in tune with the beliefs and hopes of an expanding democracy. These principles include the soverignty of the people, supremacy of the national government, respect for the States, division of powers, separation of the church, and rule by a clear-cut majority." These basic and unchanging principles have provided Americans with a timeless reference point in a changing environment. Although customs, ideas, and even parts of the Constitution itself may alter to meet the superficial needs of an advancing civilization, these tenets of our democracy have proved of universal appeal and, therefore, have, never changed. They established the United States as a frontier community, yet continue to guide us as the most powerful nation on earth today.

It is because of our position in the world today, however, that the Constitution provides for Americans perhaps the greatest challenge to any people of history. That challenge envolves guiding the world yet maintaining our democratic way of life. Such a feat is not easily accomplished and has never been achieved in the history of man. Past democracies have crumbled into dictatorships or oblivion whenever a position of influence was reached because their people were not able to meet the challenges of increased responsibility. Wallowing in their own greatness, they became apathetic, arrogant, indifferent to the form of government which had brought them their strength and, consequently, they failed. Failure must not occur in the United States of America. The Constitution, although a brilliant form of government, is only as strong as its weakest citizen. Based solely on the individual, it can fulfill its potential only when every American plays his role.

The Constitution was written "to secure the blessings of liberty * * * for posterity." We have inherited that legacy. On our shoulders falls the burden of maintaining the democratic way of life within a world which at times seems determined to destroy it. To meet such responsibilities demands of each of us to search our own hearts both for a strain of courage and a strain of Americanism. Courage to act and Americanism to act in the selfless democratic ideal which has characterized so many Americans of the past. Within each of us is embodied the hopes and the dreams of these citizens who have been slain in the defense of the Constitution. Within each of us is a part of every American death at Lexington, every American who fell at Gettysburg, each U.S. soldier who died at the Argonne Forest, every citizen who was slain on Iwo Jima, each young American boy who is dying in Vietnam. In respect to them, we must strive to the utmost for the preservation of the democraic way of life. Our responsibilities must be viewed not as a burden but as a privilege to be met without reservation, if men are to live in freedom and if democracy is to prevail.

Myrtle Knows the Answers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to call the attention of my many fine colleagues in Congress to a very excellent book, recently published by a constituent of mine, Mrs. Myrtle I. French of Burlington, Iowa. Mrs. French's book, "Myrtle Knows the Answers," is a warm and moving story of this woman's very human involvement in the lives of the people she has met and their problems.

Mrs. French has dedicated herself to helping all people everywhere. In reading this fine book, one easily realizes how Mrs. French has become No. 1 citizen and official greeter for the city of Burlington as well as one of the best known persons in Des Moines County, Iowa.

I would like to highly recommend this book as an excellent example of the kind of people who have made Iowa the great State that it is.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church Site Dedicated in Wilmington, Del.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, it was my great pleasure to attend the dedication of a new church site for the SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Wilmington, Del., on Sunday, April 24.

Dedication of this church site represents a significant step for the members of the SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox parish. At that time Mr. Paul Hrynyshyn summed up very well the importance of the progress of the church to the citizens of Ukrainian descent in the Wilmington area. Mr. Hrynyshyn's remarks indicate how well the Americans of Ukrainian descent have contributed to the growth of their community and the importance of their church in this progress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hrynyshyn's remarks on this occasion be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Thank you, Mr. President.

Your Eminence Metropolitan John, reverend clergy, their wives, Senator and Mrs. Boggs, Mayor and Mrs. Babiarz, other distinguished guests, friends, and my dear fellow parishioners, almost 28 years ago, on May 5, 1938, the parishioners of the SS. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Wilmington, saw their present church edifice on South Heald Street completed. Prior to that time, church services were conducted in the Old Swedes Church for 5 years, and then in the auditorium of their parish home, for an additional 5 years.

Indeed, that was a great and memorable day for every dedicated member of the parish because finally, after 30 some years of unrest, insecurity, misunderstandings, and need for want, this Ukrainian Orthodox community had fulfilled its adrent desire to acquire their own house of worship in this free and great land, America. A house of worship that was void of ties; one where they could worship as they knew and as they pleased.

And, from its infancy, every since it was established by its first Ukrainian immigrants, the congregation did much to promote the welfare and ideals of the church and country. It grew and expanded into a dynamic and a respected organization within the community; assuming and fulfilling every responsibility placed upon it by the city, State, and country.

Therefore, what our fathers and forefathers have begun—we second and third generation members must continue.

Their willingness to sacrifice and their determination to preserve the Orthodox Faith are examples for all of us. They treasured with all their hearts the spiritual gifts bestowed upon them by our Heavenly Father. They did not labor in vain, for the Lord who is good and gracious was with them in all their endeavors.

They carried out their responsibilities remarkably well, continually striving to rear their children in a good Christian and indebted manner—never forgetting that their new adopted country, America, had willingly spread out her arms and took them into her bosom at a time when they were fleeing the clutches of the same ruthless regimes that even today continue to spread its decay and destroys the hopes and freedom of man in all sections of this world.

During the ensuing years the congregation of SS. Peter and Paul saw its youth grow into manhood; to leave and honorably serve its country in World War II, the Korean conflict, the Berlin crisis, and now in Vietnam. Some, never to return; others, returning with the horrible marks of the conflicts that must be carried out to preserve man's freedom on this earth, but ever so proud to have been able to serve its country.

The young parishioners have served the city well also—on the police and fire departments. Some reaching retirement status, while others are still on the active rolls. Two parishioners are professors—teaching at the University of Delaware. A parishioner's son is a practicing dentist, another a lawyer. Others serve their country in various responsible positions within the Federal Government, as well as in private industry.

No, these are not extraordinary deeds, because we certainly realize only too well that, as citizens of this great country, this is expected of us. But, it certainly must be a heartening feeling for our fathers to realize that we, Americans of Ukrainian decent, a people who even today does not enjoy its freedom, but is puppetted, are able to make a small contribution into what makes our land the great country it is.

Yes, the challenge is there and a bright and glorious horizon appears before us. It is my ardent prayer, hope, and belief that this present generation can and will continue with the task started for them—we will see a new church built for the glory of God which shall be a great tribute to the founders of this parish, our Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and to orthodoxy at all. We have more to offer than we think. It behooves us all to pool our resources, both material and spiritual, so that the impact of our Orthodox Christian unity and faith will be felt by all who are around us.

Today, we have taken a giant step forward in attaining this goal. Today, we have witnessed His Eminence Metropolitan John dedicate and bless the site upon which soon will rise a glorious new church. Today must be considered one of the greatest days in the life of our most energetic president, Mr. Serednicki, who has spearheaded this endeavor so diligently for the past 5 years.

I also imagine that it must be heartwarming and a very proud feeling for the elders of this parish to observe its youth expand in this fashion. And, I can say with deep humility, that I, as one of those connected with this expansion, deem it an honor and a distinct pleasure to be a part of this fine organization.

I am very confident that the good Lord will bless our undertaking and oversee us in our venture—just as He did when our fathers started out on a similar venture some 30 years ago.

As we go forward under the hand of God, let every member of SS. Peter and Paul be strengthened by the word of one who said: "Let this be a labor of love."

Thank you.

Wooing the City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives has begun a series of citizens' forums around the country in an effort to determine the thinking of the local people on matters of national concern. These forums are being conducted by several of the task forces which have been established in the past year under the leadership of House Minority Leader Gerald Ford, and the chairman of the House Republican planning and research committee, Charles Goodell.

The task force on urban-suburban affairs, which I am honored to serve as chairman, held the first of the forums on April 16 in the Twin Cities metropolitan area of Minnesota. We heard oral testimony from 22 experts in the fields of metropolitan transit and air and water pollution. In addition, we have received written statements from over 30 other people knowledgeable in one or both of these two subjects. Our next forum is scheduled for May 21 in Bridgeport, Conn., when we will hear and receive expert testimony in the field of housing.

We feel that these forums provide an excellent method of discussing key problems with key local officials. But perhaps our view of the forums and their potential worth was best set out in an editorial which appeared in the April 11, 1966, issue of the Christian Science Monitor. I am pleased to insert that editorial in the Record at this point:

WOOING THE CITY

Republican leaders in Congress have hit upon a novel and practical plan to show their concern over the problems of the people in the cities. They intend to send task forces composed of Republican Congressmen into some 20 industrial centers to hold open hearings this spring. These, it is expected, will attract ordinary urban dwellers regardless of party, race, or income, and give them a chance to tell their urban troubles to some of the officials who draft legislation.

Such open hearings should accomplish two things. For one, they will give people the satisfaction of being heard. Many people, moved from their homes without their consent by urban renewal programs, have felt their rights were ignored but have found it hard to get the ear of city hall officials. Even when the over-all intent of the plan is good—the clearing of slums and their replacement by acceptable housing—the displaced families have sometimes found themselves worse off than they were before.

Other city dwellers have had difficulties because of smoke, pollution, airplane noise, poor schools, lack of transportation to available jobs and so on. The new Republican citizen forums should enable city dwellers to report their woes, and to know that one's tale is heard gives comfort.

The other value of these hearings will be the opportunity they give Republican policy planners to learn the sensitive issues and to draw up alternative or corrective programs. If Republicans are to win votes in the Democratic Party's big-city strongholds, they will have to make their bid for them in the language of the urban masses. They cannot do it by focusing on the interests of business alone.

Party leaders know this. They know that in the past they have talked too much to Republicans. They have, in many areas, tended to concede Democratic precincts to the Democrats without making a flight. There is a change of attitude evident in current party planning. A vigorous fight for the cities would be good for both parties—and for the people concerned.

Thomas E. Dewey on the Two-Party System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, 16 years ago, in a series of lectures at Princeton University, Thomas E. Dewey, then Governor of New York and twice my party's candidate for President of the United States, offered some sensible observations on the effective functioning of our two-party system. These lectures have just been published in book form. I ask unanimous consent that Roscoe Drummond's column commenting on Governor Dewey's observations be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 25, 1966]

WISDOM, NOT AN ECHO

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Washington.—Who would you say could have given such good answers to these questions 16 years ago that the answers would be more valid and vital today than ever?

1. Is it good for the Nation to so sharpen the differences between the two parties that all the liberals and radicals get lined up on one side and all the conservatives and ultraconservatives line up on the other?

2. What would this do to the Republican Party?

3. Does "me-too-ism" mean there is no choice between the parties?

4. What is the most dangerous trend in American politics today?

The answers were given by the three-term Governor of New York State and twice Republican presidential nominee in a series of lectures at Princeton University in 1950. They remain so pertinent that Doubleday is now publishing them in a book, "Thomas E. Dewey on the Two-Party System" (85 pages, $3.50). I remember writing on them at the time they were delivered—and they are worth writing about again because the same issues are with us in even more acute form.

Let's see how well Dewey stands up.

Question. Are the two parties too similar in goals?

Dewey. This similarity is highly objectionable to a vociferous few. They rail at both parties saying they represent nothing but a choice between Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

I must say that I have most often heard this view expressed by people who have no experience in government.

Question. Why not realine the parties?

Dewey. These impractical theorists with a "passion for neatness" demand that our parties be sharply divided, one against the other, in interest, membership, and doctrine. They want to drive all moderates and liberals out of the Republican Party and then have the remainder join forces with the conservative groups of the South. Then they would have everything very neatly arranged, indeed. The Democratic Party would be the liberal-to-radical party. The Republican Party would be the conservative-to-reactionary party.

Question: And what would be the result?

Dewey. The results would be neatly arranged, too. The Republicans would lose every election and the Democrats would win every election.

Question. What about "me-too-ism"?

Dewey. There are some loud voices in the Republican Party denouncing all platforms and nominees with the epithet "me, too."

We in New York State led the Nation in breaking down barriers of religious and racial discrimination in employment. Just because the Democrats then came along and said they also were for it, is no reason for the Republican Party to turn against it to avoid the epithet "me, too."

Our party has a great tradition of sound, progressive leadership in the interests of all the people. It would be a great catastrophe if we should falter now and listen to the croaking voices of reaction * * *. Then the party would have an attitude of complete negativism which all history shows is the beginning of political rigor mortis.

Question. What is today's greatest political danger?

Dewey. All-powerful, central government. It gradually destroys the mainspring of our society. It offers no incentives to those who must create the goods and services which provide the security.

The first peril is in the high taxes, oppressive regulations, delays and frustrations due to massive bureaucracies * * *. Price inflation is especially virulent.

It sounds as though Mr. Dewey had written all those words yesterday.

O'Brien Deplores "Cow" Concept of Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following article which appeared in the Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia, on Wednesday, March 30, 1966:

O'Brien Deplores "Cow" Concept of Postal Service

Washington, March 30.—Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien says it is time to end the idea that the postal service is a "large, dumb, and enormously fruitful cow, ready and eager to be milked by special interests."

In a speech yesterday to the Magazine Publishers Association, O'Brien said the change should start with the parcel post service, which he described as "a privileged sanctuary" for one company—a barb aimed at the Railway Express Agency.

O'Brien said that in trying to increase Railway Express' business by placing restrictions on Government parcel post shipments in 1951, Congress saddled the Post Office with "incredible" regulations on package size and zones. He said the regulations discriminate against the majority of Americans and make it impossible for parcel post to break even.

O'Brien said the Post Office should provide the public with service but also should be operated like a business.

Fino Introduces Commodity Cost Control Bill To Reduce Agricultural Commodity Costs to Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I have been disturbed in recent years at the way in which the Johnson administration has financially starved the commodity exchange authority which regulates the commodity futures markets. The ups and downs of these commodity futures have a very real impact on prices American housewives pay for many foodstuffs, so administration apathy is no laughing matter.

In recent years, the authority has been given a budget of barely more than a million dollars a year. This is barely more than half the amount that goes to the New York office of the Securities Exchange Commission and a drop in the bucket compared with the overall SEC budget. With this money, the commodity exchange authority is supposed to police markets in commodities on which there were sales in excess of $50 billion last year.

This is gross negligence. The authority was too badly starved for money to begin to do the job required of it by the Commodity Exchange Act.

The General Accounting Office, chief gadfly of administration incompetence, recently reported that as of June 30, 1964, the authority had not once checked the trading pattern on 21 regulated markets having with a combined volume of $34 billion. Three markets—soybean connected—among the fastest growing with a total of $27 billion annual volume had never been examined since their founding. No wonder there is so much commodity profiteering. Perhaps the administration was afraid of catching too many Billy Sol Estes and Bobby Bakers.

Recently, in response to the admitted need to beef up the commodity exchange authority, legislation was proposed giving the authority extensive new powers over commodity trading. Unfortunately, this legislation went too far by providing for cease and desist powers and margin-setting powers. These elements of the bill carried with them the threat of centralizing too much power in the Secretary of Agriculture.

This approach was all wrong. The authority has the weapons it needs to fight its war. What it needs is logistical support and a generous paymaster. The bill I have introduced today includes a few parts of the bill recently considered by the Agriculture Committee; namely, the broadening of the definition of "commodity" and the inclusion of coffee and sugar among the specifically regulated commodities. As a member of the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee, I have seen too much profiteering in these commodities to be content to leave them outside of the list of commodities specifically regulated. My bill also defines "manipulation" to require the element of intent lacking in the bill the committee considered.

The key section of my bill would require the authority to investigate the trading patterns of each regulated commodity market thoroughly and regularly. The authority would be given an increased budget for this purpose. The authority would be required to investigate within 6 months any market not investigated since January 1, 1964. The continuing investigation of commodity trading practices should enable the authority to head off commodity price fixing without cease-and-desist and margin-setting power. My bill provides an annual authorization of $500,000 for such investigation.

The last section of my bill represents my discontent with the way the United States fares in the international commodity agreements which have come before the Banking and Currency Committee. These agreements always saddle the American consumer with high prices so that someone else can have low prices or high profits. I am against this sort of thing. The International Coffee Agreement, for one, keeps coffee prices too high. The International Wheat Agreement subsidzes wheat-importing nations—not including us. This agreement puts the U.S. taxpayer in the position of subsidizing Soviet wheat consumption. There is a funny thing about international commodity agreements—where we are exporters, we lose, and where we are importers, we lose. Perhaps it is just that our policymakers are losers.

For my part, I do not like the idea of international commodity agreements where the U.S. consumer gets stuck paying for disguised foreign aid in inflated commodity prices. My bill therefore requires the Secretary of Agriculture to report to the Congress by January 1, 1967, on the impact of the agreements on U.S. commodity prices and consumer prices and the plausibility of an international agency to supervise the international commodities markets in lieu of the U.S. price-inflating international agreements.

I think my bill is double barreled—domestic and international pro-U.S. consumer legislation.

The Memphis Formula for Better School Libraries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, there is no magic formula for the success of elementary school libraries. But the Memphis city school system has come up with a program that has brought it national recognition.

I would like to include at this point in the RECORD an article about this latest honor from the April issue of the Tennessee Teacher:

[From the Tennessee Teacher, April 1966]

The Memphis Formula

(By Robert Simonton, communications specialist, Memphis city schools)

There is no magic formula for the success of elementary school libraries; the successful operation of a library in the lower grades has nothing to do with supernatural powers. It takes no sorcerer to conjure up the perfect program—no weird rites or incantations to cast a spell over personnel to make their functions magnanimous—no legerdemain to produce the proper books in the correct amounts—no hocus-pocus to insure that the program will work smoothly once it is inaugurated.

The successful formula has five basic ingredients: librarian, teacher, administrator, parent, and child. Add to these a large quantity of planning, a measure of understanding purposes and procedures, a dash of philosophy—and mix well with hard work.

An example of how such formula works is the elementary school library program of the Memphis city schools, second place national winner in Encyclopaedia Britannica's 1966 School Library Awards. The award, which carries with it a $1,500 cash gift for the enlargement of book and magazine collections, will be presented in Memphis during National Library Week, April 17–23.

Criteria for selection is the interest in and active work toward the improvement of elementary school instruction by the development of good school libraries.

The American Association of School Librarians Advisory Committee, which assists with the selection of systems showing greatest growth in developing elementary school library programs, observed that:

1. The Memphis school system is an excellent example of a board of education assuming responsibility for library service that has been under the public library administration; the progress that has been made in 1 year is outstanding. 2. In 1 year the board has employed a library supervisor and 36 trained elementary librarians and has established a centralized processing center. 3. The per pupil library expenditure is $7.94 for books and materials. 4. The definite plans for physical quarters indicate an understanding of needs and the value of the materials center concept. 5. The inclusion of $197,230 in their budget for salaries for librarians is marked accomplishment in 1 year. 6. Eighty-six of the 90 elementary schools have central libraries; evidence of a beginning program that will reach the students served is given. 7. There are five books per student on the shelves and an order on file for enough books this year to bring the number to six.

The board of education has accepted school libraries as an essential part of school services in the Memphis system. This is evidenced by the financial support, by the employment of qualified personnel, and by the development of a plan for expansion and improvement of the program.

This year's budget, the initial one for the program, is $543,484. The board, in approving the 1966–67 budget recently, pointed out that additional funds would be allocated for elementary libraries in the increase earmarked for the instructional program. This is in keeping with the philosophy of Superintendent E. C. Stimbert and the board: continued improvement in the interest of progress in education.

Encyclopaedia Britannica cited the school library specialist as a vital ingredient for the success of an elementary library program. The answer for the Memphis schools is in the person of Marian N. Jordan whose responsibility is the development of systemwide school libraries.

"We are endeavoring to make the activities and services of our libraries an educational force in the schools," Mrs. Jordan says. "We have 86 central libraries directed by trained librarians who, we feel, are providing a program of activities designed to develop skills, attitudes, and appreciations that will lead to lifetime reading habits."

The Polish Millennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, 1966 marks the 1,000th anniversary of Poland's conversion to the Christian religion. On this occasion I should like to join with the other Members of this body and with the many Americans of Polish descent in celebrating this great event with the Polish people. Although Poland's Communist government has restricted the religious celebration commemorating the millennium, it cannot erase the strong religious traditions of the Polish people.

One thousand years ago, in the year 966, a Polish king named Mieszko I married a Christian princess from Bohemia. As a result of this marriage Mieszko was converted to Christianity and was able to place his lands under the protection of the Pope. This move was extremely important in enabling him to protect Poland from a threatened invasion by German tribes. Mieszko's son, Boleslaw the Brave, took further steps to consolidate Polish dominion and encouraged the spread of Christian missionaries.

In Poznan, on April 16, the continuing vitality of Polish Christianity was evident from the thousands of people who lined the streets and crowded around the cathedral to see and hear Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. He spoke of the legitimate concern of the church with the economic, social, and political life of the nation.

> The church has a mandate to talk about those problems—

He declared.

> It got that mandate from the ecumenical council.

Today, as in 966, Christianity is a bridge between the Polish people and the West. It is my belief that Poland's cultural and religious traditions and her people's love of liberty have already begun to widen and strengthen this bridge. Let us do all we can to help the Polish people in their quest for democracy and national independence.

U.S. Advisers Foster New Latin American Tax Attitudes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Washington Post illustrates some of the concrete accomplishments our people are bringing about in South America:

U.S. Advisers Help South American Countries Break the Oligarchic Aversion to Paying Your Way

(By Dan Kurzman)

A South American walked into his local internal revenue office a few days ago and tried to pay his income tax. The auditor looked over the tax forms, and said: "I'll have to assess you double your declaration."

"But that's an honest report," the taxpayer pleaded. "Just pay up," said the official. The man paid, and walked out contemplating the wages of honesty.

The year before, he had declared, less honestly, a much smaller income, slipping the same tax official a bounty for his cooperation. Now that he had come to feel that it was his duty to pay the full tax he owed, he was being penalized for his honesty, in which the official understandably, had little confidence.

A New Attitude

This incident reflects two fundamental facts about income tax collection in Latin America. First, Latins traditionally have not taken such a tax seriously. Second, under the Alliance for Progress they are developing a new attitude toward the income tax that may eventually provide a base for the revolutionary economic and social reforms needed to end semifeudalism in the hemisphere.

To a large extent, this shift in thinking is attributable to U.S. policies and pressures. However else Washington might be criticized for not pushing other reforms in Latin America, its effort to modernize the tax structures has been formidable, if not always entirely successful.

U.S. interest in this reform is obvious. The American taxpayer is shouldering most of a $1 billion a year economic aid program for Latin America, and Washington therefore has not hesitated to tie tax reform to economic aid.

Largely as a result, most Latin nations have improved their old income tax structures and two countries have instituted income tax systems for the first time. Only Paraguay in Latin America has no personal income tax at all, taxing only corporate profits.

In some cases, however, American experts admit, new income tax systems have tended to aggravate the social frictions they were intended to reduce.

Under Guatemala's first income tax bill, for instance (which failed to qualify for significant U.S. aid), businessmen and big landowners are entitled to so many exemptions that they pay little or no more than they did under an earlier profits tax. Lower-class Guatemalans, however, lacking loopholes, must pay taxes for the first time.

In Peru, retrogressive changes in its old tax system have had a similar effect, with sales taxes, which weigh most heavily on the poor, rising to make up for the loss of revenue resulting from increased income tax exemptions for the relatively wealthy.

But in other cases, the U.S. effort has paid off in varying degree. Chile, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Mexico, and El Salvador are regarded as having passed particularly progressive tax laws.

THE PRIVILEGED SOIL

Despite some improvements, however, most laws are said by American experts to reflect the traditional Latin attitude that land should not be highly taxed because the ruling classes invest much of their wealth in real estate to increase their prestige and hedge against inflation.

Moreover, dividends are seldom taxed, encouraging consumer spending rather than saving and reinvestment. Exemptions are often so high that many countries have few taxpayers (Peru has only about 8,000). Tax form instructions are often so primitive that taxpayers cannot figure out what they owe.

Income tax rates also are generally too low, American experts say. El Salvador has a high of 76.5 percent and Chile 75 percent, but most other countries range between 30 and 50 percent.

As a result of such factors, income and profits taxes, which amount to about 70 percent of total revenue in the United States, totaled only 12 percent in Honduras last year and 10 percent in Guatemala and Nicaragua. Under the more advanced tax system of Mexico, they yield 44 percent.

SEVENTY-THREE TROUBLESHOOTERS

Since 1961, 16 of the 19 members of the Organization of American States have asked for U.S. technical help in applying and enforcing their tax laws. Washington has obliged by sending out 73 internal revenue agents, most of them specially trained in Latin tax problems.

Latin tax officials also visit the United States frequently for instruction. Thus tax directors from 13 Latin nations began a 3-week seminar here Tuesday under the auspices of the Agency for International Development and the Internal Revenue Service.

As for the field men, the team of U.S. advisers sent to Chile in 1962 did so well that members worked their way out of a job. They will soon be withdrawn because "they are no longer needed there."

The finance minister of one South American country asked the top U.S. adviser if he would kindly agree to be sworn in as the nation's commissioner of internal revenue. The adviser declined.

A top South American revenue director says that through streamlining measures he has been relieved of the need to study and sign 8,000 documents a year, representing 3 or 4 months of working time.

MISSING LAWS

Codification of tax laws has been so deficient that only recently did the tax officials of one country discover that a statute permitted installment payment of taxes. Applying this law, the government has sharply increased its revenue.

Tax enforcement in all the Latin countries has been traditionally lax, largely because of the oligarchic influence and the accepted view that poorly paid tax agents have a right to collect a little extra change of their own at tax time. But now internal revenue officers are beginning to crack down.

Panamanian tax agents recently took over a tax delinquent Panama City department store and sold its merchandise.

So much on the job is one Brazilian tax administrator that as he passed a yacht in the harbor during a stroll with his American adviser he took out a notebook and recorded the name and number of the vessel so that he could check on whether its owner had paid his taxes.

Chile made a historic plunge last year when it sentenced a woman night club owner to a year in jail—the first jail sentence ever imposed in Latin America for tax evasion. A dozen other Chileans have been convicted on the same charge and are awaiting sentence. Among them is a millionaire textile industrialist who owes the government $500,000.

Tax auditors visited one of the biggest companies in Panama, audited its books and found it owed $250,000 in taxes. The company paid up.

"Only a few years ago," a Panamanian tax official said, "the head of the company would simply have called up the President of Panama and everything would have been fixed."

QUIZ PROGRAMS HELP

One reason for the changing attitude toward income tax has been the institution of American-style public relations techniques. In Brazil, for example, top tax administrators appear on television and radio to explain the reason for and results of taxation, answering telephone queries while they are on the air.

In Costa Rica, an information program launched last year made the slogan "To Pay Is To Progress" a household phrase, and every taxpayer received a personal letter from the internal revenue service thanking for filing his return.

In Uruguay, a leading newspaper recently published a plea to all citizens to pay their taxes and enclosed income tax forms in its Sunday supplement. When some readers failed to find the forms because the paper ran out of them, they telephoned the newspaper and demanded that the forms be sent to them.

This gradual public acceptance of the "tax evil" has extended to property taxes. Property has been or is being mapped and appraised with U.S. aid in Chile, Panama, and Costa Rica. Similar work is likely to start in Colombia, Nicaragua, and other countries.

In one oligarchic country, tax administrators frankly told American officials that they didn't see how they could agree to a new property tax in view of the fact that the nation's most powerful family owned much of the land. An American official talked to family members, explained the need for such a tax, and, to the surprise of the tax officials, they agreed.

Hero's Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, the Boston Globe editorially comments on the Congressional Medal of Honor which President Johnson presented to the parents of the late Pfc. Milton Olive III, who was killed in Vietnam.

The President noted that Olive was the eighth Negro American to receive the Nation's highest award for valor in battle, and the President added:

> It will be more difficult for future Presidents to say how many Negroes have received the Medal of Honor, for unlike the other seven, Private First Class Olive's military records have never carried the color of his skin or racial origin, only the testimony that he was a good and loyal citizen of the United States of America.

The editorial paying tribute to Private First Class Olive, and the true spirit of America, will be of general interest, and I include it in the RECORD:

A HERO'S TRIBUTE

When President Johnson presented the Congressional Medal of Honor Thursday to the parents of the late Pfc. Milton Olive III, who was killed in Vietnam, he noted that Olive was the eighth Negro American to receive the Nation's highest award for valor in battle.

"Fortunately," Mr. Johnson added, "it will be more difficult for future Presidents to say how many Negroes have received the Medal of Honor, for unlike the other seven, Private First Class Olive's military records have never carried the color of his skin or racial origin, only the tetsimony that he was a good and loyal citizen of the United States of America."

The President's remarks not only brought out that the Armed Forces today are effectively integrated; they reaffirmed that in a nation dedicated to freedom and the worth of the individual, it is an intolerable indignity to be judged by the color of one's skin.

Alliance Renewed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, one of the most significant aspects of President Johnson's trip to Mexico, according to the Philadelphia Inquirer, was the explicit rededication to the Alliance for Progress.

The newspaper notes the renewed attention to the goals of the Punta del Este and quotes the President's reminder that it will take time and faith and stubborn efforts to achieve the goals which were set for the Alliance.

Since the editorial will be of general interest, I include it in the RECORD:

"ALIANZA" RENEWED IN MEXICO

While there was undoubtedly a large measure of personal gratification to President Johnson in the full-throated welcome he received in Mexico City, and enough national pleasure, too, to justify his plans for other Latin American visits, possibly the most significant aspect of his trip was the explicit rededication to the Alliance for Progress.

As Joseph C. Goulden reported in his unblinking account in Sunday's Inquirer, there are still broad areas in Mexico—as elsewhere in Latin America—where anti-Yanquiism flourishes, and where economic and social reform have a very long way to go. But the President took note of this:

"It will take time, and faith and stubborn efforts to achieve together the goals that we set ourselves in the charter of Punta del Este 5 years ago. But this we must do. This we will do. There is no other way in our time and in this hemisphere to show what free men and what free nations can do working together."

There is little doubt that misinterpretations of our actions, and those of the Organization of American States, in the Dominican Republic have cast shadows on the hopeful beginnings of the Alliance during the Kennedy years. But renewed attention to the goals of Punta del Este seems in a fair way to expunge them.

We believe the strong effort should be made—for our fellow Americans are neighbors with shared ideals and shared history. The President's Mexican journey showed that this is not forgotten south of the border.

Appendix

Public Opinion Survey Results of Fourth District, Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, in late March I polled the people of Michigan's Fourth Congressional District on several current public issues, including Vietnam, the reliability of Government information, the effect of the cost of living increases, the war on poverty, trade with Russia, and firearms controls.

In round numbers, 138,000 questionnaires were distributed and nearly 14,000 were returned, a response which I would say speaks well for the residents of the district and their interest in public affairs.

Replies were tabulated and compiled by an independent data processing firm here in Washington. In order that the results may be known, I include them at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

SURVEY RESULTS

1. Do you feel the United States was right in sending troops to Vietnam in the first place?

	Percent
Yes	59.9
No	34.0
No answer	6.1

2. Did you favor the stopping of bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. planes for 1 month in December 1965, and January 1966?

	Percent
Yes	35.2
No	59.7
No answer	5.1

3. If a satisfactory peace in Vietnam cannot be secured by negotiation in the foreseeable future, which of the following courses of action do you favor most?

	Percent
(a) Withdrawal of U.S. forces even if it would mean an almost certain takeover of South Vietnam by Communist Vietcong	7.7
(b) Increase of U.S. ground troops sufficiently to clear most of South Vietnam of Communist control	33.1
(c) A holding operation by U.S. forces aimed at securing areas now controlled by the South Vietnamese, but not at retaking Communist-held areas	5.4
(d) No increase in U.S. ground forces, but wider use of air and sea power against North Vietnam	27.7
(e) A U.S. attack on Communist China	2.9
(f) None of the above	23.2

4. Do you feel the Federal Government gives the people reliable information on what it is doing?

	Percent
Yes	23.5
No	67.8
No answer	8.7

5. Has your family felt any effects of an increase in the cost of living during the past year?

	Percent
Not at all	3.3
A little	49.1
Very much	45.8
No answer	1.8

6. Do you think the various war on poverty programs have thus far been successful in moving toward the ultimate goal of improving the lot of the very poor?

	Percent
Yes	12.4
No	79.1
No answer	8.5

7. Do you feel the present Congress is dominated too much by the President?

	Percent
Yes	76.3
No	20.2
No answer	3.5

8. President Johnson has proposed to increase U.S. trade with Communist Russia. Do you agree?

	Percent
Yes	38.5
No	54.9
No answer	6.6

9. Do you favor more strict Federal regulations in the sale or ownership of firearms?

	Percent
Yes	50.3
No	46.1
No answer	3.6

10. Should Congress enact legislation to outlaw strikes that affect the public interest?

	Percent
Yes	67.7
No	26.6
No answer	5.7

11. Should our Federal tax laws provide for distribution of a fixed percentage of personal income tax collections—

(a) Back to States?

	Percent
Yes	28.2
No	10.0
No answer	61.8

(b) Back to localities in which collected?

	Percent
Yes	40.5
No	10.7
No answer	48.8

(c) Neither of above. Federal Government to retain all of tax, as at present?

	Percent
Yes	28.1
No	10.9
No answer	61.0

12. Should there be a new Federal Department of Transportation with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet?

	Percent
Yes	27.8
No	56.1
No answer	16.1

13. The President's food-for-freedom plan would lift all farm production controls and distribute the surplus to needy nations. Do you approve?

	Percent
Yes	61.5
No	28.5
No answer	10.0

14. Do you favor giving the States the right to apportion one house of their legislatures on the basis of factors others than population?

	Percent
Yes	57.5
No	32.4
No answer	10.1

Poland's Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED REINECKE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, today, May 3, the people of Poland will pay tribute to one of the most famous events of their long and glorious history. I speak of the presentation to the people of the Constitution of 1791, at that time one of the most extraordinary documents of Europe. While Poland will also be observing its millennium of Christianity, which of itself is a most significant event, my remarks at this moment will concentrate on the Polish Constitution. I feel certain that had Poland had time in which to implement and govern under that document, the history of the country would have been greatly changed from what we know.

Our country has had a long and time-honored traditional constitutional system and from it we have realized the greatest freedoms of any people on earth. The citizenry has the power to determine governmental policy. But in Poland prior to 1791 the Polish people had very little direct influence on their own government. However, by 1789 Polish leaders were convinced that reforms were necessary in order to stabilize the country, and so minor differences were subordinated to the higher demand of national interest. It was truly an amazing feat which they accomplished in drafting a document which in its liberalism and conservatism was so contrary to many of their personal prejudices and desires and which were not easy concepts to propose.

When the constitution was presented to the people on May 3 their immediate reaction was approval and support because one of the provisions was suffrage for the peasants. Weeks after the initial presentation the people were still pledging support and voicing gratitude to the King for adopting the constitution. Favorable comments also came from foreign observers with men such as Edmund Burke, of England, and George Washington, of America, among them.

The Polish leadership knew very well that it was imperative that the country be functioning as soon as possible under the new constitution and thereby achieve more stability before Russia was able to concentrate on matters in Eastern Europe, notably Poland. Realities of politics had dictated a Russian policy of always keeping a weak Poland on her western border. Thus Catherine the Great of Russia would not tolerate a stable or prosperous Poland. In April 1792, Catherine's Russian soldiers invaded Poland, and in 3 months the war was over with Russian troops in command.

Observing the scene of Eastern Europe today, we observe the Russian colossus again maintaining control over the puppet Communist government of Poland. But I know that the Polish spirit which demanded change in 1791 is not dead. The spirit of freedom and liberty and justice which caused the 1791 constitution to be written still lives. Poland has overcome too many other hardships to permit this temporary barrier to divert for long their achievement of what others before them have willingly died for.

I salute the patriotic people of Poland as they observe their May 3 anniversary and urge them not to lose faith in their ultimate goal of freedom and liberty. Someday the real Poland will rise once more to reclaim her rightful place in the family of nations.

Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill, 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14596) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the committee upon providing funds for the continuation of the school lunch and milk programs.

In my opinion, these programs are extremely vital, and I cannot conceive of any sound reason for cutting them. Further, I am shocked that anyone in this Government should move to cut funds that mean so much to so many of our schoolchildren and to local communities throughout the country.

Congress can and will restore these funds, and provide adequate funds for these valued, worthy programs, I am sure. But, unfortunately, we do not have the power to compel Government departments to spend funds which we appropriate, and that to my mind is a serious defect in this free government of ours that will have to be remedied constitutionally one of these days—the sooner, the better—if this Government is to be rid of dictatorial features, entirely alien to democracy.

Four Principles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, as the last April showers leave us and May bursts forth in her flowered glory, we pause to renew our hope—and here in the United States, we rededicate ourselves in many ways.

A very well written and meaningful editorial, from the Bristol Herald Courier & Virginia-Tennessean, on Sunday, May 1, discussed the many facets of the significance of May Day to Americans.

In the future, I would like to see all our celebrations emphasize May Day. In this matter, we may possibly offset the propaganda that the Communist countries spread throughout the world by their May Day show of force.

In line with this thought, I am inserting the article from the Bristol, Tenn., paper:

FOUR PRINCIPLES

Through the ages, the fiber of society has been laid bare on the 1st day of May. The ancients celebrated the coming of spring, praising, in their own way, a Diety whose form they were yet to know. And throughout history, May 1 has remained a time to draw near those things man treasures most.

Communism, for instance, traditionally displays its military might with the advent of May, making this day one of the few on which sabers are rattled for the sake of sound. The might of the Red world is paraded as a reminder that here is a force with which others must reckon.

In America, May 1 is observed in three ways, each symbolic of a greater strength. And since this particular May Day falls on Sunday the four pillars of American life will be brought together, all to be recognized in the 24-hour period.

These principles—love of beauty, respect for law, devotion to country, and belief in a Supreme Being—will be honored today through four events, May Day, Law Day, Loyalty Day, and, in this case, Sunday. Each played its part in creation of the United States we know today and each represents an integral force in our modern society.

May Day itself, perhaps, is not what it used to be, owing in part to observance of other ideals and, in part, to abortion of its meaning in much of the world. Still, America has room for beauty, and where Maypoles once twirled remain reminder of the blessings that are ours.

In Bristol, dogwoods whisper the message of spring, telling of beauty and purity, of care and love. Other areas are blessed with other wonders, and the meaning is the same. The truth that Mother Nature is forever our protector and provider is carried on each warm wind of spring.

Law Day, of more recent vintage, symbolizes the American quest for order as embodied in national respect for law. This in itself is an answer that can quiet the guns of communism and dull the missiles of war. Law Day speaks of a nation yet learning to live with itself, a nation that has held order to its bosom and will yet attain its shining objectives.

Loyalty Day is a fit companion to Law Day. Here is a time for Americans to pause and remember the things that made this country great. Here is a day for dedication, a moment for pride, an interval to remember that patriotism, like God, is neither dead nor unfashionable.

And, of course, today is Sunday, that day of the week in which Americans gather to pay homage to the Lord who has been so kind. On this day of many observances, we have reason to be particularly thankful that the Lord has indeed been good to this Nation.

Every American will not recognize the full meaning of this day. There are those who would agitate against national policies, ridiculing both patriotism and order. There are those who would shun beauty and deny God. And there are those, we fear, who simply do not care what course this Nation takes next.

Still, we believe the majority of our countrymen recognize those principles which have guided the United States for almost 200 years. They will honor them today, whether openly or in the heart. And in doing so, they will be preparing America for a future based solidly on the rock of the past.

These four principles—love of beauty, respect for law, devotion to country and belief in a Supreme Being—have brought the United States of America down the path of honor and prosperity. With care, it will always be so.

Poland's Millennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, it is certainly an honor and a privilege for me to join my colleagues in extending congratulations to the people of Poland on the occasion of their millennium observance. Not many countries have been endowed with the record of Poland of having survived the rigors of 1,000 years of history and still share very strong ties with the same faith.

Poland's achievements are even more remarkable since she has been burdened since the end of World War II with a Communist regime that has attempted to curtail activities of the church. The current commemoration and messages of congratulations from all over the world is a positive indication of the Communist failure to dampen the spirit of the people of Poland. What people would abandon a faith which has sustained them for so long a time in the face of innumerable threats, both natural and man-made?

For the last few years the relations between the governments of Poland and America have been growing somewhat warmer. This is a trend which can have positive results for both our countries, in keeping with the deep friendship which has always characterized the relationship of our two peoples.

Notwithstanding the increasing friendship between Poland and the United States, it is a genuine pleasure to recognize Poland's millennium as a real accomplishment. As the people of Poland undertake their observances, I extend to them my best wishes through this year and wish them a bright and happy future.

Wallaces Farmer Poll Shows 78 Percent of Iowa Farmers Favor Prohibiting Large-Scale Packer Feeding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the results of a recent poll regarding H.R. 12115, a bill which I have introduced to prohibit the large-scale feeding of livestock by meatpacking firms and retail chainstores engaged in meatpacking operations.

The results of this poll, as published in the April 23, 1966, issue of Wallaces Farmer magazine, show that 78 percent of Iowa's farmers are in favor of this legislation, 9 percent are opposed and 13 percent are undecided.

These figures are nearly the same as the results of a poll published in the Des Moines, Iowa, Sunday Register of March 27, 1966, which showed that 81 percent of Iowa's farmers favor the bill, 11 percent are against it and 8 percent are undecided.

The basic purpose of H.R. 12115 is to assure farmers of a livestock market which is open and competitive. Two days of hearings on the bill were held last month in Des Moines, Iowa, and further hearings are to be conducted here in Washington.

After listening to the testimony at Des Moines, I am more convinced than ever of the need for this legislation. And it seems apparent that a large majority of farmers in my home State of Iowa share this view.

The article from Wallaces Farmer containing the results of the most recent poll follows:

WALLACES FARMER POLL: MOST OPPOSE PACKER AND CHAINSTORE FEEDLOTS

The big majority of Iowa farmers are in favor of laws to prevent meatpackers from feeding cattle, according to a recent Wallaces Farmer poll. A statewide scientifically selected sample of men were interviewed on their farms.

Of those surveyed, 78 percent favored legislation to prevent packers and chainstores from operating feedlots. The following question was asked first:

Many new meatpacking houses have been built in Iowa in recent years. Do you feel these new plants will be helpful to Iowa livestock producers?

	Percent
Yes	72
No	10
Undecided	18

"Yes, I'd like to see more packing plants around," said a young Adair county farmer. "I think the animals should be slaughtered near where they are raised."

Next question asked was:

Some meatpackers have announced plans to build and operate big cattle feedlots. Some farmers and farm groups have indicated opposition to this, and have called for Federal legislation to prevent packers and chainstores from operating feedlots. How do you feel?

	Percent
Favor Federal preventive legislation	78
Let packers and chainstores operate lots	9
Undecided	13

For some reason, the very largest producers were least in favor of the proposed legislation. Only 64 percent of those who market more than 500 hogs a year, and only 67 percent of those who finish more than 100 cattle a year said they would like to see legislation to prevent packer feeding.

It was most favored by the medium-large producers. Of the cattle feeders who finish 30 to 99 heads annually, 89 percent favored legislation. Of hog producers who market 200 to 499 heads annually, 83 percent favored Federal legislation.

"We need legislation to prevent big chains from crushing the farmer," said a Jones county farmer. "Sure, they would buy our animals when prices are low, but use their own meat during the peak."

Others felt the packers and chains should not be prevented by law from operating feedlots.

"Free enterprise is what has made our country great," said a Washington county man. "Although I don't like large companies in competition with me, we live in a free country, and anyone has the right to operate feedlots."

It's Good Business To Hire the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped met in Washington last week. In an article for America's newspapers, Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor urged employers to hire the handicapped, pointing out "it's ability—not disability—that counts."

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Secretary Connor's message:

IT'S GOOD BUSINESS TO HIRE THE HANDICAPPED

(By John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce)

At a White House ceremony 2 years ago a most competent and talented civil servant reached from a wheel chair to accept from the President of the United States the highest honor that can come to a Government career employee—the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service.

Last summer, President Lyndon B. Johnson swore in a judge of the U.S. Tax Court who has been blind since age 12, but who possesses a remarkable talent for resolving tax equations.

Every day in Washington—and in business offices and factories across the land—handicapped men and women of similar courage, intelligence, and accomplishment are demonstrating that they have what it takes to play a productive role in the conduct of our Nation's affairs.

They work at all occupations, from truckdrivers to business managers, in old and new industries, from farming to space science. And often, through sheer ingenuity and persistence, they surmount serious limitations to be where they are.

Fortunately, more and more employers are beginning to realize that the handicapped make excellent employees.

They may be blind, deaf, epileptic, victims of infantile paralysis or cerebral palsy, cardiacs, or war amputees. But invariably they have developed some special skill, trained harder, pursued more education, or otherwise compensated for their physical impairment in order to find a way to a job, in fair competition with the able bodied, and to a useful place in life's mainstream.

Because of their disability, some may even fit certain jobs better than the able bodied. A Chicago insurance firm finds that deaf mutes, for example, make better than average file clerks because they concentrate so well. Blind workers, with their keen sense of touch, have made superior assemblers, inspectors, sorters, and counters of small parts in such vital industries as electronics, aircraft, and missile production. Cerebral palsy victims have been trained to use precision handtools, and amputees have learned to use prosthetic devices as well as limbs.

In fact, if more employers would take a good look at the physical requirements of jobs in their companies, they would find that many more could be filled ably by the handicapped.

Over the past 20 years the Federal Government has hired more than 200,000 disabled men and women, and many companies such as General Electric, Du Pont de Nemours, Burroughs, Bendix, American Telephone & Telegraph, Bulova Watch Co., Anodyne, Inc., Ford, and W. T. Grant Co., have utilized the handicapped with successful and even outstanding results.

The Caterpillar Tractor Co., winner of the 1963 Employer of the Year Award sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers and the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, has 3,000 handicapped workers on its payroll, many of whom have been there 20 years without being involved in an industrial accident, making a first aid call, or requesting an extended absence.

Raytheon Co., manufacturer of electronic equipment and 1964 winner, employs 1,500 disabled, each chosen for his ability to do a job, and independent enough not to need any special treatment.

And Hughes Aircraft Co., employer of a record 6,000 handicapped, boasts that it has safety records, insurance savings, and high production to attest to its hiring policy.

NAM sums up the experience of American business in utilizing the talents of the handicapped this way: Employers know that the handicapped individual who is matched to a job is no longer handicapped.

The fact is that it's very good business to hire the handicapped. There are few jobs they cannot perform in spite of their handicap when they're in the right job. Put to the test, they perform as well or better than their nonhandicapped colleagues in terms of both quantity and quality of work. They have a lower turnover rate, fewer lost-time accidents, favorable attendance records, and they don't cost a company any more in terms of employee investment or insurance. Insurance companies even encourage the employment of the handicapped in suitable jobs, because they have fewer disabling injuries than unimpaired workers exposed to the same work hazards.

At the U.S. Department of Commerce we have handicapped men and women working in a number of important posts. One chair-ridden economist at the Census Bureau is at the top of his field in corporate statistics. A woman—victim of infantile paralysis—who has seen 25 years of service with the Maritime Administration and its predecessor agencies—is an authority on shipping. And a deaf patent examiner specializing in organic chemistry won an outstanding rating and superior performance award for his brilliant work last year.

Over the past 5 years, the Department of Commerce has bestowed 2 gold medals, 22 silver medals, 6 bronze medals, 73 production awards, 113 outstanding performance ratings, and 129 sustained superior performance citations to handicapped individuals. And not all have college degrees, either.

At a time when our Nation is able to enjoy its greatest prosperity ever, when unemployment is at a 12-year low and talent is in premium demand, it is tragic and wasteful to retain disabled workers on the welfare rolls when they could be on the payrolls and tax rolls.

The disabled don't ask any favors when they seek a place in society as breadwinners and taxpayers. Neither do they come to us untrained, incompetent, emotionally unstable, or otherwise unable to maintain themselves in the work environment. They ask only to be hired on the basis of what they can produce.

If we neglect to open the doors of opportunity to them, we are guilty of wasting our most precious resource—people—and one of our great untapped sources of talent. Who can say that there is not a blind Homer or Milton, a deaf Beethoven, or a deaf Thomas Edison among them, if we do not create an opportunity for such talent to come to light?

Our goal cannot be just one of finding a job for every worker, but as President Johnson has said, it must be one of placing "every worker in a job where he utilizes his full productive potential, for his own and for society's benefit."

Hire the Handicapped? These Businessmen Have

J. M. Bridgman, vice president, Burroughs Corp.: "We are convinced that the employment of the handicapped is not only profitable but in the mutual interest of employee and employer. These employees are proficient and productive, conscientious and loyal."

L. du Pont Copeland, president, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.: "Hiring the physically handicapped involves matching individual abilities to job requirements. In our experience, any extra effort required is justified for employer and employee alike."

Tom Gillick, supervisor of insurance, Hughes Aircraft Co.: "We've found that it really doesn't matter whether a company's workers have two legs, or one, or none. Insurance rates are not influenced. In fact, many insurance companies consider the handicapped a better risk than their able-bodied coworkers."

E. T. Turney, board chairman and president, Anodyne, Inc.: "It's a crime to waste all this potential human talent, and it's a crime not to go looking for it. There are no handicapped people. There are only human beings. Is the man willing to work?"

The AFL–CIO says: "America's handicapped workers are entitled to a chance to prove their merit. Our industries and trades should benefit from maximum employment of their skills. Handicapped workers when placed on the right job are capable workers—productive and efficient."

Percy John "P.J." Trevethan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KEN W. DYAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. DYAL. Mr. Speaker, this week at the Washington, hundreds of civic and government leaders met to honor Percy John "P.J." Trevethan, the executive vice president for his 40 years of devoted service to the cause of helping handicapped people. Dr. Trevethan, widely known among his friends and associates as "P.J.," started his distinguished career in 1926 when he became an executive trainee in the Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries, the mother of Goodwill, in Boston, Mass., under the leadership of its founder, Dr. Edgar J. Helms. He served then as director of the Goodwill Industries section of the Morgan Memorial program until 1946. In that year, Dr. Trevethan left Morgan Memorial to join the national staff of Goodwill Industries of America as assistant executive director, and in 1948 became the executive.

In the course of these years, he has made thousands of appearances, thousands of speeches, many trips and worldwide tours and visits on behalf of programs and projects to help the handicapped. He was a pioneer in the field of sheltered workshops. He has served on dozens of boards and advisory committees of organizations in the field of rehabilitation. He has also received many honors, including the highest awards of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, the National Rehabilitation Association and the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults.

Society owes a great debt to Dr. Trevethan, who as much as any man took the problem of the handicapped out of the Dark Ages attitude toward giving these people normal, useful lives. The insignia of Goodwill—Good Willie in his fast moving wheelchair—is well known throughout the Nation.

There are now 131 Goodwill outlets in the United States and 27 of them in foreign lands. "Not charity but a chance" has motivated his leadership. He expressed great concern at his retirement dinner concerning the 22 to 25 million persons in the United States who are on the handicapped list.

In June of 1966 Dr. Trevethan will retire from his present position to become a distinguished emeritus leader in the field of rehabilitation.

The Goodwill Industries of America has an outstanding record of helping people to help themselves.

His service was eulogized by Dr. Frank H. Krusen of the People to People Committee for the Handicapped and Mr. Harold Russell—of "The Best Years of Our Life" fame—now Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

This compassionate friend of thousands of handicapped people expressed gratitude to the devoted men and women who give so many hours of volunteer service to the handicapped. We who gathered to honor Dr. Trevethan are grateful that the Goodwill program has now spread from the United States into many foreign nations. My district has a number of the Goodwill outlets and Dr. Trevethan has visited many times in our area. Goodwill does give the handicapped of this Nation an opportunity to become useful citizens.

Free Press and Fair Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Lee Hills, executive editor and publisher of the Detroit Free Press, and twice a Pulitzer Prize winner, recently addressed his alma mater, the Oklahoma City University School of Law. The excerpts from his speech will show you now how right the Pulitzer committee has been:

Free Press and Fair Trial—Justice; Better Served in Daylight Than in Darkness

(By Lee Hills)

Ever since the assassination of President Kennedy more than 2 years ago, the press and the bar have been wrangling over what has come to be known as free press versus fair trial, with the bar accusing the press of making a fair trial all but impossible and we accusing the bar of being the black pot in the first place.

We have heard it described as everything from a "conflict of competing constitutional claims," in the words of Mr. Justice Harlan, to a "collision course" in the terms of Clifton Daniel, managing editor of the New York Times.

To me it is so such thing, and I am here to bury the idea, not to praise it. The proper role of the law and the press is to see that we maintain both free press and fair trial, as shining and untrammeled as when they were written into the Constitution.

As Chief Justice Thomas Kavanagh, of the Michigan Supreme Court, said earlier this year, "There is an affinity between our two professions. We deal in a common purpose—the protection of individual rights so that the collective democracy can fulfill its commitment to equality under law for every citizen, in every place, at every hour of the day or night."

This is not to say that a problem doesn't exist. It does, but it is not a large problem. It is minute, in fact. What we are talking about is the exceptional criminal case of great public interest, in which publicity before the trial makes selection of an impartial jury difficult, and publicity during the trial increases the danger of a mistrial, a successful appeal, or a miscarriage of justice.

Few such cases come along. The vast majority of criminal prosecutions are tried by judges without juries, and of the cases that go to juries, only a handful are reported.

A recent study indicates that in the past 2 years there have been only 51 cases in which prejudicial pretrial publication has been urged as a basis of conviction, and that only three reversals ensued.

The cases of pretrial publicity which come to mind are flagrant cases, and I hold no brief for the press in them.

The first is the case of Leslie Irvin, an Indiana case of 11 years ago. Irvin was arrested for murder and shortly afterward the county prosecutor and the Evansville police chief announced that he had not only confessed to that murder, but to five others as well.

In the 6 months before he came to trial, the media had a Roman orgy. Opinions, not only as to his guilt but what sentence he should receive, were solicited by a local radio station. The Supreme Court, on appeal, also noted a "barrage of newspaper headlines, articles, cartoons, and pictures," and television stations covered the area with stories, including Irvin's offer to cop a plea in exchange for a 99-year sentence.

It was small wonder that he was found guilty and sentenced to death, and even smaller wonder that the Supreme Court in 1961 voided his conviction for the lack of a fair trial.

The second has come to be known as *Rideau v. Louisiana.* There, in 1961, a man robbed a bank, kidnaped three employees and murdered one of them. A few hours later police arrested William Rideau, and the following morning a 20-minute movie was made of Rideau being interviewed by—and confessing to—the local sheriff. The film was telecast over the Lake Charles station that afternoon, and was rebroadcast twice in the next 2 days.

The Supreme Court in 1963 also voided this conviction, and said that the television film, seen by thousands of people including some of the jurors "in a real sense was Rideau's trial."

Finally, there is the Sheppard case, which the Supreme Court is still considering. I would concede that no matter what its decision, this was not one of the press' finest hours. One Cleveland newspaper badgered the police, called Sheppard a "proved liar," demanded that the district attorney bring him in, and as Federal District Judge Carl Weinman wrote, "screamed for petitioner's conviction."

Yet in even so flagrant a case, it should be remembered, the sixth circuit court, in a divided decision, rejected Sheppard's specific charge that he did not have a fair trial.

The court said that Judge Weinman's order for a new trial was "tempting" to affirm, but that judicial restraint required the court to refuse unless some constitutional infirmity existed. "No such infirmity infects the famous trial of Dr. Sheppard," the majority said.

Further, even the dissenting opinion, by Judge George Edwards, put the onus not on the press but on the trial judge. Judge Edwards did have hypercritical words to say about the press, but he also said, "It was not just abuse of freedom of the press which accounted for violations of due process in this trial; it was failure of the judicial process also. This case provides no argument or repeal of the first amendment."

So the case that has gone to the Supreme Court may well settle the fate of Dr. Sheppard, but it isn't likely to be on the basis of a conflict between fair trial and free press.

There, then, are three flagrant examples of prejudicial reporting which come to mind, and in all, I think you'd agree, the press and the bar were both to blame. But they are only three of hundreds of thousands of criminal cases, and arrayed against them are dozens of cases in which careful, diligent investigative reporting has freed someone wrongly accused and wrongly convicted.

Thus the scope of the problem itself is small, but since the principle involved is so great there are, it seems to me, some conclusions which should be drawn.

First is that both a free press and a fair trial are fundamental rights, one not tempered by the other or one subservient to the other. And for this I would cite two authorities, about as divergent as two could be.

One is New Jersey Superior Court Judge W. Orvyl Schalick, who in a recent decision said:

"Saturation of homes with news is part of an era in which we live. Along with that saturation comes enlightenment for people, enabling them to make a judgment of events. * * * The mere fact that people are informed cannot be construed to mean that they cannot make a fair and impartial determination of guilt or innocence."

My other authority is Hugh Dillon, a prisoner and associate editor of the prison newspaper at Southern Michigan Prison. Last year he wrote that, from his point of view, "it might be better to be spotlighted momentarily than to be abused in darkness.

"My stand is basically: I'd rather be at the mercy of a newspaper than to take the chance on the conscience of a police officer who knew he would not have to account to newsmen for his actions in my case."

The second conclusion is that we should stop beating ourselves over the head on this issue. We are both occasionally guilty and we are more often innocent. If we of the press are accused of printing prejudicial pretrial information, we answer that we got it from the attorneys, and prosecutors, who are officers of the court, and the police.

If we are accused of sensationalism for the sake of circulation, we reply that circulation is no more important to us than a vote is to a district attorney or a winning verdict to the lawyer for the defense.

My third conclusion, and possibly the most important, is that the jury system is not only the best system we have for protecting the rights of a defendant, but that jurors themselves are more intelligent and less liable to prejudice than we give them credit for being.

As the Sixth Circuit Court said in the Sheppard case:

"We are not prepared now to hold that American citizens have so far forgotten their traditional heritage of 'fair play' that such shabby reporting would irretrievable infect the minds of an entire metropolitan community.

"Our jury system cannot survive if it is now proper to presume that jurors, selected with the care taken in this case, are without the intelligence, courage and integrity necessary to the law's command that they ignore the kind of publicity here involved."

Certainly the system is not perfect. As long as jurors are humans they will always make mistakes. But they do have a long and sturdy heritage, and we of the press are convinced that most of the time they will come to the correct conclusion.

If you go behind the recent debate you find that the courts of this Nation themselves—taken as a whole—have been strong defenders of freedom of the press, and they have expanded its application.

Today in America there are no restrictive laws or regulations that bear directly on the press in its coverage of crime news. There are no limitations (save in juvenile courts) on what it may publish at any time, including the period between arrest and trial, except the degree of restraint the news organ itself may wish to apply.

And yet, with few exceptions, the press today exercises a sober restraint in the handling of crime news that testifies to its maturity and sense of responsibility.

The most sensational recent murder trial in America was the Mossler case in Miami. I have a letter from the trial judge to the Miami Herald. Judge George Schultz wrote:

"This is an expression of my sincere sentiment, particularly in view of the fact that the court allowed the jury to separate during the progress of the trial, and the Herald did not see fit to publish any matters pertaining to the trial that would in any way influence the verdict of the jury if they had accidentally read any of its accounts. I thought the press conducted itself in an exemplary manner."

It is the citizen we both should keep in mind. It's his free press and his fair trial that we are talking about—not yours and mine. He wants both of these freedoms.

Thus, for my part, I will accept no code of ethics proposed by any panel of lawyers and journalists. A code is only as good as those who accept it, and those who accept it in good faith have no need of it.

I will accept voluntarily no laws trying to establish a code, not only because they would, in my opinion, be unconstitutional, but because they could open the door to further abuses.

I will take my chances on the legal profession's code of ethics and our own codes of accuracy, responsibility, fairness, and a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. I will take my chances with the remedies already available—the press' burden under the laws of libel, and the assorted judicial remedies of change of venue, change of venire, voir dire, the ability to sequester a jury, and the authority to tell the jurors what they may and may not read.

Finally, I think there are other problems facing the bar and the press which surpass this one in importance. This debate during the past 30 months has served a worthwhile purpose. It has made us all more conscious of the Bill of Rights; it has caused us both to examine and reexamine our roles and our responsibilities.

But now there are other things to do. There is the administration of justice to improve. There is the need to guarantee counsel to indigents. There is the need to reduce the backlog of cases clogging the dockets of this land, for it is even more certain today than ever that justice delayed is justice denied.

There is the need to study the full impact of the current controversy over the rights of an individual when they seem to be in conflict with the rights of society.

I would like to enlist everyone in these causes as well as in the cause of the people's right to know the people's business. I would like to remind you once again that constant vigilance in the pursuit of truth is the duty of both the press and the bar.

It seems self-evident that justice is more likely to be done in the light of day than in the dark.

Tax-Exempt Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, one method by which local governments solicit and provide for new industry is to issue tax-exempt bonds for the purpose of acquiring property and constructing buildings for the desired manufacturing plants under a fixed contract, which will provide for sufficient rental to retire the bonds and the interest.

This practice has been in use for many years but seems to be on the increase, and it seems to me that it does deprive the Federal Government of a certain amount of revenue.

The following five examples are given of such financing during 1966:

February 1966: $60 million—Clinton, Iowa (population 33,589), for construction of a plastics and petrochemical plant for Chemplex Co., a venture sponsored jointly by Skelly Oil Co. and American Can Co.

February 1966: $30 million—Lorain, Ohio (population 68,932), Litton Industries of Los Angeles shipbuilding enterprise.

April 1966:[1] $70 million—Camden, Ala., to finance construction of lumber, plywood and paperboard facilities for United Fruit Co., Boston, and MacMillan, Bloedel & Powell River, Ltd., Vancouver, Canada.

April 1966: $35 million—Issued by Northern Delaware Industrial Development Corp., an agency of the State of Delaware to finance acquisition and modernization of steel plant from the Phoenix Steel Corp., for that corporation.

April 1966:[1] $34,400,000—Ashland, Ky. (population 31,283), to build a steel plant for Armco Steel Corp.

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[1] Sale expected soon.

A Letter From Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress are daily getting a mounting volume of mail from their constituents relative to Vietnam.

In this morning's mail I received the following letter, signed by a number of my constituents and under unanimous consent I include it in the RECORD at this point:

EAST PEORIA, ILL., *March 30, 1966.*

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: There are many U.S. citizens in this country and elsewhere who are dissatisfied with the way our Government is conducting the war in Vietnam. Please don't misunderstand—we're not draft card burners or demonstrators—we're all law-abiding people who treasure the freedom that we have in this great land. However, we are interested in keeping that freedom, both for this generation and for those to come. some of us have sons who are in the service and some of us don't but regardless of that, we are deeply concerned for the safety and well-being of all of the young men who are sacrificing the comforts of home in order that we, here at home, may live in safety.

An American who is in Asia but who has been an officer in the service of our country, recently wrote a letter to someone at home. Since it expresses our feelings, exactly, I feel that it bears repeating. The contents of his letter follows:

"I have begun to wonder why we even bother to bomb North Vietnam, if we place so many restrictions on our pilots that the bombing is relatively ineffective. The latest reports in the news media indicate that the U.S. pilots are allowed to bomb less than half the land area of North Vietnam, and almost all the important industrial centers are free from bombing.

"The United States and our allies, such as Australia, Korea, the Philippines, and New Zealand are fighting a brutal war in South Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese may have a choice in their future. To win this war and to allow all Asia to have a free choice in its destiny, many Americans are losing their lives. It therefore seems criminal to me that our own Government would allow any area of North Vietnam to remain free from our bombs, and particularly Hanoi.

"We proved to all concerned that we desired only peace when we stopped bombing North Vietnam, and our enemies rejected this opportunity to stop the war. Now that we have resumed bombing, let's pull out all the stops and show our Communist opponents that we are serious about winning this war. Now is the time to unleash SAC and wipe out Hanoi.

"Think also of the morale boost this would be for the soldiers and marines who are now fighting and dying in Vietnam. Imagine how you would feel if you knew you might be killed any moment, and then realized that your own Government, which had sent you to Asia to fight, was not doing everything possible to hinder the enemy."

We all agree with this gentleman that the time has come to get serious about winning this war in the shortest possible time and we also want you Congressmen and Senators to know that we favor unlimited bombing of North Vietnam.

We thank you, in advance, for listening to us as we "placed our case." We firmly believe that there are many in this country who feel the same way that we do and the signatures attached to this letter indicate only a very small percentage of that group. Nevertheless, we hope and pray that you will give it your undivided attention. Also, please feel free to show it to your fellow Congressmen.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. James Wilkinson, Mrs. Betty Cahso, Mrs. Russell Babcock, Mrs. Kathleen Coombs, Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Beach, Mrs. John Franklin, Mr. and Mrs. Cecil R. Bort, Mrs. James R. Stiles, Mrs. Wm. Beard, Mrs. Claude Hulva, Mrs. Oliver F. Zimmermann, Mrs. John C. Blum, Jr., Mrs. Allene Baker.

Mr. and Mrs. John B. Harris, Mrs. Owen Coyle, Mr. and Mrs. Harlan W. Oetzel, Mr. and Mrs. Gene Wilkinson, Mrs. Jessie Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Gatelez, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Walker, J. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur R. Zimmermann, Mrs. Gilbert Lampe, Oliver F. Zimmermann, W. N. Milleo, Mrs. John Strickfader, H. E. White and wife, Mr. and Mrs. James Lynn, Sr., Mr. and Mrs. Henry C. Berkley, Wm. F. Rademacher, Mrs. Wm. Rademacher.

P.S.—In talking to the folks who signed this letter, it has been suggested that we enforce a blockade around the port of Haiphong and also adopt the policy of refusing to lend aid to any and all countries who trade with North Vietnam. At present, it seems like we are helping, in a roundabout way, the enemies of our valiant fighting men in South Vietnam by supporting countries who are aiding the North Vietnamese. (A personal reply to this letter would be greatly appreciated by all.)

Automation Benefits the Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Henry Ellenbogen, president judge, court of common pleas, Allegheny County, Pa., recently delivered a scholarly report at a University of Pittsburgh Law School seminar on the way automation may help our courts. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Judge Ellenbogen's address of April 4 at this point in the RECORD:

AUTOMATION BENEFITS THE COURTS

(By the Honorable Henry Ellenbogen, president judge, court of common pleas, Allegheny County, Pa., an address delivered at a seminar at the University of Pittsburgh School of Law on April 4, 1966)

Members of the faculty, students of the law, and friends, I am delighted at this opportunity to address a seminar of the School of Law of the University of Pittsburgh. I have long felt that occasional appearances of our judges at the law school could be of great benefit to the student body. I am sure, too, that the judges of our court would be glad to welcome law students as visitors in our courtrooms. Contacts with our judges and observation of the work of our courts are bound to enrich the study of the law and contribute to the development and maturing of the student body.

The operation of our law courts affect the lives, the fortunes, and the security of every single citizen of this great community. Even lawyers and students of the law need to be reminded occasionally of this important fact.

The average citizen looks upon the courts as something remote.

The courts, however, are not remote to the unfortunate citizen who has been injured in a motor vehicle accident and who is seeking redress for his hurts, his medical expenses, and his financial loss.

COURTS NOT REMOTE TO CITIZENS

The courts are not remote to the businessman who must sue for performance of a contract.

The courts are not remote to the millworker whose rights are in jeopardy for one reason or another.

Most certainly, the courts are not remote to all our citizens. They must look to the law to make them secure in their persons and property as they go about their daily lives.

To use a phrase borrowed from the Latin, "res ipsa loquiter" or, rather a free translation thereof, it is a self-evident truth, that the courts and the manner in which the courts are operated are of supreme importance to every man, woman, and child in our community.

All about us, the world is changing. Man has learned to leave his planet, the earth. He has learned to guide spaceships into outer spaces.

Man, too, has learned to tame nuclear energy and to reshape his physical environment.

Jet planes have brought the seven continents within a few hours of each other. Peoples separated by huge oceans are becoming next-door neighbors.

Business and industry are revolutionizing time-honored methods of performing services and producing goods. New products far beyond the dreams of our fathers are being developed almost daily.

Even our social structure is undergoing drastic change. Indeed, almost every facet of our existence is in flux. With the whole world around and about us changing, the courts must also change.

Change, then, in our courts is inevitable.

I have come here today to report on one aspect of that change. I have been invited by Professor Sell, the acting dean of the law school, and by Harold R. Schmidt, Esq., president of the law school alumni association, to speak to you about automation in the courts.

COURTS RELUCTANT TO CHANGE

The law is like an old lady, conservative in her training, backward looking in her insistence on established procedures and well-settled precedents. New ideas, even in the area of court administration, are opposed by earnest lawyers and well-meaning judges. They want to retain traditional procedures and age-old administrative practices.

Roscoe Pound, famous dean of the Harvard Law School and much honored critic of judicial administration, recognized this reluctance to change in his famous address delivered in 1906. It is as true today as it was then. The opposition to change still persists.

It is, therefore, significant that our court, the court of common pleas of Allegheny County, has adopted an electronic data processing system to aid in the administration of the court. This shows that our judges are cognizant of the need for changes. It shows that they are willing to adopt modern methods to administer the business end of the courts.

I personally am deeply appreciative of the support which our judges have extended to the introduction of this system.

I want to take this opportunity to point out, in the halls of this great law school, that the citizens of the Allegheny County can take pride in the fact that their court, the court of common pleas of Allegheny County, has been the leader among the metropolitan courts of the United States in introducing electronic data processing as an aid in the administration of the civil side of the court.

The introduction of electronic data processing has come none too soon.

One of the key inventions of our age of science and technology is in the field of information collection and retrieval. Manual means of processing large masses of information are giving way to electronic data processing. Electronic data processing equipment is revolutionizing the procedures of industry, business, and government at an ever-increasing pace.

The courts across the country are beginning to utilize this technological advance.

Our large metropolitan courts are staggering under what Mr. Justice Clark of the U.S. Supreme Court has referred to as the "law explosion." The law explosion is due to the almost 100 million motor vehicles which are crowding our streets and highways. Law suits arising from accidents of motor vehicles are overburdening our courts to a dangerous degree.

This is easily understood when we look at the facts. Let us look at our own Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a typical example.

PROPERTY DAMAGE EXCEEDS $90 MILLION

In 1964, Pennsylvania had a total of 5,223,000 registered motor vehicles and 5,772,000 licensed drivers.

The operation of these motor vehicles resulted in a total of 183,910 reported motor vehicle accidents in which 1,889 persons were killed and 93,564 persons suffered serious injury. All of this occurred in 1964, in a single year. The total resulting property damage exceeded $90 million.

Thus, it is not surprising that the courts are literally logjammed with personal injury and property damage litigation.

In metropolitan courts congestion is the rule rather than the exception.

Judges, lawyers, and students of the law are not unmindful of this situation. There have been many attempts to reduce the backlogs in the courts. New judges have been added, special programs of arbitration and conciliation, and special masters have been tried.

But little has been done until recently to modernize the courts in one critical area—that of judicial administration.

What is so important about judicial administration? Is not the administration of the courts simply a matter of assigning judges and providing them with courtrooms? Unhappily, no. The problem is much more, far more, complex than that.

ACCURATE INFORMATION ESSENTIAL

Most judges will agree that the tremendous backlogs of our metropolitan courts must be dealt with. But we cannot effectively deal with the problem of congestion and delay until the facts, all the facts, are known.

What is needed are accurate and up-to-date statistics. They are essential to understanding our problem. We can no longer depend upon the hit-and-miss collection of statistics; the hit-and-miss manner of assessing our problems.

Once we know the size, the scope, and the particulars of our backlogs, we can make intelligent decisions and take steps to correct the situation.

Our metropolitan courts face twin related problems: they have large backlogs of untried cases and they are burdened with century-old but unreliable methods of record keeping. These constitute a real hindrance to the improvement of judicial administration.

EDP PROVIDES THE FACTS

Science has now given us a new tool. It has given us electronic data processing—a means of accurately and quickly assembling the facts which we need to provide effective modern court administration.

A major breakthrough is in the making. Indeed, I believe that within 10 to 15 years, every metropolitan court in this Nation will be equipped with some form of electronic data processing and data-retrieval equipment.

In the recent past, a number of our metropolitan courts have installed electronic data processing—computers or punched-card manipulating machines—for statistical purposes.

The court of common pleas of Allegheny County has been a leader in this development. We have applied modern methods of collecting, storing, and retrieving information to the administration of the civil side of the court and to the use of it as an aid in controlling the flow of litigation.

Judges and professional administrative personnel have discovered that a basic impediment in curing the ills of the courts is the fact that they have had only meager and incomplete information on the operations of the courts and the makeup of the backlogs.

Certainly this was true in Allegheny County.

When I became president judge of the court in March 1963, I found that we had little specific information about our backlog. Moreover, it was difficult and time consuming to ascertain even the basic facts.

BACKLOG OF 8,000 CASES DEMANDED ACTION

We finally determined that the backlog had climbed to a high of about 8,000 cases at issue. We became convinced that the old system of keeping statistics would not do. We needed accurate, reliable statistics, which were quickly and readily available.

The thought occurred to us that electronic data processing could supply these and be adapted for use in our court.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1963, the administrative staff of the court and I worked closely with the International Business Machines Corp., in designing and installing a system utilizing punched-card equipment suitable for a large, metropolitan civil court.

Once the system was designed, the judges of our court formally authorized its installation.

The collection of data began in July 1963. In January of 1964 we were ready to sort and assemble the information about our backlog and put it in usable form.

We were able to learn significant facts about ourselves. We had cataloged our backlog on specially designed punched cards. We had analyzed the pending cases by categories. We now knew the number, the age, and the type of cases.

We confirmed what we had suspected earlier—the great extent of the concentration of cases among a few specialist trial lawyers and trial law firms. This concentration constituted and still constitutes one of the major obstacles to the preparation of a well-functioning trial list in a metropolitan court.

The facts assembled by our data processing division enabled us to see our backlog problem in its full complexity. We were now ready to seek out procedures to deal with the backlog.

SHORTAGE OF TRIAL LAWYERS REVEALED

The data processing division supplied us with backlog lists for individual law firms. In many instances these lists showed that a number of law firms which specialized in the trial of cases did not have enough trial lawyers to handle their large accumulations of trespass cases. We demanded that they engage more trial counsel. We also demanded that these firms specify the individual trial lawyers who were to try the cases. Thus armed, our automatic sorting equipment helps us to prepare lists for conciliation hearings as well as for trial calendars, eliminating many conflicting engagements of trial lawyers that plague us.

Our data processing division installed and keeps current a perpetual weekly inventory of pending cases at issue. During the last few weeks we also installed an inventory of pending cases at issue for the large trial firms. This means that we have a accurate figures available. We now know at any given time the size and composition of our backlog. We know whether it is declining or growing.

Data processing prints our conciliation and trial lists. It also prints notices to the lawyers who have cases on conciliation lists, advising them of the listing of their cases and directing them to have their cases prepared. Our data processing division even addresses the envelope labels.

Our experience shows that large trial courts require the assembling of many pieces of information about each case.

For example, in Pittsburgh we code and record each attorney for the plaintiffs and defendants and for each additional defendant. We code and record the category, be it trespass, assumpsit, equity or other type of action, the date it is placed at issue, the date it goes to conciliation, and the judge to whom the case is assigned. We record also the type, manner and date of disposition and the amount of the verdict and settlement.

VARIETY OF FACTS AVAILABLE

It can be readily understood that once we have this information in our punched-card system we are able to correlate and analyze all or any part of this information, so that we can make informed decisions on what procedures to retain, revise, or discard.

In the past, this information, if available at all, was obtainable only by making a special study, an expensive and time-consuming process. Indeed, a Pittsburgh foundation in 1959 and 1960 paid out $25,000 for a year-long study. This study provided only part of the necessary information, and even that was outdated by the time it became available.

OTHER NEW PROCEDURES ARE FRUITFUL

Data processing is not the only innovation in our court. We devised a calendar-control system and appointed a calendar-control judge to supervise the daily trial calendar.

Repeated continuances of cases on the trial list are a major contributing factor in accumulating a backlog of old cases. We instituted a policy of not permitting postponements except in emergency situations. Furthermore, data processing keeps a record of postponements. Each trial list indicates how many times a case has been listed for trial.

We decided that every case must go through the conciliation process before it is placed on the daily trail list. Additionally, a jury cannot be selected until a second, last-ditch effort to conciliate the case has been made by the calendar control judges. This has proved to be of great value.

These and other procedures have greatly stimulated settlements.

There has been progress. The court of common pleas of Allegheny County now has a backlog of about 5,000 cases at issue, a considerable improvement over the 8,000 untried cases we faced only 3 years ago.

At the same time, the waiting time for pending cases from the date of issue has been reduced far below the 3-year delay of former years.

We are privileged to have contributed to a new and significant development in court administration. We know, too, that courts throughout the country are watching what we are doing in Pittsburgh in data processing and in devising new court procedures.

It is, of course, obvious that neither electronic data processing nor any other mechanical process can dispose of cases. Only judges can decide cases.

Scores of judges, court administrators, and other officials have visited our installation. These include representatives from the large metropolitan courts in the States of Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Texas, California, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, and staff members of the President's Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement.

Last fall, the deputy State court administrator of the court of Illinois and two administrative officials of the circuit court of Cook County, Chicago, came to Pittsburgh to study our system. They took back with them, as have many other court administrators, samples of our data processing cards, forms, and our procedural manual.

Only last week, Mr. Gerald Shea, administrative assistant to the chief judge of the circuit court of Cook County, reported to the court's staff that the Pittsburgh system has, in fact, been placed in operation in Chicago.

As is done in Pittsburgh, each case in the Chicago court is being placed on punched cards and each step through the court is noted on cards. The Pittsburgh system has, of course, been tailored to meet the specific needs of the Chicago court.

We do not claim to have all the answers. I am certain that other courts may well modify and expand our concept. But we are grateful for the opportunity to have been pioneers in a new era of court administration.

The introduction of modern mechanical equipment into the courts increases the need for trained and experienced personnel. Court administration is becoming a profession. There are as yet few authorities in this field. Indeed, we have found it necessary to train our own personnel.

A law degree is not the answer. A court administrator should, of course, be familiar with the workings of the court and with legal procedures. But he must be much more. He should be a statistician, a businessman, and a personnel director. Above all, he should be a diplomat if he is to deal with a multiple judge court.

The subordinates, too, need special training. I am glad to note that the Institute of Judicial Administration at New York University in New York City is considering means for the training of court administrative personnel. The Institute has prepared a proposal for the establishment of a training program and funds are being sought to finance this undertaking.

UNIFORM STATISTICS NECESSARY

I should like to deal briefly with the subject of comparative court statistics. It certainly would be helpful if we could measure our own efficiency in court administration with that of other courts.

The statistics which are now being published are to a large extent confusing and even misleading. This stems from the fact that each court appears to have its own definition of what the case load consists of. Our own court has always computed the time lag from the date that a case is put at issue, that is, from the date when the parties have filed a praecipe for issue which is a declaration that the pleadings have been completed.

Other courts have created a new date of departure. They require a certificate of readiness, that is, a declaration by the parties that the case is ready for trial. These courts count the time lag from the date when that certificate is filed. The administrative office of the Federal courts uses a third point of departure. It considers the day of filing of the case as the controlling date.

It is, of course, obvious that you cannot compare statistics based upon different starting points and different standards with each other. If we are to have the possibility of learning from the experience of other courts, we must be able to relate their work to ours and compare their statistics with ours. Therefore, the time has come to seek agreement among the metropolitan courts of the United States for uniform terminology and statistics. I hope at some future time to deal with this problem in depth.

I am delighted to pay tribute to a remarkable undertaking on automation in the research of law which was originated on this campus. Prof. John F. Horty has led a capable staff in directing a center for automated law searching. Departments of the Federal Government, as well as the governments of several of our States, including the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, have made use of this center.

Only recently, Professor Horty has made available his computer for researching law problems to practicing lawyers. I wish Professor Horty every success in his undertaking.

Under the leadership of Mr. Charles S. Rhyne, a World Peace Through Law Center is being established in Geneva, Switzerland. This will put international law into computers and make it easily available to the governments of all nations.

Electronic data processing will permit great progress in the administration of the courts, but it is not a panacea to the vexing basic problems of delay and congestion in the metropolitan courts. I want to say again that electronic data processing does not decide cases. Only judges can do that.

I am aware that we have not reached our full potential in the use of electronic data processing in the courts and in other departments of the Government.

There are many other areas where electronic data processing can usefully be employed. We hope to install it in our criminal courts. This should give us a new insight into the field of crime and criminals.

In that connection it is relevant to note that President Johnson, in his message on crime, which he delivered a few days ago, suggested that electronic data processing be employed in the field.

The Federal Government already is making extensive use of computers in many of its departments. A number of State and local governments are also using data processing.

In Allegheny County, Pa., the county health department and the county controller's office, have data processing installations. The city of Pittsburgh has installed computers in several departments.

AN ALLEGHENY COUNTY-PITTSBURGH COMPUTER CENTER

Sophisticated electronic computers are costly. They also have a nearly unlimited capacity for work. To obtain the maximum benefit from computers it is desirable that they be in continuous use.

The people of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County would greatly benefit by the establishment of an Allegheny County-Pittsburgh computer center. This center would provide computer service for the county of Allegheny, the city of Pittsburgh, the third-class cities, and every borough and township. They all would have the benefit of modern technology.

Consider how much more efficient all our local government units would be if computers were available to supply, quickly, efficiently, and accurately, all the myriad pieces of information so necessary to proper administration in this modern world?

I believe that an all-inclusive Allegheny County-Pittsburgh computer center would be of great benefit to the county commissioners, the mayors of the city of Pittsburgh, the third-class cities, and of the boroughs, and to all other city, borough, and township officials.

Data processing engineers and design analysts say that such a center is practical.

Numerous State governments have now linked together widely separated divisions and departments to take advantage of large centralized computer installations.

Such a center would benefit all branches of government, including the courts.

An efficient legal system is essential to civilized society. It is especially important in our system of government which is a government of laws, not of men.

Electronic data processing is improving the administrative machinery of justice. Whatever improves justice is important.

Let us remember—there can be no freedom without justice—true justice, speedy justice. There can be no security for our people without an efficient, informed judiciary, and a smoothly functioning government.

Truth Bills Gain Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Mount Vernon (Ohio) News, Mar. 29, 1966]

TRUTH BILLS GAIN STRENGTH

Truth-in-lending and truth-in-packaging legislation is getting closer to congressional action, and with the President pushing for action, prospects of enactment are believed considerably stronger than they were a year ago.

If the pending bills are passed, it is largely the fault of a considerable fringe of the credit business and a considerable portion of the food and household goods industry which has had the chance to clean house, but has failed to do so.

In fact, if some surveys are accurate, the situation is, if anything, perhaps worse than it was a year ago.

In financing and loans, there are plenty of lenders who make it easy for the customer to figure exactly what he is paying in interest, even though it may be difficult for him to compute the true percentage of interest. Unfortunately, their square dealing is offset by those who use the many tricks of financing, installment buying, and loans to mislead the customer on the amount of interest he is paying, or who if not misleading, offer the customer no help in understanding his actual commitment.

In packaging, there has been improvement in some areas, but there are still far too many odd-sized and odd-weight packages, as 10½ ounce, 6½ ounce, and "giant," "family," or "economy" used in ways that are relatively meaningless.

Actually, the truth-in-lending and truth-in packaging labels on the legislation are about as deceptive as the evils they seek to correct. The tags on the legislation are a sop to our love of slogans, and the notion that understanding is easier if we just give a complex situation a simple label.

Truth-in-packaging and truth-in-lending are misnomers in that the bills are not aimed at patently dishonest credit or packaging. We already have ample laws to punish the outright crook. They are intended, rather, to enable the customer, and especially the unskilled or unschooled customer, to be given a clearer picture of exactly what he is paying for exactly how much when he buys something on installment payments, when he borrows money, or when he buys packaged goods.

Surely, the average decent person cannot quarrel with that goal. The real pity is that such legislation should even be considered necessary.

MacGregor Legislative Questionnaire Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the results of my 1966 legislative questionnaire have not been tabulated. The popular response gives a true indication of public opinion in the Third Congressional District of Minnesota on important public issues.

With the dedicated help of many volunteers, I prepared and mailed a copy of the questionnaire to each of approximately 130,000 homes. The returns were gratifying in that 18,421 people—a response of over 14 percent—gave me the benefit of their opinions. Many respondents, in addition to checking "yes" and "no" answers, added comments which have been of real value to me in providing representation to the residents of suburban and rural Hennepin and Anoka Counties.

The test of successful representative government is an informed, concerned and alert citizenry. I am proud to say, Mr. Speaker, that this questionnaire project in 1966, as in past years, proves that the people of my area in Minnesota meet this test.

Following are the results of the questionnaire:

THE 1966 LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE, CLARK MACGREGOR, THIRD DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

1. Do you regard our overall effort in southeast Asia to be vital to the interests of the United States? Yes, 79 percent; no, 14 percent; undecided or no answer, 7 percent.

2. Do you support the U.S. objective of fighting "for the principle of self-determination"[1] and the cause of individual freedom in South Vietnam? Yes, 78 percent; no, 15 percent; undecided or no answer, 7 percent.

3. Do you approve of the tactics employed to date to accomplish this objective? Yes, 39 percent; no, 46 percent; undecided or no answer, 15 percent.

4. Would you favor a Cuba-type "quarantine" or peaceful blockade to stop the flow of Communist weapons into the North Vietnamese port of Haiphong? Yes, 74 percent; no, 15 percent; undecided or no answer, 11 percent.

5. Do you favor international arbitration of the Vietnam conflict under United Nations auspices? Yes, 62 percent; no, 26 percent; undecided or no answer, 12 percent.

6. Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permits States to prohibit union shop contracts: Should it be repealed? Yes, 18 percent; no, 75 percent; undecided or no answer, 7 percent.

7. Do you favor "a constitutional amendment extending the term" of U.S. Representatives "to 4 years concurrent with that of the President?"[1] Yes, 43 percent; no, 49 percent; undecided or no answer, 8 percent.

8. Do you favor the recommendation that Congress "make it possible to expand trade between the United States and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union?"[1] Yes, 52 percent; no, 34 percent, undecided or no answer, 14 percent.

9. Do you believe that Congress should create a new Cabinet-level Department of Transportation? Yes, 34 percent; no, 47 percent; undecided or no answer, 19 percent.

10. Should Congress vote to spend an additional $80 million now to construct and flight-test a new 2,000-mile-per-hour supersonic transport airplane? Yes, 31 percent; no, 53 percent; undecided or no answer, 16 percent.

11. President Johnson has spoken of an urgent need for foreign aid directed toward education, health, and population growth: Do you favor a program "to dedicate $1 billion to these efforts?"[1] Yes, 32 percent; no, 56 percent; undecided or no answer, 12 percent.

12. Do you favor increased spending by the Federal Government on solutions to the problems of water and air pollution? Yes, 77 percent; no, 17 percent; undecided or no answer, 6 percent.

13. Should the Congress vote to authorize and to spend the money "not only to continue but to speed up the war on poverty?"[1] Yes, 20 percent; no, 69 percent; undecided or no answer, 11 percent.

14. Do you feel that the executive branch in Washington is providing adequate factual information to Congress and to the American people? Yes, 15 percent; no, 70 percent; undecided or no answer, 15 percent.

15. Do you favor President Johnson's $2.3 billion program to "rebuild entire sections and neighborhoods"[1] in some of our urban areas? Yes, 21 percent; no, 68 percent; undecided or no answer, 11 percent.

16. Do you favor measures to broaden political participation "through added tax incentive, to stimulate small contributions to the party and to the candidate"[1] of a person's choice? Yes, 35 percent; no, 50 percent; undecided or no answer, 15 percent.

War on Slums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, one of the major goals of the Great Society is the elimination of poverty and the eradication of slum areas in the United States. Our Government, not only in recent years, but throughout our history, has sought to provide the best possible housing for all of our citizens, regardless of differences in race, creed, and economic status.

And we are making tremendous inroads in this important and extremely difficult undertaking. Indeed, the successful partnership between Government and private sponsors and developers, working side by side in the field of urban renewal, has in no small way aided our "war on slums." Urban renewal projects have brought new and improved housing to thousands of Americans throughout the Nation and have bolstered the well-being and economic growth of hundreds of communities.

The role of the urban developer in this area has been both significant and invaluable. Unlike private residential construction, urban renewal planning must take into consideration the economic, cultural and sociological character of a particular area. The lives of thousands of Americans are altered in some way by every urban renewal program undertaken. It is therefore the responsibility of the urban developer to make certain they are altered for the better—that the urban renewal project provides better housing for these people, adds to the rehabilitation of the community by eliminating existing slums and produces, in its place, a development that will be a credit to the community and an incentive for all who live there.

One urban developer whose knowledge of building and whose dedication to the highest principles of urban renewal has been responsible for bringing thousands of Americans a better place to live and a better way of life is S. Pierre Bonan. Engaged in urban development since 1947, Mr. Bonan is presently engaged in the development of more than $200 million worth of urban renewal projects in the United States.

Most important, the high standards and ethics which he continues to bring to this industry are setting an example for all in the field to follow. His developments—the $17 million University Towers apartment and shopping center in New Haven, Conn.; the $70 million West End apartment project in Boston; the $12 million section of Philadelphia's "Society Hill"; the 66-acre $100 million commercial, industrial, and residential development in Stamford, Conn.; and many others, have become renewal showcases.

Today, Mr. Bonan is one of several sponsors engaged in one of the most ambitious and important urban renewal developments in this country—the $23.4 million Cadman Plaza housing redevelopment in Brooklyn, N.Y. The development, now under construction, replaces 86 different structures, most of them substandard. In their place will rise cooperative apartments for 980 families, surrounded by parks, plazas, shopping facilities, ample parking, schools, houses of worship, and transit facilities.

It is hoped that this beautifully constructed, attractively designed development will not only rejuvenate the Brooklyn Heights section of Brooklyn, but will lead the way for similar projects throughout the borough and New York City. If it does, it will signal the beginning of a major victory in the "war on slums" not only in New York, but in all the major urban centers throughout the Nation, where similar projects are so desperately needed.

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[1] Quoted from the President's state of the Union message of Jan. 12, 1966.

Born in New York City, where he received degrees from Columbia College and Brooklyn Law School, Mr. Bonan served with the Pacific Fleet in World War II, before returning home and entering the construction field. Sensing the great need for providing all citizens, regardless of race, creed, or economic standing, with decent housing, he soon entered the urban development field, and has been engaged in this work ever since.

Mr. Bonan is to be commended for offering his unselfish principles, knowledge, and dedication to this important undertaking, which has provided thousands of Americans with better housing and has greatly aided this country's economic growth and development.

United Nations Children's Fund, 20th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

STATEMENT OF MRS. VIRGINIA M. GRAY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF, ON BEHALF OF THE AUTHORIZATION FOR AN APPROPRIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MAY 3, 1966

The Citizens Committee for UNICEF is an informal clearinghouse of legislative information serving a number of national organizations which support continued participation by the United States in the work of UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund. These organizations have authorized me to present the following joint statement in support of a contribution of $12 million by the United States for fiscal 1967 (the amount proposed by the executive branch) and, in addition, to request a special contribution of $1 million in this next year for the reasons and in the manner indicated later in this statement. The names of the organizations authorizing this presentation are listed at the end of the text.

UNICEF'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

On December 11 of this year, UNICEF will celebrate its 20th anniversary. This date will mark a generation of service to children. The first babies and small children, who may owe their very lives to UNICEF's timely aid, have now reached maturity and are taking their places in their communities. These first beneficiaries of UNICEF aid received emergency assistance: food, clothing, medicine. Yet this simple humanitarian undertaking, born quietly in the aftermath of World War II, marked a new dimension in the development of civilization; it was a recognition of mankind's united responsibility for all children wherever they may happen to be born.

From a relatively small beginning in 1946—in which several members of this committee, past and present, played a major role—the program to aid the world's children has brought lifesaving aid to millions of children and mothers. In 1965 UNICEF was assiting 543 projects in 118 countries. In its nearly 20 years of service UNICEF has treated 11 million cases of trachoma, over 1 million cases of leprosy, 37 million cases of yaws, and has given 162 million TB vaccinations. In addtion to these specific treatments to individual cases, UNICEF has helped to establish and equip over 30,000 maternal and child health centers and subcenters, and has provided scholarship and training allowances to thousands of nurses, auxiliary health, and social workers where the extent of the benefits to children are incalculable.

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AWARD

In dramatic tribute to the accomplishments of the Children's Fund, the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament announced on October 25 that its 1965 award of the Nobel Peace Prize would go to UNICEF in recognition of its contribution to world peace. The selection of UNICEF to receive this distinguished award marks the eighth time in the long history of the Nobel awards that the honor has gone to an organization; it is the second time that the prize has gone to an agency of the United Nations. The news of the award met worldwide acclaim. It was received by officials of UNICEF itself as an indication that the policies that have guided its actions over the years are basically correct. More importantly, however, it was accepted by UNICEF officials as a challenge to strengthen their activities for the greater fulfillment of children's needs.

U.S. GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTION TO UNICEF

The unanimous acclaim with which the announcement of the award was greeted did not increase the U.S. contribution to UNICEF, however. This fiscal year will mark the eighth consecutive year that the executive branch is recommending a contribution of $12 million to UNICEF by the United States. The organizations listed below endorse this recommendation with a full understanding and sympathy for the State Department's position in this matter. The Department's expert knowledge of the pledges already made or anticipated from governments other than the United States has led them to accept the strong probability that UNICEF will find it difficult to raise the necessary sums to match $12 million from the United States at 40 percent during the present year. With a few spectacular exceptions, such as Sweden which has increased its contribution by 50 percent, there are few other countries in a strong enough position economically to follow such an outstanding lead. The general upward trend in support continues, however.

Our organizations request this committee and the Congress to make, in this year of the Nobel Peace Prize Award, a special contribution of an additional $1 million as tangible recognition for the outstanding work that UNICEF is doing for world peace. This $1 million contribution would be in every sense a gift—with no strings attached. It would be exempt from the computations of the 40 (United States) to 60 (other countries) matching ratio. We respectfully urge your support of this proposal.

WHY AN INCREASE IS JUSTIFIABLE

A considerable increase in the U.S. Government contribution to UNICEF above the $12 million level would seem well justified. The following reasons suggest an increase far beyond our request for a special $1 million but at this time we can only relate the reasons to this request for a modest increase:

1. Without doubt, the most compelling reason for giving aid is the enormous need of children. Many basic threats to child development have scarcely been recognized, let alone attacked. In addition to the present ongoing programs that we have discussed in past years, there is an area of child needs that is only beginning to be seen. This concerns the problems of the very young child, the child aged 1 to 6. It is estimated that there are 400 million children in the world, aged 1 to 6. Of these, 200 million live in the developing countries which are being assisted by UNICEF. These children, weaned from their mother's milk but too young to go to school, frequently suffer from grave malnutrition in these most formative years of their whole life. Recent research has developed evidence that many abilities, motor skills, even intelligence, may be affected by nutritional deficiencies during these early years, defects that no amount of future treatment can overcome. Here, then, is one area where much remains to be done.

2. The United States, although the largest contributor to UNICEF in dollar totals is not at all the leading contributor on a per capita basis. We rank only fifth, after Sweden, 13 cents per capita (soon to be 20 cents with its increase); Norway, 12 cents per capita; New Zealand, 7.9 cents per capita; Switzerland, 7.5 cents per capita; United States, 6.2 cents per capita.

Looked at in another way, to cite again the example of Sweden, its contribution to UNICEF represents 2.2 percent of its foreign aid budget of $65 million. The corresponding percentage for the United States is almost too small to report: .0042 percent.

3. There is an inevitable competition for limited resources among various programs. During these years when the U.S. contribution to UNICEF has remained at the same figure, our contributions to other international organizations have increased. This is not to suggest that we are opposed to the accomplishments under the other programs, nor to deny that they also—indirectly perhaps—benefit children in the longrun. It is merely to point out the stark fact that the world's most precious resource, its children, could use a larger share of the present investments.

4. In his AID message, President Johnson has stressed his conviction of the importance of channeling more foreign aid through multilateral sources and his recommendation that the foreign aid programs help those nations that help themselves. UNICEF is an organization to which these objectives could appropriately be applied. Increased aid from the United States is directed to the international lending agencies such as IDA and the World Bank, but not to the Children's Fund. UNICEF aid, from its beginning, has required a country to match in goods and services the international aid it receives. One could say that UNICEF has been a pioneer in its emphasis on self-help, which the President so rightly approves.

In conclusion, we should like to refer again to the point made in our testimony last year: the fact that there is a vast amount of aid to children that cannot even be planned until the resources to carry out the programs appear to be within reach. The figure mentioned last year was $9 million. The need still exists for these additional resources. A top UNICEF official has said that UNICEF could usefully allocate at least $50 million per year instead of the approximately $35 million now going into its current work. One of the ironies of this situation is that while UNICEF helps millions of mothers and children each year, it does so by spending less in a whole year than the governments of the world spend on armaments in 2 hours of a single day. In a speech on the occasion of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize, the former Chairman of the UNICEF Board suggested "that each abortive disarmament conference set itself a penalty—a contribution to UNICEF of the equivalent cost of one submarine or a dozen fighter planes. Surely today's children are the central factor in the strategy for peace and survival."

The following national organizations have authorized me to present the foregoing statement in support of the contribution of $12 million (as the regular U.S. contribution) and in addition a special contribution of $1 million by the United States to UNICEF for fiscal 1967: American Association of University Women, American Parents Committee, American Veterans Committee, Association for Childhood Education International, Child Study Association of America, Child Welfare League of America, Cooperative League of the U.S.A., Friends Committee on National Legislation, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service, National Association of Social Workers, Inc., National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Jewish Welfare Board, Rural Education, Department of National Education Association, Unitarian-Universalist Women's Federation, United Church Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, YWCA, National Board.

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, IN SUPPORT OF AUTHORIZATION FOR AN APPROPRIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF), MRS. THOMAS KOUZES, MEMBER, NATIONAL PTA LEGISLATIVE ACTION COMMITTEE, PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MAY 3, 1966

I am Mrs. Thomas Kouzes, member of the legislative action committee of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers (National PTA). I have been authorized to reaffirm our established policy of support for UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), and particularly to offer support of the recommended appropriation of $12 million as the U.S. Government's contribution to the UNICEF program for fiscal 1967, and the requested special contribution of $1 million additional.

Since the inception of UNICEF in December 1946 to provide emergency postwar relief to needy children, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has consistently supported this program. Our organization comprises approximately 12 million memberships in 50 States, in the District of Columbia, and among schools for American dependents overseas. It has been dedicated since its beginning, in 1897, to the health, education, and welfare of American children. It has always been in the forefront in encouraging the development of UNICEF into a permanent organization concerned with the health and welfare of all children in the world.

From UNICEF's small beginnings in 1946, the organization has brought lifesaving aid to millions of children and mothers. Today the first babies helped by UNICEF are celebrating their 20th year, as is UNICEF. This new generation of healthy young adults are stepping into the adult world because mankind 20 years ago marked a new dimension in the development of civilization, when it recognized man's united responsibility for all children, everywhere. In these years of service, UNICEF has treated 14 million cases of trachoma, more than 2 million cases of leprosy, and 40 million cases of yaws; and has given 193 million vaccinations for TB. UNICEF has further established and equipped more than 30,000 maternal and child health centers and subcenters, and has provided scholarships and training allotments to thousands of nurses and auxiliary health and social workers. The consequence of this care is incalculable. These children are the potential leaders of tomorrow's world, who will work alongside our children as adults in an increasingly interdependent world.

The work of UNICEF is indeed spectacular within the limitations of its budget; a dramatic tribute to these accomplishments was the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965. This is but the second time that this distinguished award has gone to a United Nations organization and only the eighth time to any organization. The award was accepted by the officials of UNICEF as an indication that its guiding policies are basically correct, and that the award is a challenge to strengthen its activities for the fulfillment of all children's needs.

The UNICEF program is achieving notable success among the participating countries in the best traditions of self-help. In recent years the average contribution by each country aided was $2.70 in services, materials, and funds for every dollar of UNICEF money spent. Because of insufficient funds, however, some $9 million worth of UNICEF projects could not be considered last year, and it would seem that a considerable increase in U.S. Government contributions would be justified, particularly because of the population explosion and the dramatic impact for the good of UNICEF.

For the past 7 years, however, our Government has recommended that our contribution be $12 million on the basis of the State Department's expert knowledge that pledges already made or anticipated from other governments would indicate difficulty in raising the necessary sums to match more than $12 million at 40 percent. This also obtains for the present year. Despite the spectacular exception of Sweden, which has increased its contribution by 50 percent, few others have followed this lead. The general upward trend in support does continue, however. The United States is the largest contributor in dollar total, but not at all the largest contributor per capita. We rank, in fact, fifth; with Sweden first, with 13 cents per capita, which will soon be 20 cents; Norway, 12 cents; New Zealand, 7.9 cents; Switzerland, 7.5 cents; United States 6.2 cents or four-tenths of 1 percent of our foreign aid budget.

President Johnson, in his AID message, stressed his conviction that more foreign aid should go through multilateral sources and to those who helped themselves. UNICEF could be described as a pioneer in its emphasis on self-help, which has always been a requirement for aid in this program.

We would, therefore, strongly support the request of the Citizens Committee for UNICEF that this committee approve and that the Congress authorize a special contribution of an additional $1 million in this year of the Nobel Peace Prize, as a tangible recognition of the outstanding work of this organization for peace. This $1 million should be in every sense a gift with no strings attached and no requirements for matching. We would suggest that such a contribution will express our hope for a peaceful world when an organization like UNICEF helps millions of mothers and children each year with less money than the governments of the world spend on armaments in 2 hours of a single day.

We hope very much these measures may be taken to strengthen UNICEF as it extends its invaluable assistance to millions of children and youth to prepare them for useful lives in this rapidly changing world.

Pope Paul's Appeal Before the United Nations, October 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, last October, a dramatic appeal for peace was made to the world by Pope Paul before the United Nations. He spoke fervently and out of deep anxiety of the necessity for peaceful relations between modern nations.

Commemorating this appeal and reemphasizing the words of the Pope is this moving poem by Mr. Leon Grossman of San Jose, Calif. This short verse is evidence of the inspiring quality of the Pope's message to peoples throughout the world. It is relevant today to be reminded of this appeal and under unanimous consent I insert Mr. Grossman's verse in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

POPE PAUL'S APPEAL BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS, OCTOBER 1965

(By Leon W. Grossman)

Before the nations of the world was heard a voice,
  A plea rang out for everlasting peace.
For mankind there could be no other choice
  But self destruction and the human race would cease.

No, never, never could there be war again,
  For God's will in this our sacred hope.
And never should man shed blood of other man,
  Thus spoke His Holiness, the Pope.

The voice that made this plea was rendered from the heart
  Of one with all his faith in mankind's living years.
He begged all nations for a new and peaceful start,
  In touching tones there were detected tears.

Shall we take heed and save our very world
  For future generations not yet given birth;
Shall we let live the dignity of man,
  And bring an everlasting peace upon this earth.

Invites Critics of U.S. Naval Academy To View Record of Excellence in Quality of Education and Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, April 6, there appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter directed to Senator RANDOLPH written by a plebe at the U.S. Naval Academy who is supercritical of the indoctrination system. Recently I received a letter from a midshipman who was obviously as annoyed with the talebearer as was the young man who resigned with the system itself. While I would like to insert this letter verbatim, it is suffice to summarize this young midshipman's views on the subject because it needs to be said in defense of a system which has turned out the best naval officers in the world since its beginning.

He directs his comments to the quality of education at the U.S. Naval Academy and points out that there have been 13 Fulbright scholarships awarded to members of the class of 1966 as well as 3 National Science Foundation scholarships and 3 Atomic Energy Commission scholarships. He further points out that in 1965 a Rhodes scholarship was awarded to a member of the graduating class and properly concludes that if the education is as inadequate as claimed, it defies the record of academic achievement attained by midshipmen.

As for the alleged atrocities, indignities and inhuman infringements suffered by members of the plebe class, my correspondent suggests that it reflects ignorance of the situation as it exists here, and a complete void of understanding of the Academy as a military establishment.

Since I have been a Member of Congress, I have had the high honor and privilege to appoint 10 young men to the Naval Academy. None dropped out nor complained. Quite the contrary, I have had only the highest praise and reflection of pride in the Academy and its program from these young men. Those who have graduated have continued on in the performance of their military responsibilities in the highest tradition.

Some Universities Are Lopsided, Their Role—To Get Bigger, Bigger Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on April 15 Dr. Roswell G. Ham, retired president of Mount Holyoke College, delivered an address before the Commonwealth Club of California on the subject "Some Universities Are Lopsided, Their Role—To Get Bigger, Bigger Contracts." This address is of particular interest to all of those who have an interest in the growth and activities of our universities today and under leave to insert my own remarks and include extraneous matter, I am happy to insert the summary of the address by Dr. Ham, as published in the Commonwealth:

"Some Universitites Are Lopsided," Says Educator: "Their Role—To Get Bigger, Bigger Contracts"

(From address by Dr. Roswell G. Ham, retired president, Mount Holyoke College)

A year ago Governor Brown pronounced the University of California the greatest university in the United States, and President Kerr the greatest university president. I will not argue with the latter: He is certainly the greatest president of a multiversity. There is only one of the kind.

Chancellor Heyns has reiterated "greatest university in the United States." The academic field is full of cliches—more cliches in 5 minutes than any other profession has. For example:

"Let sleeping dogs lie." (But are the dogs sleeping? Or are they filled with rabies?)

"Don't wash your dirty linen in public." (But is the dirty linen exclusively yours?)

A warning was given to the universities of the United States almost a year before the trouble began in Berkeley.

I have since found out a whole campaign was formulated in New York, at Columbia University 5 years ago. That is a dead giveaway of what is behind it.

The term "university" is a great catchall. How can we put, under one common denominator, Princeton, Mississippi, and Nevada?

CHOSE TEACHING OVER RESEARCH

The job of Princeton is in no way the same as the job of Mississippi.

The breakdown can be made in other ways. There are undergraduate and graduate schools. The greatest university of one type may be eighth grade in the other. Many universities are lopsided—the undergraduate aspect being merely an appendage.

American universities were originally modeled along tutorial lines, after the examples of Oxford and Cambridge. But the Germans took over in our State universities, and the end of all became research.

As an undergraduate I studied at Yale. Why did I pick Yale over Harvard? I was coming from a university then ranked as third greatest, California, and going to a university ranked fifth—Yale.

But Harvard professors were considered dry as dust. Research was all important. Yale professors were teachers, and also good scholars. This was confirmed by my own experience.

MUST TEACHERS PUBLISH?

I had a roommate once at Yale (he was from Harvard) and he published endlessly about little peewees nobody ever heard of. He published, published, published—and he was fired from Yale for being an inadequate teacher. He was the dullest teacher in captivity, although he rose to head an English department at a State university and to become president of the Modern Languages Association.

The tendency at universities is to push all the departments together, and if it is desirable to publish in chemistry, then it must be desirable to do so in English.

That's the German victory. If you read German treatises on English, you know the horrors that follow.

There's no fight between teaching and publishing. I've met great teachers who publish, but many give teaching their left hand.

HORRORS OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Another horror making universities lopsided and confirming the German victory is the Government contract. I've never heard of English getting one—they go to physics.

In a great university such as MIT, or California, the university becomes lopsided—its role is to get bigger and bigger Government contracts.

The poor undergraduate becomes more and more slighted. Teaching is a stepchild in many universities.

Are the universities doing their job? "Job" is a derogatory term, but I chose it deliberately. It means, perhaps, that you are utilitarian. If the job is to provide research scientists for government, science, and industry, well and good.

SUPPLIERS FOR INDUSTRY?

Is it the job to provide vast reservoirs of people for industry alone? I'd been told that Mount Holyoke had the finest small college chemistry department in the United States. Representatives of industry came around and gathered in all the girls who formerly had gone in for teaching. And we have a lack of teachers in the United States.

NO HISTORICAL SENSE

I was once called in as part of a committee to study MIT. They wanted to make it more human. Sometimes their graduates could not speak the English language.

We followed the beautiful guidelines of Cal Tech, and MIT imitated Cal Tech to the extent of establishing 50 percent of the courses in the humanities.

In the university world there are vast numbers of scientists, presidents, and others who have no historical sense at all. "We'll never be free of the ancient world unless we are to be barbarians again."

Why should we get to the moon? I know of no organization trying to answer that question. Yet there are many organizations researching how to get there—why?

What is the president's job? It has a frightfully short tenure. When I came to Mount Holyoke the average was 4.5 years. Presidents are whipsawed between the faculty, students, and boards of trustees—pulled in every way, and particularly by the faculty.

POOREST LEGISLATIVE BODY

A faculty is probably the poorest legislative body in the world. Faculties are filled with prima donnas, geniuses, people with axes to grind; filled with air.

There are great faculties all over the country. There are many who don't want to be administrators. And many others who have a burning zeal to become administrators.

Maybe the president proposes a new curriculum to cure all these things. Curriculums are made and remade; every time one was presented at Mount Holyoke or Yale, somebody would rise to say, "We did that in 1837."

A president should know his faculty, and does know in the best places.

The end job is to educate. The vast numbers of students are there to be educated. Students aren't political activists. They're no different from past generations, when some went into government and social work. This isn't new—we don't have a "new generation."

FREE SPEECH ON IRRELEVANT?

The president's job is to know his students, analyze his students, know his faculty—whether he has on the faculty a Lynd, who goes over to North Vietnam and now is talking over in England. They had a professor at Yale once who was to teach religion and he was lifted out, not because he was teaching communism but because he was not teaching religion.

A president should see what issues should be given free speech—and be very suspicious of free speech conducted in the classroom on subjects that have nothing to do with the matters at hand.

A president represents his college. Some are stuffed shirts, some are superb. I have met some very great presidents.

A student can obtain an education in spite of everything, if he is good. But the wastage is very great in American universities. And there is a Stygian darkness over the plains of America in the matter of definitions.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question (Thomas Hulton). Junior College function?

Answer. Great hope. Many people should not go through 4 years of college.

Question (Roy P. Newell). Universities serve the "favored few"?

Answer. Favored few? We had at Mount Holyoke and Yale a great number of scholarships. At Yale, 50 percent were on scholarships—and it's supposed to be a rich man's college. The favored few should be those who have brains.

Question. Universities preserving class and caste system?

Answer. No. Some of the most snobbish universities are completely democratic.

Question. Universities aiding capitalists more than labor?

Answer. Political science departments are radical across the country. I see no such tendency.

Question (Dan L. Beebe). California to be the first student-controlled university?

Answer. The warning was to universities of the United States, not California alone. Not so controlled yet.

Question. Are we being given facts by universities?

Answer. Ought to have all points of view—no one view should take possession.

Question. Isn't each generation different?

Answer. There's ebb and flow—some utter dumbbells nad some brilliant students—we have some pattern now. There's been no "amazing change" among undergraduates. "New generation" isn't new.

Question. How should citizenry determine functions of colleges?

Answer. Citizenry can exert great influence on State universities, but not particularly beneficent. There should be an academic calling where outsiders stay out. At California a lot of outsiders have barged in and given a completely false story of the university.

Question. What started at Columbia 5 years ago?

Answer. I can't give the details. I have three separate sources. A meeting at Columbia outlined the attack on American universities. I don't know whether at this meeting California was picked as No. 1, but year before last the FBI warned California she was to be first. Why, with $250 million from the Komsomol to subvert universities in southeast Asia and Latin America, should American universities be left out?

Professor Genovese, Where Are You?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, it is outrageous, and at the same time disheartening, to read all too often that some citizen of this Nation, often in a position of influence or responsibility, gives utterance to a position or cause in support of our enemies. Unfortunately, such acts of disloyalty receive wide recognition through news media.

Of course, we know that such individuals represent only a small fraction of our people, but comparative publicity given to statements of the disloyal and the dedicated would not lead us or our enemies to that conclusion.

Recently a young school teacher, Mr. Ronald A. Rash, instructor of political science, Loudoun County High School, Leesburg, Va., took very strong exception to widely heralded comments from another member of the academic world. Mr. Rash did this in the form of a statement which he read to his political science classes. His statement required courage and I wish to commend him publicly for his actions.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that Mr. Rash has voiced the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the academic community, and I feel also that his remarks are deserving of the attention of every Member of Congress. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to include his statement at the end of my remarks.

The statement follows:

PROFESSOR GENOVESE, WHERE ARE YOU?

One wonders if it is really worth sticking his neck out. In today's world it's very easy to pass the buck and let the other fellow do it. The end result of this attitude, in times of foreign crisis, is—dangerous. The point I am trying to bring to a head is the fact that I cannot sit on my hands and let Professor Genovese of Rutgers University call for a victory by the Vietcong. Instead, I would like to go on record, at any cost, to protect the interest of my country, by calling for a complete victory by the South Vietnamese and the United States Government over the Vietcong Communists. It's time the academic community stands up to be counted.

As far as I am concerned I'm within bounds and the only credentials I present is my love for my country and my love for the individual. As far as the peaceniks and appeasers are concerned, I have no right to call for the victory; but that I am to adhere thereby to readin', ritin', and 'rithmetic, because that's what teachers are supposed to do.

Yes, you guessed it. I'm jealous of Professor Genovese because he got his picture in Time, and I didn't. I'm jealous because my love and support of my country and my President in the fight against aggressions has not gotten the publicity and attention as one who preaches the gospel of communism.

Let me reiterate: A victory by the South Vietnamese and the United States Governments occupies top priority in my academic instruction from this day until all aggressors have left physically and mentally from South Vietnam.

I suggest our President go to our 50 Governors and thereby find out for himself that the American people want total victory over the Communists.

Senator Patrick V. McNamara

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the late Senator PATRICK V. McNAMARA, of Michigan, whose passing is mourned by all of us here in this Chamber, and by all who knew him during his long and unselfish career of public service. The loss of this diligent champion of the workingman marks an era in the maturity of labor-management relations, a cause for which he fought throughout his life. He was a builder, and, in the best tradition of leadership, one who rose from the ranks, and never lost sight of those whom he served.

Senator McNAMARA was born in North Weymouth, Mass., educated in the Weymouth public schools, and spent his early years at his family's home on Parnell Street. Young PAT served his apprenticeship at the Fore River Shipyard, now operated by General Dynamics, in Quincy, and was for years a member of local 238 in Quincy of the Plumbers and Pipefitters Union. In 1917 he became a journeyman pipefittters, and shortly thereafter moved to Detroit.

Throughout his career, many of us in Massachusetts have watched with a sort of local pride as this warm and human individual rose from our midst to the well-deserved success he achieved. Of his seven brothers and sisters, four still reside in the area: Mrs. Carl Totske, of Roslindale; Mrs. Theresa Atkins, of Natick; Mrs. Eileen Thompson, of Braintree; and Mrs. Joseph Cribben, of Winchester.

Senator McNAMARA always retained an affection for his home State of Massachusetts, and it was reciprocated in full measure by his many friends there. I remember clearly a date in 1955, shortly after his election to the U.S. Senate, PAT McNAMARA, the son of Irish immigrants, was invited to officiate as grand marshal of the annual St. Patrick's Day parade in Boston. He was beaming that day as he accepted the honor conferred upon him, one which no Irishman could refuse.

During his years in the Senate, he has been recognized as a legislative authority on Federal highway programs, education, labor-management relations, problems of the elderly, and civil rights. His voice will be sorely missed, but his achievements will live into the future.

Hiring the Handicapped Is Good Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, for almost a century the Hudson Dispatch has been providing editorial leadership in Hudson and Bergen Counties, all during this time this fine newspaper has provided superb coverage of local events in northern New Jersey. In addition, it has given its readers an objective and balanced view of national news as well. Recently, Hudson Dispatch has added several nationally syndicated columnists to provide the people of our area with a cross section of editorial opinion. I think a tip of the hat is due to this fine old newspaper.

Mr. Speaker, as an example of the editorial comment which Hudson Dispatch has been providing for the people of Hudson County I insert at this point in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the May 2, 1966, edition entitled "Hiring the Handicapped Is Good Sense." I think all Members will agree that Hudson Dispatch is a major civic asset for the people of northern New Jersey.

The editorial follows:

HIRING THE HANDICAPPED IS GOOD SENSE

Over the past 20 years our country has made giant strides in broadening employment opportunities for the physically handicapped. In greater numbers than ever before, our disabled are today finding rightful places in society and they are demonstrating in government, business, and industry that they can play a productive role in the Nation's affairs.

Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor has pointed out that it's good business to hire the handicapped because its ability—not disability—that counts. He cites the instance of a talented civil servant having received, as he sat in a wheelchair, the highest honor that can come to a Government career employee—the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service.

Mr. Connor also recalled that last summer, Mr. Johnson swore in a judge of the U.S. Tax Court who has been blind since he was 12 years old, but who possesses a remarkable talent for resolving tax questions.

Every day in Washington and in business offices and factories across the country handicapped men and women of similar courage, intelligence, and accomplishments are demonstrating that they have what it takes to play a productive role in our Nation's affairs.

More often than not their determination to overcome their handicaps makes them far more valuable to their employers than the all-too-average lackadaisical worker without drawbacks who watches the clock and produces the least he can get away with and hold his job.

Our handicapped have proven their value in all occupations, from driving trucks to managing businesses. They have become indispensable in industry, farming, and in space science through ingenuity and sheer persistence, thus surmounting serious limitations when frequently those who are hale fail.

Unfortunately, many courageous, intelligent, and talented men and women have found the doors of opportunity closed to them because many employers have not yet recognized that here is a very special breed, a source of manpower in today's era of shortages of workers, which, in spite of disabilities, can perform as well as the nonhandicapped in many fields of endeavor.

At this time when the United States is enjoying its greatest prosperity and when industry and business are engaged in their biggest quest for manpower, it is a wasteful and senseless loss to discount the handicapped who comprise one of our most substantial sources of unused talent.

The Federal Government has expressed its pride in being a major employer of the handicapped and many private employers in various areas of production have found to their satisfaction and delight the successful results of utilizing handicapped personnel.

Secretary Connor observes that whether the handicapped are blind, deaf, epileptic, victims of infantile paralysis or cerebral palsy, cardiacs or war amputees, these handicapped with amazing frequency have developed some special skill, have trained harder and have educated themselves more assiduously to overcome their physical impairment in order to find and hold a job in competition with the able bodied without special consideration, but entirely on their own merit.

Senator McNamara

SPEECH

OF

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, I will always cherish the memory of PATRICK V. MCNAMARA and the privilege I had of serving with him as a member of the Michigan delegation.

Senator PAT and his charming wife Mary made a terrific team in the service of the people of Michigan. My sympathy goes out to Mrs. McNamara in her hours of sorrow.

As the Detroit Free Press has said of him:

> A raspy-voiced man with cutting candor and a low regard for oratory, Mr. MCNAMARA kept his years of union and public service by winning a Senate seat against fantastic odds.

PAT MCNAMARA set lofty legislative goals for himself and accomplished them without pretense and with very little fanfare. I speak of his remarkable contributions to two of the landmark bills enacted by the Congress in the 20th century: medical care for the aged under social security and Federal aid to education. My own experience with Senator MCNAMARA was always cordial and pleasant. As a veteran of countless political meetings, I particularly appreciated the fact that when PAT chaired a meeting you could be sure that we would get the heart of the matter very quickly and candidly. Pettifogging was foreign to his nature—you always knew were PAT stood.

Senator MCNAMARA's primary concerns during his nearly 12 years in the Senate were for the very young and for the very old. He lived to see his most ambitious legislative goals realized. The people of Michigan and of the entire Nation will be extremely grateful for his contributions toward a better America. This fact comforts us and assuages our grief. We shall miss PAT MCNAMARA's advice and his flare for decisive action.

“Kaiulani”: The Last Yankee Square Rigger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From Explorers Journal, vol. XLIV, No. 1, Mar. 1966]

“KAIULANI”: THE LAST YANKEE SQUARE RIGGER

(NOTE.—Alan D. Hutchison, the president of the National Maritime Historical Society is a practicing international and maritime lawyer in Washington, D.C. In 1963 he presented the case for an historic ship-maritime museum to the District of Columbia Commissioners, and with a helping hand from the Washington Post, the *Kaiulani* project launched.)

Never in these United States, has the brain of man conceived, or the hand of man fashioned, so perfect a thing as the clipper ship. For a brief moment of time they flashed their splendor around the world, then disappeared with the sudden completeness of the wild pigeon. A tragic or mysterious end was the privilege of many ships favored by the gods. Others, with lofty rig cut down to cautious dimensions, with glistening decks and topsides scarred and neglected, limped about the seas under foreign flags, like faded beauties forced upon the street.[1]

My first sight of the *Kaiulani* in North Manila Harbor vividly recalled these words of Samuel Eliot Morison; there she was, the last Yankee square-rigger * * * “decks and topsides scarred and neglected,” a barge hauling Philippine mahogany logs from Mindanao to Manila, but still afloat and still earning her keep.

The search for the *Kaiulani* started 2 years earlier in a cafe on San Francisco's waterfront. A husky Cape Horner, Karl Kortum, the Director of San Francisco's Maritime Museum, summed up his story of America's square-rigged merchant fleet, “Only one forlorn barge is left. She survives today in Manila—finis to 17,000 merchant square-riggers built in this country.”

Karl Kortnum had led the campaign to save the Scottish built full rigged ship, *Balclutha*, which, today, is a floating maritime museum alongside Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco. A small group of sailing ship enthusiasts wanted a square-rigger to grace the skyline of the redeveloped Maine Avenue waterfront in Washington, D.C. Kortnum was the man to see—he nominated the *Kaiulani*, the last Yankee square-rigger, as worthy of the Nation's Capital.

On October 5 of last year, Kortum and I stood side by side, along with the other trustees of the National Maritime Historical Society in the White House. Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal and President Lyndon Johnson were shaking hands. The *Kaiulani* had just been given to the people of the United States by the people of the Philippines.

During the time from that first meeting on the San Francisco waterfront to the formal White House ceremony, a nationwide campaign was launched to save the old ship, which culminated in the generous offer of her owners, the Madrigal Shipping Co., of Manila, to return her to her native waters as a gift from the Philippine people.

The story actually begins 65 years ago on a crisp Maine day when the *Kaiulani* was launched into the ice-filled Kennebec River. Built for the Hawaiian trading firm of H. Hackfeld & Co., by Arthur Sewall & Co., of Bath, Maine. The *Kaiulani* was designed to be the fastest sugar packet in the Honolulu-San Francisco trade.

The bark was named *Kaiulani* in honor of the Hawaiian princess who had died at the age of 24 on March 6, 1899. Princess Kaiulani, “Child of Heaven,” had been the heir apparent to the Hawaiian throne, from the accession of her aunt, Queen Liliuokolani, in 1891, until Hawaii became a republic in 1893.

The *Kaiulani* measured 225.7 feet long, 42.3 feet in breadth, with a depth of 20 feet in the hold. She was designed to carry 2,400 tons of sugar, and grossed 1,570 tons, making her the largest three masted bark ever built in the United States.

A Honolulu newspaper, the Pacific Commercial Advertisers, of December 27, 1900, summed up the new bark *Kaiulani*—

“Handsome and new, she lies alongside Brewer's wharf, the object of the curosity and criticism, favorable or otherwise, of all the people who have business on the waterfront.

“She is the new steel bark *Kaiulani* and she arrived from San Francisco yesterday morning after a voyage of 24 days.

“She presents a very fine appearance and those who ought to know something about ships say that she is splendid sailer, that she is a great carrier and that she will prove a moneymaker.

“Some say that she does not draw enough water when she is carrying a large cargo and that she would need particularly clever handling, supposing she was only carrying ballast, while beating into port with a lee shore, and that if she should ever come to grief, it would be on account of her alleged shortcomings in this respect.

“Others say she is easily handled in ballast or with a full load, and that she is built to defy the elements through a long and prospous career.

“There is one point upon which all nautical men who have viewed the bark agree, and that is that the *Kaiulani* can give many an older and more famous vessel cards and spades at sailing with a fair wind.

“This is the first trip of the *Kaiulani* to this port, and her arrival naturally excited a great deal of interest on the waterfront yesterday. She experienced none of the severe weather which recent steamers have gone through, although Captain Dabel re-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

marked a very heavy swell and arrived at the conclusion that there had been an unusually rough bit of weather in some quarter.

"The *Kaiulani* was built by Sewall at Bath, Maine. She is steel throughout even including her decks, which are covered with heavy pine. The accommodations aft are up to date and comfortable and she is possessed of a particularly fine dining saloon.

"Several passengers can be carried and they would not want for more convenient and elegant accommodations than are to be found in the new bark."

The crew consisted of a captain, 2 mates, a cook, and a mess boy, a carpenter and donkeyman, and 12 foremost hands—a small crew for such a large ship.

From Honolulu to San Francisco raw sugar was the primary cargo, but the *Kaiulani* had accommodations for 16 passengers in the poop—the fare was $40. On the outward run from San Francisco canned goods, kerosene, flour, and hay was the usual cargo, with a few cows or horses in the 'tweendecks and some passengers.

The Hawaiian sugar fleet made a voyage to Australia for coal each year during the off season when sugar was not being harvested. In 1907 the *Kaiulani* was held up by a coal strike at Newcastle, New South Wales, with 130 other sailing ships. This famous windjammer port has probably never been so crowded with tall sailing ships.

Alfred Basil Lubbock in his interesting book "Coolie Ships and Oil Sailers" comments on the many famous sailing ships in Newcastle during that autumn of 1907:

"Amongst the held up ships were the oil sailers, *Juteopolis* from Manila, *Comet* from Nagasaki, and the skysail yarder *Kentmere*, which had taken 100 days from New York to Melbourne, the coolie ship *Avon*, Thompson Dickie's smart full-rigger *Largiemore*, the Connel built three-mast barques, *Collune* and *Zinita*, and a number of Americans, which included the *W. F. Babcock, S. D. Carleton, A. J. Fuller, Governor Robie, Isaac Reed, General Fairchild, James Drummond*, the skysail yarder *Hawaiian Isles*, and the rakish-looking barque, *Kaiulani*, which was supposed to be able to sail around anything on salt water, with the exception of the *James Drummond*, whose skipper considered her capable of towing the *Cutty Sark*.

"Though the majority of the Britishers were bound to nitrate ports, the *Comet, Largiemore, Daylight, Kentmere*, and most of the Americans were chartered for 'Frisco and Puget Sound. The rivalry as to which ship would make the best passage across the Pacific was intense, and there was scarcely a man in cabin, halfdeck, midshiphouse, or foc's'le who did not make a bet on the result. The Yankees, of course, thought they had the race to themselves with three such noted flyers as *James Drummond, Kaiulani*, and the British-built *Hawaiian Isles*, the skipper of the *James Drummond* being specially confident.

"With such an army of windjammer men in port the police had their hands full, and during the height of the strike there were something like 400 sailors in gaol, indicted for almost every crime in the calendar.

"When the strike ended the *Daylight* got away amongst the first, and after shaking off the *Largiemore* arrived in San Francisco 60 days out and beat the whole fleet easily. The *Kaiulani* came in second with a run of 83 days, but the other Yankees all made long passages, most of them being over 100 days, about the longest being that of the queerly rigged *Olympic*."

By 1910 steamers had put the sailing ships out of business on the Honolulu-San Francisco run, and on January 27, 1910, the *Kaiulani* was sold to the Alaska Packers Association of San Francisco and renamed the *Star of Finland*.

The Alaska Packers Association, owners of the last large American square rigged fleet, operated a variety of colorful ships, including the *Star of Alaska* (the ship *Balclutha*),[2] and the *Star of India*[3] (the bark *Enterpe*).

The Star fleet would depart from the Oakland Estuary each spring with cargoes of lumber pilings, coal, tin plate, and box shooks, for the salmon canneries of southern Alaska and Bristol Bay. The ships were manned by the fishermen, mostly Italians and Scandinavians, and carried in addition to the fishermen, Chinese and Mexican cannery workers, along with a few German cannery technicians. The poop deck on the *Star of Finland* (*Kaiulani*) was extended 48 feet in 1912 to provide greater accommodations for the fishermen and cannery workers. This increased her tonnage to 1,699 gross.

The entire summer's fishing and canning operation was sustained by the floating warehouse Star fleet. Upon arrival at the cannery both anchors were let go and a swivel shackled into the chains so the ship could swing freely. The chief mate was generally the beach boss and he had the job of getting the cannery ready for operation. All hands turned to, doing everything from carpentry to overhauling the boats and barges.

At the end of the fishing season the canned and boxed salmon and the weary fishermen and cannery workers headed back to San Francisco. The season lasted 7 months at most.

During World War I when the regular Matson steamers were requisitioned to serve as transports in the Atlantic, some of the Alaskan Packers Star ships were chartered to haul the Hawaiian sugar crop. The *Star of Finland* returned to this old familiar route in 1918 for one not uneventful voyage: she lost 8 sails in a sudden squall 3 days out of Honolulu on January 18, 1918, but she completed the voyage under a jury rig and delivered her cargo of 36,684 bags of sugar.

In the early 1920's the Alaska Packers Association began laying up the older wooden vessels, then the smaller iron and steel ships. As buyers were found, the ships disappeared—many on one-way voyages to Japan for scrapping. Steams began to replace the square riggers. The last voyage of an Alaska Packers Star sailing vessel was in 1930. Finally, only the *Star of Finland* was left.

With the outbreak of World War II in Europe, every vessel capable of carrying cargo took on a new value. A San Francisco group saw the possibility of a profitmaking opportunity by shipping Pacific Northwest lumber to South Africa—and purchased and refurbished the *Star of Finland*. The new owners restored the bark's original name and registered her under the Panamanian flag.

The *Kaiulani* was chartered through the General Steamship Co. of San Francisco to the East Asiatic Co. of Denmark to load lumber from Grays Harbor, Wash., to Durban, South Africa. The *Kaiulani* left San Francisco under tow on August 13, 1941, and arrived in Grays Harbor 6 days later. Her crew came up from San Francisco, about equally divided between oldtimers and youngsters eager to sail before the mast—including my friend, Karl Kortum. The master, Capt. Hjalmar Wigsten, according to most reports, was an unorthodox but competent skipper. Wigsten was a veteran of 49 windjammers in the Pacific trade. The Swedish-born master often quarreled with his Norwegian mate, and once grappled with him on the cabin floor.

On September 25, 1941, the *Kaiulani* was towed to sea and sail was set. This was the last commercial cargo-carrying voyage of an American-built square-rigged merchant vessel. The bark headed out into the Pacific and picked up the northeast trades, but was becalmed for 17 days in the doldrums. Finally the southeast trades started her sailing again.

The crew discovered there were only 15 gallons of kerosene on board and it had to be carefully rationed for the binnacle light. Course was then set for Pitcairn Island, in the hope of trading some lumber for kerosene. Pitcairn Island, the home of the *Bounty* mutineers, was reached 55 days out on November 20. After Pitcairn, she headed south to the "roaring forties."

Throughout the voyage the crew worked on the rigging. The younger members of the crew knew this was an historic voyage and, even then, talked of saving the old bark as a maritime museum. As a result of this interest, the last voyage of the *Kaiulani* is perhaps one of the most and best photographed voyages in the annals of maritime history.

Durban was reached 126 days out, on January 29, 1942. The lumber was discharged, but no cargo was obtainable except 190 tons of Government freight for Sydney. The *Kaiulani* took this freight and ballast and sailed for Sydney on May 7.

Captain Wigsten had a radio for this leg of the journey, and on June 6 he learned of the Japanese submarine attack on Sydney. A conference was called among all hands and it was decided to alter course to Hobart, Tasmania, since a sailing ship would be an easy target for a submarine. The *Kaiulani* entered this picturesque harbor on June 19, 1942—the end of the voyage.

Friction which had developed during the voyage between the captain and the younger crew members over working conditions and wages came to a head in Hobart. The crew called it a strike—the captain a muntiny—and most of the younger crew members ended up in Hobart jail. A member of Parliament came to the defense of the jailed seamen and the matter was settled, but by then the *Kaiulani's* sailing days were over.

The U.S. Army learned of the bark, requisitioned her, and towed her to Sydney, where the crew rigged her down and then scattered—many being commissioned in the Army Transportation Corps.

In 1942, the U.S. Army was operating a large fleet of vessels between Australia and New Guinea. This fleet included a number of coal burners taken over from Australian owners as well as some Dutch vessels which escaped from the Dutch East Indies before the Japanese occupation. Many of these vessels could not carry sufficient coal for a round trip from Australia to New Guinea. It was decided to convert the *Kaiulani* into a storage collier to service this fleet. As a coal barge the *Kaiulani* proved useful in New Guinea and was towed along with the fleet following each landing as U.S. forces fought their way back to the Philippines.

At the end of the war the *Kaiulani* was in Manila Bay. The coal barge was taken over by the U.S. Maritime Commission, and advertised for sale as surplus. In March 1948, she was purchased by the Madrigal Shipping Co. of Manila.

For the next 17 years the *Kaiulani* toiled as a log barge from Manila to Mindanao. The vessel had virtually no maintenance during this period, and the loading and unloading of the heavy Philippine mahogany logs badly battered her decks and bulwarks. On several occasions the tow line parted during a typhoon and the *Kaiulani* was given up for lost, only to be found again several days later.

In November 1964, Capt. James Kleinschmidt, then the assistant curator and director of maintenance at the Mystic Seaport in Connecticut, and I, journeyed to Manila to survey the vessel, take legal possession of her, and participate in yet another formal ceremony—this one at Malacañang, the palace of the Philippine president. As president of the National Maritime Historical Society, I formally accepted the vessel on behalf of the American people. The final deed of acceptance was witnessed by President President Diosdado Macapagal and the

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Footnotes at end of speech.

U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, William McCormick Blair, Jr.

The following day the U.S. Navy provided a tug to tow the *Kaiulani* from her berth in North Manila Harbor to the U.S. Ship Repair Facility at Subic Bay. Captain Kleinschmidt and I were aboard for the 12-hour voyage—after being on the trail of the *Kaiulani* for almost 2 years, it was immensely gratifying finally to be aboard her while underway, even if only under tow. The voyage from Manila to Subic Bay took us along the Bataan Peninsula and then right by Corregidor. There was a great deal of American history packed into those few moments when the old *Kaiulani* went past Corregidor.

We were extremely pleased to note that, battered and dented as she was, she did not take on any water and appeared to be sound below the water line. Later, while the *Kaiulani* was in drydock at Subic Bay, an electronic vidigage hull survey proved the vessel was still sound and seaworthy.

A typhoon headed for Subic Bay during December while the *Kaiulani* was still there for temporary repairs. The U.S. Navy ordered all ships at sea—only the *Kaiulani* was left behind. Captain Kleinschmidt watched her ride out the typhoon and when she survived commented, "I'm convinced the old girl definitely leads a charmed life."

Earlier this year, the Philippine Government generously donated the use of the facilities of the Philippine Navy Ship Repair Yard at Cavite City. The National Maritime Historical Society has the full use of the Ship Repair Yard facilities including cranes, drydock, and machine shops, but must provide its own labor and materials. The Society has hired 28 Filipino shipyard workers who are actively working on the restoration of the *Kaiulani* under the supervision of Captain Kleinschmidt. The restoration work is truly monumental. Many plates above the water line and the entire 'tween decks must be replaced, a new deck must be installed, all the interior work must be completed, new masts and yards and fittings must be fabricated, and the ship rerigged with both standing and running rigging. Total cost of restoration is estimated at $250,000 and will take approximately 2 years to complete.

If all goes well, the *Kaiulani* will be ready to set sail on her final voyage home sometime in 1967. Plans are already being made to organize a volunteer American crew to sail the bark from Manila to Washington, D.C., with a Philippine cargo, following the traditional China Clipper route through the South China Sea, past Java Head into the Indian Ocean, around the Cape of Good Hope, and up to the east coast of the United States. The *Kaiulani* does not have any auxiliary power and will make this voyage as she made her initial voyage in 1899, with the possible exception of a radio and a few niceties of mid-twentieth century civilization. This point, however, is still being argued between the "traditionalists" and the "realists" within the Maritime Historical Society.

At her final place of rest on the Maine Avenue waterfront of Washington, D.C., the *Kaiulani's* tall masts will change the skyline of the Nation's Capital. As a floating museum ship, the *Kaiulani* will give the countless visitors to Washington, D.C., the opportunity to board a real square rigger and gain an insight into the life of the merchant seamen and an appreciation of America's maritime history.

Back in 1937 Mark Hennessy wrote of the *Kaiulani* in his book Sewell Ships of Steel: "The time will come when the American public will have to depend on this vessel for an idea of what a square-rigger looks like." The prophecy of 1937 may become a reality in 1967.

(Note.—The restoration of the *Kaiulani* is being financed by the National Maritime Historical Society entirely through membership dues and contributions. Dues and contributions are tax deductible.—Ed.)

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[1] Morrison: "The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783–1860."

[2] Now a museum ship on San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf.

[3] Now a museum ship in San Diego.

The 125th Anniversary Celebration of the Beginning of the City of Rock Island, Ill., May 3, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, today has been designated the official date of the actual beginning of the city of Rock Island, Ill., in 1941. Today, the residents of Rock Island are celebrating the 125th anniversary of their city's beginning.

It is a privilege for me to claim an association with the city of Rock Island as the representative of the 19th District of Illinois, in which it is located.

The chamber of commerce in Rock Island has adopted the slogan, "Pride in Our Progress" to be used in connection with today's anniversary celebration. Rock Island does, indeed, have much of which to be proud.

From a small river town of just a slight population, Rock Island has grown to a large metropolitan area of over 50,000. It is the county seat of Rock Island County, which ranks 10th among the counties of Illinois in terms of population and is still growing. Rock Island is an active, vital city—the scene of much commerce and industry and the site of the Rock Island Arsenal.

The city is located on the Mississippi River, and it was an important steamboat port. The city has a fascinating history. Last Saturday, Mr. V. V. Headland, historical writer for the Rock Island Argus, wrote a commemorative story in recognition of the city's anniversary today. I would like to share it with my colleagues and with permission I include Mr. Headland's article in the RECORD:

(By V. V. Headland)

In 1841, the town of Stephenson became Rock Island, the change of name authorized on February 27, by an act of the Illinois General Assembly.

Stephenson was named after a man who had no part in its founding or development, which miffed many of the town's residents. So, a little judicious lobbying by Dr. Silas Reed, who had moved into the area in 1838, paid off 125 years ago.

The transition was followed out quietly, apparently with the general consent of all the residents, who included a number of the ambitious and energetic men who played the principal part in the rapid future growth and prosperity of the community.

MANY PRIOR TO 1841

Many of the best-known builders of business and industry here already had come west to the shores of the Mississippi prior to 1841. When the Rock Island County Old Settlers' Organization was formed in 1866, only those who had located here prior to 1846 were eligible for membership.

When the earliest steamboats came up the river, on a somewhat precarious journey from St. Louis to Galena, their passengers, observing the thickly wooded shores, found no communities of any size between the two cities. But every few miles was seen a solitary log cabin, a cluster of half a dozen shanties, or a trading post for furs of Indians or French trappers.

A map of the western Illinois area 150 to 125 years ago would have shown a heavy sprinkling of pinpoints many of them very close together, and each hoping to become a future metropolis. Such spots in this region included the future towns of Hampton, Moline, Albany, Milan, Port Byron, Davenport, Cordova, Andalusia, and other settlements, some of which grew into permanent cities or villages and others which have faded away.

Two of the hopeful settlements together became the new Rock Island, formerly Farnhamsburg and Stephenson. In the latter was situated the old county courthouse, in "courthouse square," where the modern one still remains. About this area, and market square, site of a new Sheraton Motor Inn, clustered the first commercial buildings of the new Rock Island, aside from those on the riverfront. Spencer Square, where the present post office stands, also was an important spot from the early days.

AS IMPORTANT RIVER PORT

Although the first steamboat, the *Virginia*, had reached this point less than 20 years before, frequent boats now passed on the way back and forth from St. Louis and Galena, with cargoes of lead, furs, salt, grain, and miscellaneous goods. During the 1840's and 1850's the steamboat traffic showed a continual growth. This was the period about which Mark Twain wrote, concerning his own experiences as a pilot.

Rock Island grew to be an important steamboat port and the legends and romance of the era make fascinating reading.

Probably the quaintest history of any building in the region was that of the house built by Russell Farnham, who later gained fame as "the first man to walk around the world." It stood on the bank of the Mississippi River at the present site of 2759 Fifth Avenue, Rock Island, and is marked by a stone boulder and a bronze plaque placed in 1926 by the Fort Armstrong chapter of the DAR.

It was widely known as "the house of John Barrel," and because it was a tavern among other things, one might imagine the name referred to a whiskey barrel. But, it appears that John Barrel was an actual individual.

MULTIPURPOSE STRUCTURE

This was the first and for a time the only building on the mainland in Rock Island County and combined the functions of a stage coach station, a tavern, general store, trading post, post office, and for a time, the first county court in 1833.

"The first circuit court of Rock Island County convened here in 1834," the tablet informs visitors.

Farnham, a man of unusual ability and initiative, was a partner of Col. George Davenport in the fur trading business. He later went west to seek his fortune in the fur trade, on the Pacific coast.

From the Barrel station, a ferry ran to the island where passengers got out and walked across it to take another ferry to the Iowa shore. The charge was $1.25 for a man and his horse, which sounds high, but it took three men to operate each boat, and passengers in 1825 when it started were few. No white men lived in Iowa, and the Indians were not profitable customers.

FIGHT FOR COURTHOUSE

There are a number of myths and legends about sharp battles for the county seat site. Hampton and Moline were strong contenders. In 1833, the legislature of Illinois dispatched a commission to pick a suitable site for the county seat and courthouse, and the Stephenson location drew the lucky nod.

Hence, Rock Island commenced at that spot in 1835. Eventually Stephenson and Farnhamsburg grew together.

No one was happy over the name of Stephenson. Col. Benjamin Stephenson was a Galena man of no particular accomplishments, and had done nothing for this community. Dr. Reed not only talked, but did something about it. He had political influence as a personal friend of Gen William Henry Harrison and was invited to his inauguration in 1841 as ninth President of the United States.

On the way, Reed visited Springfield long enough to persuade the legislature to authorize the new name of Rock Island, and then went on to Washington. As Harrison appointed him surveyor general of Illinois and Missouri, he took up his important new tasks and never returned to this city.

The village board of Stephenson spent March 1841 in making suitable changes for the newly named community. It added four new subdivisions, and correspondingly enlarged the board by four new members, from six to nine in all. They wanted plenty of space for Rock Island to grow, and future events did not disappoint them. In later years, Rock Island climbed from 2,000 to over 50,000 in population.

Economists Attack Wage-Price Guidelines as Ineffective and Unfair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, at a recent conference at the University of Chicago nearly 100 economists from labor, business and universities attacked the administration's wage-price guidelines as ineffective in stopping inflation and possibly harmful and unfair in their application.

This near-unanimous view of the Nation's leading professional economists is particularly important in the light of the administration's almost total reliance on the guidelines to curb inflationary pressures. With consumer prices already up 3.6 percent at an annual rate this year, it is obvious that the country is threatened with an inflationary spiral unless the administration moves on the fiscal front.

The quickest and most flexible way for the administration to reduce prices pressures would be by a substantial reduction or deferral of nonessential and low-priority Federal spending. If such action were taken, a tax increase—which creates serious economic damage of its own—could be avoided.

Under unanimous consent I insert an article from the New York Times of April 29, 1966, describing the University of Chicago conference in the Record at this point:

Economists Report Guideposts Are Ineffective Against Inflation

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

Chicago, April 28.—A conference of nearly 100 leaders from business, labor, and the universities showed almost complete unanimity today in the view that the Government's wage-price guideposts were of little use in stopping inflation and could be harmful or unfair.

Voices giving any support at all were rare during the 2-day conference on the subject sponsored by the University of Chicago.

The main defense, in a prepared paper, was by Robert M. Solow, professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and even he conceded that the pressure of "excess demand" in the economy now rendered the guideposts ineffective.

Gardner Ackley, Chairman of President Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers, concluded the conference with a speech in which he insisted the guideposts were needed because "we can have inflation without excess demand, arising from excessive private income claims."

Mr. Ackley said the economy was still "within the band" between high unemployment and excess demand where the guideposts were intended to be effective, thus disagreeing with Mr. Solow.

But he conceded that the guideposts had made only a "modest contribution to price stability" and also that they could "play no significant role in a condition of general excess demand."

The Government's wage guideposts sets an upper limit on negotiated wage increases of 3.2 percent a year. In the case of prices, industries are supposed to act according to their individual productivity experience, with no average upward change.

A number of the participants in the conference, particularly some business members, had no major objection to the guideposts in principle.

But there was little dissent from the view that they had had no effect on wages and had affected only an extremely limited number of prices, chiefly steel, aluminum, and copper.

Mr. Ackley agreed that the limited application of the guideposts on the price side was "one of their most vulnerable points."

He said, however, he was "convinced" that if steel prices had been raised more than they were in the last 4 years, "the whole price level would now be higher."

He said it "more important that the guideposts be honored in strategic industries and pattern-setting labor negotiations."

The conference disclosed less unanimity on the issue of the Government's guidelines to govern international lending and investment to help eliminate the payments deficit.

OPPOSED ON PRINCIPLE

In this instance, most participants conceded, at least, that the guidelines had worked, though many opposed them on principle.

Among the prepared papers, only that of John T. Dunlop of Harvard proposed a substitute for the wage-price guideposts.

He said the "time has come to transform" the guideposts into a joint attack by Government, management, and labor on inflationary pressure in specific "bottleneck" sectors of the economy.

Mr. Dunlop named as such sectors "some branches of transportation, medical, and hospital services, construction, local government services, certain professional services, and perhaps auto manufacturing."

E. H. Phelps Brown of the London School of Economics expressed in his paper some optimism that "incomes policy," the British equivalent of guideposts, would be effective because of increasing acceptance there by both management and labor.

He admitted, however, that it would take "3 to 5 years" before the policy would be able to brake the high rate of wage increases in Britain.

LIMITED RESULTS

Arthur M. Ross, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, readily conceded in his paper and in subsequent remarks that the results of guideposts both here and abroad had ranged "from limited to poor."

Papers by Allan H. Meltzer of Carnegie Institute of Technology and Harry G. Johnson of the University of Chicago raised spirited opposition to the balance-of-payments guidelines, and that of Milton Friedman, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, did the same for the wage-price guideposts.

On the international side, considerable support was expressed in the conference, especially by the economists present, for more flexible exchange rates as far preferable to controls over trade or movements of capital in solving the balance-of-payments problem.

The Family in the Middle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURT L. TALCOTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, editors, away from Washington, have an opportunity to observe and evaluate the execution, effect, and consequences of the multifarious Federal programs objectively. We ought to pay as much attention to them as we do to the self-serving statements and news handouts of the administration.

Under unanimous consent, I insert a copy of an excellent editorial from the Santa Cruz Sentinel newspaper in my district. Every Member of Congress and every middle-class family should ponder the central point of this thought-provoking editorial.

Unfortunately, many so-called great Society programs are requiring some families to support others which earn more than they:

The Family in the Middle

The great strength of the economic wellbeing of the American way of life has been the development of a vast middle class of families, gifted with a willingness to improve and to share their benefits with those less fortunate than themselves.

This amazing development has enabled our Nation to advance at a far faster pace than much older countries throughout the world.

Even with its imperfections, it has become the outstanding success of the free world.

Yet, there are times when we wonder if we are not throwing too much of a burden upon the shoulders of the middle class, that we may be defeating the very purpose of our goals.

Government continually prevails upon the middle families for the ways and means of expanding the growth of Government.

It is almost as though a new golden pitcher was found to quench the thirst of every bureaucrat in the land.

It prevails, not only among the authors of the Great Society, but down through the

State governments, to the local governments from coast to coast.

The huge war on poverty, for example, provides once again for the middle wage earner to finance the efforts of Government to elevate those in need.

There is no question that almost everyone would like to see an end to poverty, to slums and to areas where living conditions fail to meet even the most elementary standards.

But, if we we give away too much, are we going to raise the level of the lower income families or will we merely lower the level of the middle-income families to the point where there is very little distinction between the two?

The family who works diligently to advance finds themselves symied by inflationary actions and by a continual tax growth which ebbs away as the progress of a generation.

We do not disagree with aiding those in need, this practice is a fundamental principle of our Nation. This procedure is not the issue. At stake, rather, is the question of whether a giveaway program actually makes progress.

There is another fundamental principle involved of helping to help yourself. The incentive to improve needs individual initiative as well as the aid of those in a position to help others.

Segments of the war on poverty make good sense. Projects such as Operation Headstart, as retraining programs, and efforts to provide better training and education for the uneducated are strong steps in the right direction.

In these programs, the individual has the opportunity to help himself.

Such activity, we believe, is going to bring far better results than some of our welfare programs, whose only claim to fame is the fact that they have been able to keep families on the relief rolls for several generations.

Unfortunately, the load of Government appears to becoming too much of a burden upon far too great a segment of the families in the middle. They are called upon to finance the great growth of the Federal Government, then they meet the needs of the State and finally find themselves producing the bulk of funds to finance the growing demands of cities, counties and school districts.

While their tax bills continue to rise, they fight the duplicate battle of their own family expenses. It costs more to send young people to college and universities, their means of transportation cost more, it costs more to build a house, then even more to maintain it, and the cost of food rises faster than income.

It becomes discouraging even to those families who firmly support the idea of helping the less fortunate.

The social security program, designed to provide old age insurance for the elderly now finds itself caught in a position where it is being called upon to broaden its benefit program in many directions.

Medicare became a part of the program and one which certainly meets a growing need for our senior citizens, but now the Government is thinking about even further expansions which could create severe strains upon the system's financial ability.

Once again, the danger lies in the fact that we may be putting too much stress on the middle class.

The Millennium of Christian Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, the year 1966 has a special meaning for 10 million of our fellow citizens. This meaning should also be noted for all our people, for it deals with an event of profound importance in the history of Western civilization. This year marks the 1,000th anniversary of the establishment of Christianity in Poland. It also marks a millennium of the Polish state. This year millions of people in many nations will be joining the Polish people and their kin living in other countries across the globe in observing many moving and splendid celebrations commemorating the millennium of Christian Poland.

In the year 965 the first historical ruler of what we today call Poland, Mieszko I, married Dobrava, the daughter of the Duke of Bohemia. This princess was a Christian. It was expected that her husband would renounce paganism and adhere to her faith. He did so in the year 966. By his baptism he led his subjects into the Roman Catholic Church. At the time of his conversion the first missionary bishop arrived in the country to spread the new faith and to begin building the organization of the new church. By these acts a large area in Eastern Europe, with all its various tribes and peoples, came into a closer contact with Western civilization, a contact which has continued through the centuries, enriching the common cultural heritage of all nations which comprise this civilization.

The Polish people and their many admirers throughout the world should properly rejoice at the commemoration of these momentous occurrences. We in this country can be especially sympathetic to this memorial to the patriotism of an outstanding Christian people. Our own nationhood owes much to the noble endeavors made in our war of independence by sons of Poland, notably Tadeusz Kosciuszko, "the father of American artillery," and Kazimierz Pulaski, "the father of American cavalry." Our lives have been made fuller by the cultural contributions of Polish giants in the arts such as Chopin, Sienkiewicz, and Joseph Conrad.

It is with great pleasure that I add my sincere best wishes to the courageous and talented Polish people on the millennium of their Christian nationhood.

Trade With Unfriendly Nations: A Question of Whose Bull Gets Gored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, Helen Delich Bentley, maritime editor for the Baltimore Sun, is one of the most knowledgeable writers in the marine field. In an editorial appearing in the May 3 issue of the Sun entitled, "The Shipping Blacklist," she compares the international response to Great Britain's requested embargo against Rhodesia with the defiance of our own request of maritime nations to cease shipping to Cuba and North Vietnam. The editorial then proceeds to discuss the administration's policy of blacklisting, which appears to be as effective as a wet noodle, and concludes by pointing out the possible dangerous precedent established by the recent action of the United Nations Security Council.

As noted by Helen Delich Bentley, several bills have been introduced in this Congress to cope effectively with the problem of ships trading with Cuba and North Vietnam. My own bill, H.R. 6301, is but 1 of 37 proposed measures now pending before our Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, which would deny trading from our ports by such ships. Hopefully, these various bills will be considered at an early date so as to remedy this deplorable situation.

From a reading of the Sun editorial, which I am now inserting in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues, the conclusion seems inescapable that voluntary international compliance with a requested shipping embargo depends upon whose bull gets gored. Or, if I might paraphrase, it is dependent upon whether the eagle or the lion gets gored.

THE SHIPPING BLACKLIST

(By Helen Delich Bentley)

While the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations fought vigorously for passage by the Security Council of tough economic sanctions to support Great Britain's stand against Rhodesia's defiant government, more British-flag ships were being added to America's blacklist for calling both at Cuba and North Vietnam. The addition of the British vessels to these blacklists—inaugurated by the United States against two countries it considers enemies—is nothing new, because ships flying the Union Jack lead both lists. But it points up the ironic, almost ridiculous, situation of the United States as far as international shipping is concerned.

Perhaps, this was best illustrated in a cartoon printed recently in a Western paper. The drawing shows a British navy captain on the bridge of his ship looking through a telescope. On a chart at hand is marked a big "success" for having diverted a Greek-flag tanker bound for Mozambique to deliver oil to Rhodesia. Passing directly in front of the Navy vessel is a British-flag tanker with the words "North Vietnam" emblazoned on its side.

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg led the sit-in in the Security Council until the economic sanctions were voted. Those sanctions call for Britain "to employ all measures including armed force" to crush the Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith.

Compare this to Great Britain's response when the United States called upon countries of the free world to halt their ships from going to Cuba, which had become Communist-dominated and supplied with Russian missiles only 90 miles from the shores of the United States. The United Kingdom stated it would not attempt to stop its shipowners from serving Cuba and obviously has not, since more British ships are regularly being added to the list. Of the 251 free world vessels now on the Cuban blacklist, 72 are British. British-flag ships have made 462 trips or nearly 45 percent of the 1,157 voyages made to Cuba by free world and Polish vessels since the United States inaugurated its blacklist on January 1, 1963.

Of the 10 ships on the North Vietnam blacklist, which became effective January 25, 1966, 7 are British. Great Britain has said that it cannot control the ships in Hong Kong.

Greece stripped one of its tankers of its registry when it appeared in Beira with oil for Rhodesia. This was another note of irony in the international shipping picture. Although the Greek Government has issued royal decrees forbidding any of its ships to call at Cuba or North Vietnam, Greek-flag vessels are still going to both countries. Some 35 of the ships on the Cuban blacklist belong to Greece, while 2 of the 10 going to North Vietnam are registered in Greece.

Although the U.S. blacklist as such is considered weak in this country, it embodies a definite principle which its international friends are defying. It is considered weak because the only thing the blacklist does is prevent the ships listed thereon from calling at U.S. ports to pick up Government-financed cargoes.

However, they can pick up commercial cargoes in American ports, if the longshoremen will load them, and pick up U.S. Government-financed (through counterpart funds) cargoes in foreign ports.

When an owner feels that his trips to Cuba or North Vietnam are not as remunerative as they might be if he picked up U.S.-aid cargo in American ports, all he has to do is sign a pledge that he will not send that ship to that area. Ninety-one vessels—including 39 British and 25 Greek—have been "freed' from the Cuban blacklist in this manner.

The International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO) succeeded in imposing a more stringent boycott on ships serving Cuba for two years after the Cuban crisis, but it has been eased somewhat because of the difficulty in keeping track of the vessels. But the ILA refused to handle the ships of any owner who might have had a single ship calling at Cuba. The union boycott went into effect three months before the U.S. Government took official steps.

In the case of North Vietnam, the maritime unions began pressing to boycott or bar ships serving that area long before the blacklist went into effect. Various Congressmen picked up their complaints and introduced legislation which would prevent such ships from ever again calling at the United States or would stop any ship from any nation which has a single vessel going to North Vietnam from calling in an American port. These bills are languishing on Capitol Hill. When Congress passed an amendment to the foreign aid bill to bar aid to any nation whose ships were calling at Cuba, the Executive Department chose to ignore it.

In addition to the Greek and British ships on the Cuban blacklist, there are 57 Lebanese, 18 Polish, 18 Cypriot, 14 Italian, 9 Yugoslav, 7 French, 5 Moroccan, 5 Maltese, 4 Finish, 2 Dutch, 2 Norwegian, 2 Swedish, and 1 from Monaco. A number of these have since changed their registry by the same owner or been sold to another owner and registered in another country. However, their new identity also is carried on the blacklist published regularly by the Maritime Administration. As a result, the new "blacklist" countries include South Africa, Panama, Guinea, Haiti, Liberia, and Nationalist China.

There are many ironies in this blacklist-boycott picture. For instance, a substantial portion of the ships on the list are former Liberty vessels built in the United States during World War II and sold to friendly nations at a low price to help them get their merchant marines going after the war. Both Panama and Liberia issued proclamations that no ships in their registry could serve Cuba and yet six have been transferred to those countries and now are appearing on the list.

A number of the ships registered in both Lebanon and Cyprus are owned by Greek shipowners who were concerned that their own nation might seize their registries. Lebanon and Cyprus can both be considered "flags of convenience" for shipowners, along with Panama, Liberia, and Honduras, although it is believed that no American shipowners have transferred any vessels to the Middle East area.

Some American shipping circles have expressed concern over the fact that the Security Council upheld London's position on the Rhodesian boycott so strongly. It is pointed out that perhaps a dangerous precedent has been set. What would happen if a Communist-oriented power decided to put heavy pressure on a neighbor friendly to the West, declared a boycott and then went not to the Security Council but to the General Assembly of the United Nations for approval of stronger measures, including a blockade? Western martime nations may find themselves in a most embarrassing position.

CAP in the Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, for many years the Civil Air Patrol has performed a most valuable service to the Nation as an arm of defense and in the training and education of our young men. I am proud to have served in this fine organization. Special recognition should go to those devoted men today who give so generously of their time that the youth of America may be introduced to aviation. Col. Joe L. Mason, U.S. Air Force, national commander of the Civil Air Patrol, is such an individual, and I think the following editorial from the May 1966 issue of the Civil Air Patrol Times summarizes the service the Civil Air Patrol performs for the Nation.

CAP IN THE COMMUNITY

CAP is many things. It is first and foremost a flying organization; it is a group of volunteer citizens dedicated to public service; it is an organization devoted in a very special way to the aerospace education of American youth; but always, CAP is an integral part of the local community and each CAP unit must never lose sight of its role of responsibility to the community. Likewise, each member of CAP must always be aware of his responsibilities to be a community "salesman" for CAP. He can do this most effectively by becoming active and vocal in worthwhile community projects. In some instances this role will be an individual one, but in many instances he can be the focal point for bringing the entire resources of his CAP unit into active participation and support of a community project. As individuals, each member has varying interests in addition to flying and aviation. For some this may be fraternal and social clubs; others find an interest in civic and professional groups, while still others will gravitate toward education, church, or youth activities. There are many outlets through which each unit can direct its community action interests to the strengthening and advancement of the CAP stature among fellow citizens.

This month, on May 21, the Nation observes Armed Forces Day. This event affords CAP units a unique opportunity. You can give USAF a helping hand in focusing community attention on the role of the Air Force in national defense and at the same time you can focus the attention of your neighbors and friends on CAP's role as the civilian auxiliary of the Air Force. This is especially opportune for those CAP units located in communities remote from Air Force instalaltions. Make the day stand out in your community by taking the lead in observing Armed Forces Day. Civil Air Patrol units can participate by joining with others in making a real contribution to public recognition of the Armed Forces Day. Most CAP organizations can supply a color guard or marching unit, a float or representative vehicles in a parade or static display or booth and really put their best foot forward as a civilian auxiliary of the U.S. Air Force.

In this month also one of the most significant national holidays occurs—Memorial Day—and in quick succession, Flag Day, Independence Day, and Labor Day follow on. Each of the specially designated days has a deep and significant meaning in our national life and CAP units and CAP people should take an active and positive role in their community observance of these events. If community interest happens to lag, then CAP should show the way and set the pace by taking the lead in organizing an observance.

This in another instance of CAP in the community—active in developing civil and national pride.

All members of Civil Air Patrol are urged to take another look at their position in the community and their present program of service. CAP should always have a spirit of concern for public service. Every unit should consider sponsoring at least one project aimed at community betterment.

Examine all areas of community life to determine where CAP can best supply a need or furnish the leadership necessary to bring about improvement.

Institute a continuing plan or program to use the manpower and resources of CAP in sustained community development.

Let's not wait for the emergency call. There is always an opportunity for CAP leadership to step into the forefront when a concrete community contribution can be made.

Overlooked Minority: Americans of Mexican Descent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, this morning's edition of the Wall Street Journal carried an excellent article written by Journal Staff Reporter Ray Shaw about the growing effort of American citizens of Mexican descent, the country's second largest minority group, to realize their full potential, not only to share in the wonderful bounty with which God has blessed this land, but also to make a significant contribution to America's future greatness.

Because of the vital importance of this effort of the Mexican-American community to achieve one of the major goals of President Johnson's Great Society: equal rights and equal opportunities for every citizen regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, I would like to include the text of this fine article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

OVERLOOKED MINORITY: POVERTY AND PREJUDICE OFTEN BLIGHT THE LIVES OF MEXICAN-AMERCANS—MANY IN THE SOUTHWEST CLAIM BIAS IN JOBS AND SCHOOLS—INCREASED MILITANCY SHOWN—A HOUSE FOR MR. HERNANDES

(By Ray Shaw)

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Manuel Vasquez shoos aside a stray dog and relaxes on the steps of his tarpaper-covered shanty here. "If I work 2 days a week, I am lucky. Sometimes my children go to bed hungry. My wife is sick. I wonder," he asks bitterly, "who cares?"

Mr. Vasquez, a slight mustached man of 34, has known only hard times since arriving in this country from Mexico with his parents in 1937. He gave up on school after spending 2 years trying to pass the fourth grade. Last year, as a $1-an-hour "pick and shovel man" and occasional farm laborer, the father of five earned less than $1,500.

Mr. Vasquez' plight isn't unusual among the 4 million persons of Mexican ancestry clustered in the Southwest and West. They are the Nation's second biggest disadvantaged minority, outnumbered only by Negroes. Often handicapped by a lack of job skills, inadequate schooling and language problems, Mexican-Americans assert that they nevertheless are being largely ignored in the broad effort underway in the Nation to improve the lot of the impoverished.

Some outsiders agree that the Mexican-Americans' complaints have considerable justification. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., head of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, calls them the "most neglected, least sponsored, most orphaned major minority group in the United States."

BEGINNING TO STIR

There are signs, however, that the Mexican-Americans' problems are due for increasing attention. Much of the impetus is coming from the Latinos themselves, who obviously are learning some lessons from the Negroes' militant drive for equality. "Mexican-Americans are beginning to stir, to protest, to show their feelings of dissatisfaction," says Albert Pena, Jr., a Bexar County (San Antonio) commissioner. "They want action."

Here in San Antonio, where some 300,000 of the city's 700,000 residents are of Mexican extraction, charges fly that public schools and city departments discriminate against Spanish-speaking employees. In San Jose, Calif., Mexican-Americans recently took to the picket line to protest what they contended was the local antipoverty office's inattention to their needs, a complaint that has also been made by Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles. And charges of "police brutality" against Latinos are hurled periodically in Denver.

Mr. Roosevelt's Equal Employment Commission has also felt the wrath of disgruntled Mexican-Americans. Thirty Latin delegates stormed out of a conference sponsored by the Commission in Albuquerque the other day, claiming bias by the Commission in hiring its fair-employment enforcers. The leader of the walkout chided the agency for having only one Mexican-American enforcement officer and insisted that the Commission's size and duties warranted the hiring of as many as 20.

As these stirrings suggest, Mexican-Americans and Negroes share some of the same problems.

AT THE BOTTOM OF THE HEAP

Most Mexican-Americans are near or at the bottom of the economic heap. In Texas, median income of Mexican-American males is only half that of "Anglos," as non-Latin whites are called hereabouts. In States where they are concentrated—Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado—Mexican-Americans usually lag even behind Negroes in years of schooling, with some 30 percent of the Spanish surnamed male adults being categorized as "functional illiterates" because they have less than a fifth-grade education.

Mexican-Americans also complain of widespread job bias. Mr. Roosevelt says his Commission is aware of 800 national companies with operations in the Southwest and West that don't employ a single Mexican-American.

But unlike the Nation's 20 million Negroes, who are spread over much of the country, Mexican-Americans are a regional minority. As a result, their status generally attracts little notice in the Nation as a whole. "The Mexican population of the Southwest * * * is little known on the east coast and not much better understood in the Southwest itself," says Democratic Congressman EDWARD R. ROYBAL, a Mexican-American from California.

Despite the generally depressed economic plight of Mexican-Americans, sociologists and others who have studied the group say that it actually embraces rather wide extremes in income, social acceptability, and culture—probably more so than it is the case with other minority groups in this country. There even are differences in ancestry. Most of the Latins in the Southwest—the bulk of whom are U.S. citizens—either immigrated from Mexico themselves as farm laborers or are the offspring of relatively recent immigrants. But many Latins in New Mexico are descended from Spaniards who settled in the State in the 16th and 17 centuries, though today they usually are lumped with Mexican-Americans.

FARM JOBS DECLINE

Both the real Mexican-Americans and the New Mexican variety mostly have stayed fairly close to the Mexico-U.S. border, although there is increasing resettlement within the Southwest itself—particularly from the poverty pockets of south Texas to industrialized Southern California. This resettlement stems largely from declines in farm jobs as a result of mechanization. Los Angeles County's Mexican-American population now numbers about 800,000, up from 375,000 in 1950.

Some well-educated Mexican-Americans have moved into what sociologists term the "Anglo world." But many others, fiercely proud of their Mexican heritage and culture, have sought to retain these at the same time they were trying to fit into a strange environment in other areas of life. Often Spanish has continued as the basic language in the home, typically located in the "little Mexico" neighborhoods of Southwestern communities. "The result," says one sociologist, "has been a collison of two cultures—and until recently the Mexican one was dominant."

Gradually the pattern is changing. "For the first time Mexican-Americans are being brought out of the ghettos, and they're finding identification with a different way of life says the Rev. John S. Wagner, executive secretary of the San Antonio Roman Catholic Bishop's Committee for the Spanish-Speaking. With this is coming growing unrest and dissatisfaction with the old order.

In the small east Texas town of Edna, Mexican-Americans threaten picketing unless an Anglo-operated barber shop, one of three in the town, starts accepting Latins as customers. The other two barber shops also formerly refused service to Mexican-Americans but changed their policy under pressure from Edna's Latins. A Mexican-American delegation at Fort Lupton, Colo., north of Denver, recently called on the town government to end what it claimed was a double standard of justice in the community—Anglo offenders assertedly were being treated more leniently than Mexican-Americans. In Denver itself, the police department has agreed to Mexican-Americans demands that booking slips on prisoners drop the term "Spanish" or "Mex" in favor of "Caucasian."

Education is another sore point. San Antonio has been caught up in a squabble over claims that public schools fail to meet the special needs of children of Mexican descent and slight Mexican-Americans in favor of Anglos in filling teaching and administrative jobs. Both charges have been denied by the school system. On another point of contention, the system contends zoning is responsible for the existence of three elementary schools within one six-block area—one whose students are predominantly Anglo, another Mexican-American and the other Negro.

GRUMBLING IN LOS ANGELES

In Los Angeles, Mexican-Americans fume publicly over the amount of antipoverty money being poured into the Watts area to help Negroes. "Our people are being ignored in favor of rioters," grumbles one Mexican-American leader there.

Employment, however, is attracting much of the attention. San Antonio's Roman Catholic archdiocese, citing what is considered evidence of widespread bias, decreed last year that its institutions wouldn't purchase good or services from firms unless it was convinced the companies didn't discriminate against Mexican-Americans—and, indeed, made an active attempt to hire them.

The AFL–CIO and Teamsters have launched union organizing efforts among Mexican-American agricultural and industrial workers in south Texas. The predominantly Mexican-American National Farm Workers Association, after an 8-month strike against grape growers in central California, recently won recognition as the sole bargaining agent for Schenley Industries, Inc., vineyard workers—a rare case of successful unionizing among that State's farmworkers.

Federal employers are also hearing from Mexican-Americans. The dismissal of a Spanish-speaking civilian employee at the Army's White Sands Missile Range in New Mexico brought four Pentagon officials to investigate complaints of discrimination at the base. The discharged worker was reinstated after the investigators rapped the base for its dealings with Mexican-American employees.

Despite these signs of militancy, Mexican-Americans still have a long way to go before they match the vigor of the Negro rights push. So far there are no Mexican-American equivalents of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or the Congress of Racial Equality. Leadership of Mexican-American communities usually is splintered, and even where they have numerical superiority they frequently are unable to act as an effective political force.

Moreover, there is some disagreement among Mexican-Americans themselves as to the need for an all-out drive for equality. Says one Mexican-American business leader here: "Give Jose an education and he gets a decent job; with a job he can afford to live in a good house in any neighborhood he chooses. All of this will take care of itself in due time."

Nevertheless, "due time" isn't soon enough for many Mexican-Americans. "We're fed up with getting the short end of everything," declares James J. Rojo, a 32-year-old Denver barber. Like many Mexican-Americans, Mr. Rojo sees the Federal antipoverty program as providing hope for a quick step forward. But so far antipoverty warfare offers more hope than help, it's asserted.

"Mexican-Americans look to their immediate needs—jobs and houses—and they feel the poverty program isn't providing it," contends San Antonio's Father Wagner.

LAREDO GETS GRANT

Recently the Office of Economic Opportunity announced a grant of $3 million to Laredo, Tex., to be spent on making the community a "demonstration city" in the war on poverty. According to Federal figures, the border community of 65,000 people, 80 percent of them Mexican-Americans, is the Nation's most depressed city, with half the families there getting by on less than $3,000 a year. Much of the money will go toward setting up neighborhood "multiservice" centers offering child care for working mothers, family counseling, health services, and recreational facilities for youngsters.

On a smaller scale, the antipoverty program already is making headway in a Mexican-American settlement on a mesquite-dotted hill 12 miles west of San Antonio. The area, fancifully named "Meadow Wood Acres" several years ago by a developer who sold lots there but did not build anything on them, was little different from countless other Mexican-American communities until a few months ago. The houses were mere hovels, some with dirt floors. None had running water or indoor plumbing.

Today the 80 houses in the community are one by one being torn down and replaced with modest stone and brick homes with bathrooms, running water, and electricity. Meadow Wood Acres' residents already have built themselves a 32- by 80-foot community center in which preschool youngsters attend classes and housewives learn cooking, sewing, and other household skills.

To date the Government investment in all this has been only $71,000, which has gone to pay 15 men in the community $1.25 an hour for construction work. The lumber and other building materials going into the project were scrounged from buildings being demolished in San Antonio, and at nearby Lackland Air Force Base.

Fred A. Deyo, a white-haired retired Air Force colonel employed by the antipoverty program to head the project, beams as he shows a visitor the changing face of Meadow Wood Acres. "These proud people don't want charity—just a chance," he says. Mr. Deyo, who is not a Mexican-American himself, hopes this summer to more than triple his construction force and sharply step up the building of houses.

Besides providing improved living conditions, the undertaking is giving the Mexican-American workers new skills. "Four of my hands have already learned enough to land permanent jobs in San Antonio that pay from $1.75 to $2.50 an hour," says Mr. Deyo.

For Andres Hernandez, a 45-year-old truckdriver, the change is welcome. Standing outside a one-room tin shack in which he formerly lived with his wife and four children, he points to his new five-room house nearby. "A house like that you don't get easy," he says with a smile. "My children, they will have it better than me."

A Tribute to Si Rosenthal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, recently the life and dedicated activities of one outstanding American citizen were brought to my attention, and I feel moved to share this tale with my colleagues in the House.

Comdr. Albert Feller of the Bell-Park Post, Queens, N.Y., Jewish War Veterans, related Mr. Rosenthal's experiences to me, and this inspiring life story should serve as a remarkable example to the many citizens of this country who are physically disabled or otherwise disadvantaged.

Si Rosenthal, a well-known former Boston Red Sox outfielder, enlisted in the Navy at the start of World War II; he had to undergo, at his own expense, some medical operations to remedy injuries in order to make him fit for military service.

Due to subsequent wounds incurred in action, Si is now confined to a wheelchair. And since the end of the war, all his effort has been extended in helping his fellow man. In 1960, Mayor John F. Collins of Boston proclaimed April 20 as Si Rosenthal Day.

To further illuminate this fine human story, I am appending to my remarks here two newspaper articles, along with the proclamation of the mayor of Boston.

DECLARATION OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

Whereas Si Rosenthal is a dedicated and unselfish defender of the oppressed and downtrodden; and

Whereas although he is a victim of the war, in which he was maimed, he bears no rancor or ill will and is an untiring advocate of human rights and the dignity of man; and

Whereas he constantly spreads a spirit of friendship and brotherly love among people of every race and creed; and

Whereas his sympathetic understanding and good faith have contributed immensely to the spirit of better understanding in our community and our Nation;

Now, therefore, I John F. Collins, mayor of the city of Boston, do hereby declare Wednesday, April 20, 1960, as "Si Rosenthal Day," in order that all of our citizens can pay him deserved honor.

JOHN F. COLLINS,
Mayor of Boston.

[From the Jewish Advocate, Apr. 21, 1960]

SY ROSENTHAL

A philanthropist is one who loves and seeks to benefit mankind. This truly describes Sy Rosenthal, a veteran patient at the West Roxbury VA Hospital. He was honored at a testimonial dinner Wednesday evening at the Sherry Biltmore Hotel. Typically, all the proceeds will go to the many charities in which he has an interest.

The Boston Red Sox gave Mr. Rosenthal the opportunity to play major league ball when he was 17. He played professional baseball for 16 years, during which time he married and had one son. After this he retired from baseball and went into the manufacturing business.

Then came Pearl Harbor. Sy Rosenthal always felt he owed a debt of gratitude to his country for the many opportunities it presented him, so he made several attempts to enlist in the Navy in World War II but was turned down because of an old baseball injury, a loose cartilage on his knee, bad teeth, and his age. But he was determined and at his own expense had his teeth fixed and the cartilage removed. Finally he was accepted.

His son also enlisted, in the Marine Corps, although only a bit over 16. A year later his son, Irwin Rosenthal, was killed when the 1st Marine Corps 7th Division, of which he was a member, was making a landing on the shores of Cape Gloucester, New Britain. He received the Silver Star for gallantry in action, posthumously.

As for Sy Rosenthal, he survived D-day at Normandy, but on September 25, 1944, his ship the U.S.S. *Miantonomah* struck a German mine coming out of the harbor at Le Havre in France. As a result of injuries incurred during the ensuing explosion, he has been a paraplegic ever since.

Although there is barely an hour when he is free from pain, Sy Rosenthal is still ever mindful of this fellow man. From his wheelchair, he often addresses organizations on sports, good will and Americanism. He has shared in the establishment of a number of youth groups, such as the Little League Clinic. For his interest in such affairs, he has been honored in many ways. One group of very fine boys who admire and respect him call themselves the Sy Rosenthal Boys Club. They meet at the YMHA-Hecht House. The Sy Rosenthal Little League Stadium in Franklin Field honors his name. It is the very park where as a boy he started on his beloved baseball career.

Mr. Rosenthal contributes to many worthwhile charities. His interest in the polio drive stems from his concern about a little boy, one of seven children, who was stricken with the disease at the age of 4. His interest in the blind, and groups dedicated to helping them, derives from his acquaintance with a little girl he became acquainted with when she was 12 and who is now a student at Brandeis University. His interest in cerebral palsy resulted from his love of two young sisters who unfortunately are stricken with this disease. All of these people return his love and devotion with the greatest respect and admiration.

Sy Rosenthal is an active member of a number of veterans organizations, including the JWV, VFW, American Legion, DAV and Military Order of the Purple Heart. He was three times president of the New England Chapter of Paralyzed Veterans of America. He also is a life member of the Dorchester Civic Club, Boston Lodge of Elks, YMCU, Mason's Everett C. Benton Lodge and on the board of trustees of the Sports Lodge, B'nai B'rith. He was given meritorious awards by DAV, YMCU and the Dorchester Civic Club.

Sy Rosenthal is a man of great courage and has performed innumerable acts of charity for people of all races and creeds.

SI ROSENTHAL ASKS: WHY ONLY A WEEK OF BROTHERHOOD?

(By Leo Shapiro)

Si Rosenthal, widely known onetime Red Sox outfielder, a paraplegic patient at the Veterans' hospital in West Roxbury, threw a verbal bombshell into the annual good will breakfast held by the Brotherhood of Temple B'nai Mosha, Brighton, yesterday, when he announced he doesn't believe in good will or brotherhood weeks.

"Why do we have to sell brotherhood on a weekly basis?" he asked.

"We wouldn't have to set up a Brotherhood Week if we observed the basic tenets of our faith, whatever it may be. If you have good will in your heart you don't need a special week," he said in answer to his own query.

Si, who has frequently been called a living example of brotherhood in action suggested that where big brotherhood functions are held, representatives of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths who are quietly practicing good will toward men, particularly if they are in the later years of their lives, be honored, rather than individuals wose names are household words.

He suggested that everyone can do his bit to help further the ideal of brotherhood by such gestures, for example, as sending a card to someone who is sick, or a thank you note to someone "who has done you a good turn."

"If you are on the level, people will accept you, regardless of what you are," he told the brotherhood, in telling of the solid friendships he has cemented with Catholic priests, with a young polio victim and a blind girl, among others, through correspondence and contributions.

"You have to see the other fellow's point of view," he remarked.

Rosenthal, who has inspired youth sports programs and interfaith activities 5 years ago offered the use of his home in Needham to a family a short distance away whose home was bunred out.

Confined to a wheelchair, he was paralyzed when his ship struck a mine off the French coast during the Normandy invasion.

He enlisted, though overage, after his son "Buddy," a member of the 1st Marine Division, was killed during the invasion of New Britain in 1943.

Agreeing with Rosenthal regarding brotherhood, "Swede Nelson, fullback on the championship Harvard 1919 team and former football coach, termed Rosenthal "not only one of the greatest athletes who represents the highest ideals of brotherhood and sportsmanship but a complete success as a human being."

Nelson who comes from Winthrop, told how brotherhood is spread by residents of Temple Avenue. Four Jewish families, 3 Protestant and 3 Catholic families meet in one another's homes once a month and enjoy a meal and a good fellowship, he reported.

Tom Woods, another former Harvard athlete, and Mike Holovak, head coach at Boston College, were other speakers.

The program was conducted by Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, spiritual leader of the Brighton Congregation, and Melvin M. Prague, president of the brotherhood.

Room To Walk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on April 16, the New York Herald Tribune carried an article entitled "Room To Walk in the Great Society?" which concerns the efforts of the administration and the Congress to preserve some natural surroundings for our everyday living.

The article, by Bruce Chapman, points out that the Interior Department has submitted a bill "to start the creation of a national system of scenic trails. Some of the trails would be laid out in long strands across hundreds of miles, like the present Appalachian Trail."

Another purpose of the bill, it is stated, is to encourage short State and local trails in metropolitan areas.

Because the creation and preservation of more beauty in our environment is a subject of interest to all of us, I insert the text of the article below:

ROOM TO WALK IN THE GREAT SOCIETY?

(By Bruce Chapman)

Do Americans walk so little because they are lazy or because there are so few pleasant places to walk? Probably it's a bit of both. Somewhat lazy people (most of us) are unlikely to make much of an effort to get outdoors for a Sunday stroll when first they must drive, say, 50 miles to find an attractive, natural and legal walking trail.

It is remarkable that a nation with America's scenic and manmade wealth has so few places between its highways that are accessible for serious hikers and leisurely strollers. With an anticipated population of 300 million by the year 2000, the country already is literally fencing itself in. Suburbs of New York, for example, are gobbling up every free meadow and copse, and there is something increasingly pathetic about people's speaking of "going to the country," when they mean Oyster Bay or Montclair. Just try to walk in such places without treading over sidewalks, highways or private lawns, or without walking in circles in a small park.

Fortunately, there is an increased concern among some Americans to create a more hospitable, accessible environment for the walker and nature seeker. There is also a new awareness that acquiring blocks of land for parks may not always provide the hiking enjoyment of parks made of arterial strips of land. Lincoln, Mass., on the suburban fringe of Boston, is one of the first towns in America to act from this awareness, and is providing, through grants and small-scale purchases, walkway easements that connect the local parks and residual farms, ponds, and meadows. Walkers soon will be able to pace all about Lincoln, with almost the freedom that Americans usually reserve for their automobiles.

Actually the attention to obtaining convenient and scenic walks is coming rather late to the United States. England, despite a much higher population density, has an extensive network of such trails. However, the rights-of-way through private lands which hikers enjoy is founded in ancient commonlaw and has no identical counterpart here. Also, the English walkers are a more numerous and better organized breed than their American cousins, and any private attempt to restrict the old rights-of-way is usually put down by the quickly mobilized walking citizenry and the press.

But at last enough Americans also have become interested in exercising their legs and circulatory system and in refreshing their eyes, that the Federal Government is taking up their cause. The Department of the Interior, indeed, has submitted a bill to Congress, introduced by Senators NELSON, of Wisconsin, and JACKSON, of Washington, to start the creation of a national system of scenic trails. Some of the trails would be laid out in long strands across hundreds of miles, like the present Appalachian Trail, which runs over 14 States from Maine to Georgia.

Some—the Oregon Trail from Independence, Mo., to the Pacific Coast at Fort Vancouver, Wash., or the Chisholm Trail from San Antonio, Tex., to Abilene Kans.—will boast historical as well as natural and athletic attractions.

The Government will build campsites and other facilities along the way. To preserve, and in some cases create, the rustic atmosphere, land will be acquired for at least 100 feet on either side of the trail, with scenic easements beyond that. Wherever possible, current public property and utility rights-of-way will be used.

Another purpose of the bill, and in some ways the most exciting, is to encourage short State and local trails in metropolitan areas. Possibly there should be some debate over what instrumentality of the Government is best equipped to plan area trail systems, to build and maintain them. But surely it is sound for the Federal Government to provide the initial money for studies and to endow land purchases.

Perhaps, indeed, the trails bill presented by the administration should be viewed as only a beginning. The Interior Department might consider developing more national trails along riverbanks—the Hudson, the Mississippi, the Ohio. Consideration also might be given to outright purchases of even land presently in use in suburban and urban areas to bring hiking trails right into the hearts of some cities.

Finally, the fund planned for purchases now is rather small; $6.6 million for preserving the Appalachian Trail, for example. Maintenance after initial development is very inexpensive and can be assisted by the volunteer work of hiking societies, as, again, on the Appalachian Trail, which Interior spokesmen expect to cost no more than $250,000 a year under the new program.

Given the financial expansion of the country, such sums are small, indeed, even if repeated in projects all over the Nation. They seem smaller still, when measured against the prospects of our burgeoning and increasingly citified population.

Europe 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, two interesting editorials, in the Greeneville Sun and the Bristol Virginia-Tennessean, discussed the position of Europe in the world today and the U.S. relationships to our allies on that continent.

The recent changes in American-French relations, which have precipitated these reassessments of the European situation, though startling, may prove to be both necessary and helpful.

I would like to insert these editorials in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD:

[From the Bristol Virginia-Tennessean, Apr. 27, 1966]

EUROPE IN A NEW ROLE

When the 20th century began, every fifth person in the world was a European. Sixty years later, the ratio was one out of seven. By the year 2000, only one out of 10 persons in this crowded world will live in Europe.

These statistics are not so much a measure of the "decline of the West" as of its eclipse.

It is not that Europe's population is stagnant. Excluding the Soviet Union, it stands at some 430 million today and is expected to increase to 600 million by the end of the century. Total world population by then, however, will have soared to six billion.

Both the present and projected populations of Europe far exceed those of either the United States or the U.S.S.R. Yet even considered as a whole, the power and influence of the continent which once governed the affairs of the world rank well behind those of either the giant of the East or of the West. This is true even in science and technology, two things which once transformed Europe and in turn made her midwife to the birth of the modern world.

In 1962, says Science magazine, the United States spent nearly twice as much of its gross national income on scientific research and development as Europe. In that year the United States and U.S.S.R. had more than 400,000 scientists and engineers at work while Europe had 150,000.

Adding to this imbalance, the United States absorbs about 5 percent of the cream of Europe's yearly output of scientists and engineers—the so-called brain drain.

In a recent year, West European countries paid five and a half times as much for rights to use U.S. patents as Americans paid Europeans.

Europe, of course, cannot yet be considered as a whole, despite the beginning steps taken by its major nations toward economic, if not political, unity. Old nationalistic barriers to the free interflow of people and ideas remain the greatest obstacles to the continent's realizing its full potential in the last half of the 20th century.

[From the Greeneville (Tenn.) Sun, Apr. 27, 1966]

WASHINGTON-BONN-LONDON?

President Charles de Gaulle's determination to pull out of NATO has produced strong sentiment in Washington for a Bonn-London-Washington inner core alliance within NATO.

The idea is not to abandon NATO but to increase the coordination of the major powers studying defense problems in the treaty organization.

This is a logical result of France's negative attitude and might prove to be more workable than NATO has been in recent years. It would have the advantage of being composed of major powers who share the same basic goals.

There are those who feel the world would have fared much better during the first half of the century if Germany had been an ally, rather than a foe, of the United States and Great Britain, and who feel that had not politicians and mistakes produced another course, this would have been a logical evolvement.

Certainly we do not wish to lose West Germany—the most powerful continental power—again, and such an arrangement might do much to maintain the popularity and prestige of democratic government in Germany, and keep our goals basically the same.

Such a three-powered arrangement would be, in effect, little more than what the facts of life now dictate, and what already exists to some degree, as far as policy is concerned.

Choice of Enemies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RONALD BROOKS CAMERON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, according to newspaper accounts, Alabama's favorite segregationist sheriff, Jim Clark, has stopped wearing those belligerent buttons labeled "never." Implacable Jim has had second thoughts now that he is up for reelection and many Negroes in his little fief are registered to vote for the first time.

There is a lot to be said for domestic political realities. They have a way of cutting through much of the shabby sham and shibboleths that grow like weeds from the unproductive intellectual soil of yesteryear. Perhaps Sheriff Jim is thinking the same thing that Oscar Wilde fortunately put down on paper:

> A man cannot be too careful in the choice of his enemies.

Like Selma's sheriff, American foreign policymakers, too, are now coming to grips with international political realities, and it bodes well for all mankind. The most major of these realities, of course, is China. Trying to ignore the fact that it and its almost 1 billion inhabitants exist make the antics of an ostrich seem tame by comparison. Yet that is exactly what this country tried officially to do by pursuing the closed door policy of John Foster Dulles. As I pointed out a year ago this month, the "acknowledgement of China's existence by cautiously opening up limited but direct lines of communication" was something that the Dulles policy unfortunately did not permit.

Today we owe it to ourselves and the rest of the world to reevaluate this policy and attempt to bring it into line with political realities. The first step, as with any new venture, is exploration. To exchange journalists, scholars, and scientists is a very reasonable and desirable wish, especially in light of our basic ignorance of China's development, or lack of it, under the Maoist regime. It is time to remove our "never" button vis-a-vis China.

In terms of our national interest, containment of Chinese aggression is a realistic policy. Isolation of China is not. Our efforts to establish contacts with China today may be rebuffed and thwarted in Peking. But we should not desist in these efforts. The dragon of today may be the lizard of tomorrow.

An editorial in the Los Angeles Times has developed this thesis well. Under unanimous consent, I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Apr. 22, 1966]

U.S. FEELERS TOWARD RED CHINA

Cautious U.S. proposals to expand informal contacts with mainland China through the exchange of newsmen, scientists and scholars have again been denounced by the Communist authorities as "deception" and "sham." Once again it has been made clear that China's unhealthy isolation cannot be ended until the Chinese themselves are willing to move away from insularity.

What now? Should the United States, in the face of repeated arrogant rebuffs, simply shrug and forget the whole thing? Or should it continue its efforts to reach out in the hope that, one day, the authorities in Peking will be prepared to respond more amicably?

Secretary of State Rusk, in recent testimony before a House subcommittee, offered a sound guideline when he noted that "We must avoid assuming the existence of an unending and inevitable state of hostility between ourselves and the rulers of mainland China."

The key words here are unending and inevitable.

If history teaches anything, it is that in relations between nations few, if any, things are permanent or unavoidable. For more than a century American-Chinese relations have been marked by periods of both friendship and hostility, more often the latter in the pre-Communist period than most Americans realize. The wheel can turn again.

Certainly few Asian experts, in or out of government, expected any positive response from Peking to the American feelers for nonofficial contacts. The present Chinese leadership has often enough made clear its feelings on this score. We should by now have realized that the distrust the Chinese voice about much of the world, paranoid though it often seems, may well actually exist in the minds of China's leaders.

But even giving full regard to the determinative force of Chinese suspicions, the fact remains that the present aging leadership will one day disappear from the scene, leaving behind successors who may be prepared to respond quite differently to overtures from without. This is the possibility the United States should be prepared to act upon, regardless of initial rebuffs.

Mao himself has several times publicly expressed concern over what he feels is a lack of revolutionary ardor among the younger, emerging echelon of Chinese leaders and party members. Presumably, Mao is bothered because these younger men—who have come to maturity in a China far different from that known by Mao and his generation—do not share all the preconceptions and dogmas which comprise the thinking of today's leaders.

These are the men toward whom the world should look if there is to be any hope that the Chinese will eventually modify their dangerous and unrealistic policies. They are not going to democratize China, or abandon all of the dogmas of the present. But they may be prepared to lessen tensions considerably by reopening the dialogue with the West, particularly the United States.

This is the opportunity toward which U.S. policy should be pointed, at the same time the policy of containment of China's aggressive stance is pursued.

John J. McFall's Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, one of our most capable and dedicated colleagues in the Congress is my esteemed good friend the Honorable JOHN J. MCFALL. For 10 years he had given distinguished representation to the great 15th Congressional District of California. The citizens of that district recently honored him with a testimonial dinner at which the Honorable Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien spoke of JOHN MCFALL's accomplishments and of his splendid record in the House of Representatives. I commend the Postmaster General's excellent speech to the attention of my colleagues.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN, DINNER FOR CONGRESSMAN JOHN MCFALL, AT THE FAIRGROUNDS AGRICULTURAL BUILDING, STOCKTON, CALIF., APRIL 16, 1966

Reverend De Vries, Congressman MCFALL, Chairman Wisdom, Chairman Darrah, Mayor Rishwain, and Dr. Barkett, I am delighted to be with you this evening.

And I am proud to be representing President Johnson who joins with you in this 15th Congressional District in expressing admiration and appreciation for a remarkable man, and a great legislator, your own Congressman JOHN MCFALL.

Some time back I read the findings of a Gallup poll that admittedly surprised me.

According to the pollsters, 57 percent of the American people were unable to identify their Congressman.

I can think of a few Congressmen who might have derived a lot of aid and comfort from those figures.

But I can tell you that the man you are honoring tonight isn't one of them.

And it's obvious from looking at this fine crowd here in Stockton that you all know him and respect him.

And you should know and respect him.

I have become fairly well acquainted with Congress and I can tell you that JOHN MCFALL has, during his almost 10 years of service, compiled an outstanding reputation for his knowledge, his drive, his fairness, and certainly for his continuous, constructive—and successful—efforts to advance the interests of his constituents and, more than that, the interests of this Nation.

California voters have proven themselves unusually sharp, so sharp indeed that they have punctured some rather large and overly inflated political balloons.

I'm told by an insider that during the annual Thanksgiving parade, given by Macy's Department Store in America's largest city and second largest State, they try to keep gas bags away from any visiting Californians.

Well, never fear, you don't have to go East, for you can get some pretty strange gas bags this coming November, long before Thanksgiving.

Thanksgiving will, naturally, come afterward.

Tonight I would like to spend a little time talking to you about America's No. 1 industry.

It is an industry that is of more than passing importance here in California.

It is an industry that has received unusual—in fact, unprecedented—support from the 89th Congress, and from leading Democrats like Lyndon Johnson and John McFall.

What is that industry?

Automobiles, airplanes, construction, missiles, chemicals?

No, though the industry I have in mind is basic to the growth of all of these, and indeed every other industry.

I am talking about education.

In today's complicated world, the nation that invests in itself through education is the nation that is on its way to new greatness. Or as another Postmaster General named Benjamin Franklin once put it more colorfully: "If you pour your pocketbook into your head, it will never be stolen."

Education is the skeleton key of civilization.

It can open any door.

For me, as the son of immigrants, it opened the door to opportunity, just as it has for so many millions of Americans.

We have already done more to educate tomorrow's citizens than any other society in history.

But though we have done well, I think there is no doubt that we have not done as well as we could, or as well as we should.

This administration and this generation of Americans have committed their resources, their energy, their ideas, and their hearts to the proposition that every child in this land shall have a chance to broaden his horizons and lead a decent productive life.

President Lyndon B. Johnson summed up an entire nation's determination when he declared, "I wish to see an America in which no young person, whatever the circumstances, shall reach the age of 21 without the health, education, and skills that will give him the opportunity to be an effective citizen and a self-supporting individual."

That is our goal, and we will not rest until we have achieved it.

We are taking hundreds of thousands of deprived pre-school-age children under Project Headstart each summer and putting them in an environment that will prepare them for school and will encourage them to fulfill their potential.

And at the same time, we are going to improve their health and physical abilities.

We are now starting to send enthusiastic and specially trained teachers to poverty areas under President Johnson's National Teacher Corps.

We are putting food in millions of aching, empty stomachs through the school lunch program and the food stamp program, and we know from experience that in so doing, we will be providing countless children with their only decent meal of the day.

We are taking 5 million educationally deprived children from low-income families and giving them a second chance under the great new Elementary-Secondary Education Act of 1965.

We are going to build new schools for them, put books in their hands, establish remedial reading centers for them, and hire more teachers for them.

We are giving hundreds of thousands of school dropouts a new lease on life in Job Corps Centers.

We are finding part-time jobs for other young men and women to enable them to stay in school—or return to school—under the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

We are teaching new skills to hundreds of thousands of other school dropouts under the manpower training program.

Our first Postmaster General once remarked that "Well done is better than well said."

And I can tell you that John McFall was following this precept when he stood up and was counted as voting for the President's elementary and secondary school bill, the Higher Education Act, the National Teacher Corps, and the other great new programs to give all our children the finest possible skeleton key to the doors of life.

Congressman McFall's whole career is an example of action designed to solve problems and help people.

Yes, my friends, education is the basic element of our time.

And John McFall has signed up for the duration in this work.

He has done well by his country and his district, by you and your children in voting for a stronger educational system.

But, my friends, as we move forward in the fields of education, medicare, civil rights and many other areas at home, the overriding issue of our time is the preservation of peace and the protection of democracy wherever it is threatened.

The President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and others have explained time and again why we are in Vietnam and what we seek to achieve there.

As President Johnson said when he accepted the National Freedom Award: "Our purpose in Vietnam is to prevent the success of aggression.

"It is not conquest; it is not empire; it is not foreign bases; it is not domination.

"It is, simply put, just to prevent the forceful conquest of South Vietnam by North Vietnam."

Our objectives are clear—clear to anyone who examines the situation honestly.

But what is not at all clear is how we could pull out and still keep faith with our history and our heritage.

This Nation has been committed to the principle of self-determination since its birth.

If we abandon South Vietnam to naked Communist aggression we do more than just break a commitment to an ally, we break faith with almost 200 years' commitment to freedom; we break faith with ourselves.

I wonder if those who counsel us to pull out of Vietnam would apply the same selfish reasoning to our efforts to fight poverty, ignorance and tolerance at home.

Would they abandon the war on poverty because only one in five Americans is poor?

Would they abandon the fight for equal rights for all Americans because only a minority is deprived of them?

Would they say it is enough that most Americans can exercise their right to vote?

I cannot believe this generation of Americans is prepared to abandon principle, is prepared to abandon the sacrifices we and others have made, is prepared to abandon our efforts to show aggressors that violence does not pay in today's world merely because the task is difficult, the way rocky and full of pitfalls, the country far away, and the people yellow of skin.

This is not the American way.

We were never a nation of losers—and I don't think we are ready to become losers now.

This is particularly so when we do not seek to win land, or colonies, or any form of material gain.

Our is not a selfish fight—and I think that is something we can all be proud of.

What then do we seek to win?

The answer is simple to say—difficult to achieve.

For our goal is Vietnam is nothing more than an honorable peace—where freedom is safe, where human rights can thrive, where terror has no place.

We have undertaken the most intensive search for peace in history.

You cannot find in all the annals of man a nation with our overwhelming force that has searched more sincerely or more thoroughly for peace.

That search has taken many forms, and has been directed through many channels.

We have twice paused in our bombing of North Vietnam, the last one for 37 days;

We have asked no less than 115 nations to help us find peace;

We have requested the good offices of His Holiness the Pope, and the Secretary General of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Council of NATO, the Organization of American States, the Organization of African Unity, the International Committee of the Red Cross;

We have sent six special Presidential envoys to 34 countries on a peace-seeking mission;

We have stated we would discuss any proposals, without limit, without preconditions;

We have made it clear we would discuss peace formally in a conference, or privately;

We have submitted the matter to the Security Council of the United Nations;

We have brought our desire for peace to the direct attention of Communist China through numerous meetings of the Chinese Ambassador with our Ambassador in Warsaw and our Secretary of State has met more than 120 times with high officials of other governments in this unprecedented effort.

But it takes two to make peace.

And thus far Hanoi has spurned every gesture.

Some whose concern over the Vietnamese conflict causes them to ignore our unprecedented and sincere drive for peace have asked, "What is wrong with our policy?"

I think our Secretary of State gave a simple, direct, and irrefutable response when he said, "is it just possible that there is something wrong with them?"

With the situation existing that we are searching for and our adversary is spurning peace, it is obvious that our withdrawal would lead only to Communist domination by force of arms, not by the free choice of the people of South Vietnam.

Our concern in Vietnam is to see that the people are not denied that freedom of choice.

To that end President Johnson has asked for the help, the understanding, the commitment of every citizen.

He has asked for that help, that understanding, that commitment—and now I quote his own words—"so this united people may show forth to all the world that America has not ended the only struggle that is worthy of man's unceasing sacrifice—the struggle to be free."

We cannot abandon the struggle for freedom in Vietnam just as we cannot abandon the fight to make sure the blessings of our own freedom are shared fully by every American.

These responsibilities we must shoulder, at home and abroad, require courageous, dedicated, enlightened leadership, in Congress as well as in the executive branch.

During his five terms in Congress, John McFall has continually displayed those strong qualities of leadership.

His fellow Congressmen certainly recognized this when they chose him to be zone whip for the California Democratic delegation—establishing him as one of a handful who lead the Congress—mold its policy—direct its activity.

His powers of persuasion and leadership have resulted in many direct benefits to this district, particularly in flood control, irrigation, and conservation.

We quite literally see concrete evidence of his effectiveness in the New Hogan, Comanche, and New Melones Dams—which serve to support his reputation of being a good dam builder, and vice versa.

Congressman McFALL was a tower of strength in helping to pass important national legislation proposed by President Kennedy and President Johnson, legislation such as tax reform, economic opportunity, and medicare that have produced greater prosperity and assured wider participation in the bounty of this great land.

And there is no doubt that he will continue to serve you and America effectively if you give him your support, if you do what needs to be done to keep this man of action in Congress.

Continue to give him your votes and JOHN McFALL will continue to do the job!

Pig-in-a-Poke Packaging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to cite a recent editorial commentary by Mr. Alan Harvey of Los Angeles radio station KPOL on the status of the truth-in-packaging consumer protection legislation now pending in Congress as an outstanding example of the kind of good public service programing that contributes to a well-informed and alert citizenry fully capable of playing an active and constructive role in the affairs of our Government.

As coauthor of this legislation to outlaw deceptive and unfair practices in labeling and packaging consumer goods, I was particularly happy about KPOL's editorial, entitled "Pig-in-a-Poke Packaging," because of its forthright support for this effort to provide American consumers and housewives with accurate and complete information on the foods and drugs they buy.

Earlier this year we were greatly encouraged by President Johnson's endorsement of this consumer protection measure when he declared in his state of the Union message to Congress:

> We must also act to prevent the deception of the American consumer—requiring all packages to state clearly and truthfully their contents—and keeping harmful drugs and cosmetics away from our stores.

When you stop to consider, Mr. Speaker, that the average family in this country spends about 30 percent of its income on retail items not presently covered by truth-in-packaging laws, you can well understand the urgent need to assure every consumer of accurate, complete, and honest information to help in managing the family budget, and to enable all consumers to shop and buy wisely.

To achieve this goal, the truth-in-packaging proposal is designed to prohibit bogus cents-off sales, as well as such meaningless and misleading phrases as jumbo quart and giant half pint.

In addition, it would require a clear and readily understandable statement of the net contents expressed in whole units of measure on the front of a package.

Moreover, it would prevent the use of packages of sizes, shapes, or dimensions likely to deceive consumers as to the net quantity of contents, or make easy comparisons of similar products in varying sized packages difficult, if not impossible, for the ordinary consumer.

Though the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has not yet scheduled action, the Senate Commerce Committee is currently holding executive sessions, and there appears to be some hope that they will report out a bill within the next few weeks.

Because of the importance and timeliness of the topic, therefore, I would like to include in the RECORD at this point the excellent editorial commentary entitled, "Pig-in-a-Poke Packaging," recently broadcast over radio station KPOL in Los Angeles.

PIG-IN-A-POKE PACKAGING

(Commentary, KPOL, Thursday, April 21, 1966)

There it sits, still bottled up in the Senate Commerce Committee, just a single vote shy of approval and movement to the floor for full Senate consideration.

It's formally called Senate bill 985—the fair packaging and labeling bill—and with it ride the insecure hopes of the U.S. buying public for a better break in the turmoil of the commercial marketplace.

The measure is a controversial one. It might be said that only the people are for it. Civic groups and trade unions with a total membership of 42 million have endorsed it.

Ranged against the prospective law—sponsored by Michigan Democrat PHILIP HART—are such big guns as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Grocery Manufacturers of America.

Don't leave out of that group the Potato Chip Institute International which may be a comparative popgun in size but which bolsters its case—as quoted in the May issue of Consumer Reports—by saying: "If a cost changes drastically, something must give, either weight or price."

That potato chip panacea swallows with some difficulty. There are various ways to raise a price, some devised so that the poor consumer doesn't even know he's been had. Plenty.

For instance, the price of a 25-cent bag of potato chips stays the same but the quantity contained drops from 3¾ ounces to 3¼ ounces. Does that half-ounce reduction make much difference?

The price goes up a cent an ounce, 16 cents a pound. Since the harried housewife isn't likely to stop to compute the relative values, she's likely to wind up paying the extra penny for the package and adds to the pyramiding pile of pennies for the pleased potato chip producer.

Such an example is comparatively miniscule. But, the aggregate amounts to plenty.

A seemingly more deliberate attempt to totally confuse the shopper can be seen in the new packaging approach by one of the major national bakeries with a complete line of cookies and crackers. The standard package sizes for the type of dinner cracker affected is normally a half pound, the three-quarter pound "stack pack" and the full pound package. Now, that comparatively simple roster of sizes has been completely scuttled.

The new package size is—figure this one out—13¾ ounces. Bring along your IBM computer to the neighborhood market so that you can determine whether—at its posted price—the new package represents the best dollar buy or not.

If there is any kind of legitimate rationale for such an odd-size package in today's market, it escapes understanding here. The standard arguments about creative packaging and competitive selling just won't wash either. The design of the package hasn't been changed and there must be another approach to pricing that doesn't—with such seeming intent—make it literally impossible for a shopper to buy intelligently.

The examples proliferate. The net weight of a container's contents have to be printed on the package according to present and inadequate legal requirements. But, nowhere is it stated the comparative size of the type that must be used.

Present policy, in all too many cases, sees a producer printing the package weight in the most obscure possible place, in the smallest size type, and as blandly as possible. For instance, printing the weight in gold lettering on a bright yellow background may technically be acceptable but—in practical effect—it ends up being as easy to find as the haystack needle.

Another area of flagrantly inspired confusion is the famous cents-off mark on the label. For example, 6 cents off what? Presumably the former price. But, how can you tell you're really paying a lower price?

The manufacturer doesn't control the retail price at which his product is sold and a visit to almost any market reveals that in at least some cases the promised saving specified on the label just doesn't get reflected in the actual selling price. In an attempt to clarify this issue, there has already been a move by the instant coffee manufacturers to create a group agreement against further prepricing of this kind.

Some people may not care about what constitutes the best buys in different products. They may buy solely on the basis of impulse or inspiration. That's their privilege.

But, it should be the equal privilege of those who want to purchase on the basis of price to do that as well.

It is virtually impossible to do so today with any consistency. No one wants to inhibit genuine creativity and competition in the marketplace. The company that creates the better mousetrap—or the riper cheese—should have all reasonable latitude in attempts to sell it. But, not at the expense of genuine understanding on the part of the unwary shopper.

If you think package sizes and contents ought to be given some kind of order and standard, write your Senators and Congressman to that effect.

If you think such information ought to be clearly and plainly apparent on the package, write your Senators and Congressman to that effect.

If you think that—as a shopper—you're entitled to know what you're buying without becoming a slide rule expert, then make those feelings known to your elected representatives in Washington.

The final push rests with us. No one has to tell you how much of a factor inflation is strarting to become in the retail prices you pay.

Of course, truth in packaging won't keep prices down. It can and must keep you adequately informed about what you pay. Patient years of waiting for voluntary industry standards to be adopted have resulted only in delay and deliberate obfuscation.

The time to get weights and prices clear is now. Until that happens, every day the confusion is compounded, and money that's wasted is yours.

Tax-Exempt Municipal Bonds Finance Private Industrial Plants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, as the distinguished columnist of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Mr. Andrew Chancellor, pointed out in a recent article, the State of Pennsylvania "is unfairly handicapped by the increasing use elsewhere in the country of tax-exempt municipal bonds to finance private industrial plants."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that Mr. Chancellor's excellent column be included at this point in the RECORD:

THE SCENE

(By Andrew Chancellor)

"All we're asking," Robert H. Ryan, head of the local Regional Industrial Development Corp., was saying the other day, "is a fair contest when it comes to competing with other States for industry."

And he made it clear that Pennsylvania is unfairly handicapped by the increasing use elsewhere in the country of tax-exempt municipal bonds to finance private industrial plants.

Under this gimmick, a community arranges to build a new plant for, say, a large and reputable manufacturing company which, in turn, rents the plant for 20 to 25 years and—this is important—finally becomes full owner.

The community raises money for building the plant by issuing municipal bonds, backed by the rental agreement. Such bonds, being tax-exempt, pay a rate of interest lower than corporate bonds and lower than what banks would charge for a commercial loan.

So the favored company gets the plant for less in interest costs than that company would have to pay by conventional financing.

"Though the difference in interest rates looks niggling," the Wall Street Journal noted when discussing the subject recently, "it can amount to a pile of cash over an extended period." In the case of one $60 million plant, it can amount to a saving in interest of more than $5 million over the next 25 years.

Nearly $1 billion worth of tax-exempt municipals were sold for such purposes last year, the Journal reported. Some 38 States—Pennsylvania not among them—allow the practice.

This use of public bonds for a private industrial benefit distorts the concept of tax-exempt municipals. They were intended originally to give communities a borrowing advantage so they could better afford to build schools, water systems, and similar public facilities.

Pennsylvania's constitution, expert opinion holds, doesn't permit such distortion, at least not to the degree that the favored company would in time own the plant.

The constitution could be amended, of course. But what of fairness to companies that have long paid their own way in this State? Many of them would be penalized, as a result of the increased competition for labor and markets, if the State were to allow financing privileges of this sort for newcomers.

Actually, the growing abuse of tax-exempt municipals may invite a Federal crackdown. While ending the tax-exempt principle altogether would be drastic and unreasonable, there's much to be said for a bill proposed recently by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES of Wisconsin.

Where an industrial facility has been financed for a company by the gimmick of tax-exempt municipals and rent, he would simply treat as part of the company's taxable income "the difference between what the facility would have been rented for if financed privately and the rentals actually paid."

His bill, he says, "does not inhibit any legitimate action which might be taken to attract new industry * * * [It] merely seeks to neutralize the advantage from financing the facility through tax-exempt obligations."

As such, the intent of the bill deserves the support not only of the Pennsylvania delegation to Congress, but of every delegate who doesn't want to see the baby of tax-exempt municipals thrown out with the bathwater of their flagrant abuse.

Address by Orison S. Marden, President-Elect of the American Bar Association, at the Poverty and Justice Symposium, the Law School, University of Notre Dame, April 16, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the president-elect of the American Bar Association, Orison S. Marden, recently delivered an address before the poverty and justice symposium at the law school of the University of Notre Dame, in the congressional district I have the honor to represent.

The subject of Mr. Marden's address was the legal services program in the war on poverty, and I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of Mr. Marden's address on this occasion in the RECORD. Mr. Marden forcefully presents the case for legal services to the poor and the responsibility of the American bar to support this program.

Mr. Marden's address follows:

LEGAL SERVICES AND THE WAR ON POVERTY

(Remarks of Orison S. Marden, president-elect, American Bar Association)

We are gathered here, under the auspices of a great law school, for frank and full discussion of the legal services program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. No subject is of greater interest to the lawyers of America today. This interest is quite understandable, for in addition to our traditional concern for the progress of the legal aid movement, who would have dared predict—even 2 years ago—that our Federal Government would offer to finance legal aid work in a substantial way?

LEGAL PROBLEMS OF THE POOR

We lawyers discovered long ago that the poor have substantial legal problems and that they badly need the advice and assistance that only lawyers can render. Since the early beginnings of our profession, we attempted to meet these needs largely through the voluntary efforts of individual lawyers.

As our cities grew and society became increasingly complex we learned that the legal requirements of poor people in the more populous places could best be met by community law offices, manned by lawyers and directed by lawyers and other community leaders. In recent years, largely through the efforts of the organized bar, these Legal Aid Societies have been established in most of our major cities. They have received their prinicpal financial support from lawyers and the Community Chest or United Fund. In increasing degree, however, and especially for service in criminal cases, tax funds are now being contributed from city, county, and State sources in a number of places.

MORE THAN "LAWYERS' 'RED CROSS'"

I have often thought of legal aid as the "Lawyers' 'Red Cross'" but it is far more than that. Indeed, the achievement of justice between human beings transcends in importance virtually every other value we have. "Justice," said Daniel Webster, "is the great interest of man on earth."[1]

Leaders of the legal aid movement have acknowledged for years that our efforts as a profession have not, and could not, meet the full need. Public support has indeed increased substantially but service in most places is woefully inadequate. All too few have realized the true importance of providing legal services to poor people. Reginald Heber Smith, the legal aid pioneer, put his finger on its significance when he said:

"Nothing rankles more in the human heart than a brooding sense of injustice. Illness we can put up with; but injustice makes us want to pull things down."[2]

The same observation was made at the turn of the century by the distinguished editor, Lyman Abbott:

"If ever a time shall come when in this city only the rich man can enjoy law as a doubtful luxury, when the poor who need it most cannot have it, when only a golden key will unlock the door to the courtroom, the seeds of revolution will be sown, the firebrand of revolution will be lighted and put into the hands of men, and they will almost be justified in the revolution which will follow."[3]

While lawyers must guide and lead this community service, the role of the bar is not unlike that of the medical profession with respect to public hospitals and clinics. Legal assistance which assures to the poor equal access to justice is therefore the concern of all segments of the community and not of lawyers alone. To the extent that legal assistance is not provided, as Whitney Seymour has said, "Poverty, and not the judge, may be deciding the case."[4] It is no exaggeration to say, as Judge Learned Hand did some years ago:

"If we are to keep our democracy, there must be one commandment: Thou shalt not ration justice."[5]

NEED FOR PUBLIC FUNDS

I have mentioned these philosophical and historical considerations to demonstrate that there is sound reason and precedent for the use of public funds to support community law offices serving the poor in both civil and criminal matters. We are told that today some 35 million people live in families with annual incomes under $3,000. The need is obviously too great for private charity.

CONCERN OF THE LAWYERS

Yet, when the Office of Economic Opportunity announced its willingness to assist in financing legal services for the poor, many lawyers were skeptical and suspicious. Here are some fairly typical reactions:

What is big brother up to now?

Is our precious independence in danger?

Are we going to be "socialized" by snooping "feds" from Washington?

Will the Federal program help or hurt our legal aid society?

Footnotes at end of speech.

Will the Federal program compete with the bar, especially with the struggling neighborhood lawyer?

These and similar questions were the natural concern of many lawyers and bar associations throughout the land.

REACTION OF THE ABA

Such was the situation which confronted the national leadership of our profession in late 1964. Lewis F. Powell of Richmond, Va. was then president of the American Bar Association. In my opinion, he will go down in history as a great statesman of our profession. Conservative by nature and environment, President Powell saw the opportunities as well as the dangers in the new program.

Should we take off our gloves and fight a program formulated by the Congress of the United States and enthusiastically endorsed by the executive branch of our national government? Or stand on the sidelines and pout? The example set by the medical profession was fresh in the minds of all of us.

The proposed program was subjected to careful study by President Powell and other bar leaders. They concluded that if the program were properly implemented along professional lines, it merely involved financial assistance to local communities for more and better legal aid—a movement which the organized bar had been actively promoting for many years. The precious independence and traditions of our profession would not be in jeopardy so long as the implementing rules which affect the services of lawyers are controlled by the bar.

Accordingly, the board of governors of the American Bar Association recommended that the organized bar tender good faith cooperation to the Office of Economic Opportunity and seek participation in creating and directing the program along proper lines. This recommendation was enthusiastically endorsed by the house of delegates of the association in February 1965. The house, as you know, is composed largely of representatives of all State bar associations and the major city bar associations. In a real sense, therefore, the house represents the Nation's lawyers.

ABA–OEO COOPERATION

Our offer of cooperation and participation was warmly received by Sargent Shriver, the OEO Director, and since that time officers and staff of the American Bar Association have worked closely and intimately with the staff of the legal services program. In addition, a national advisory committee of 23 members meets regularly with OEO staff. All but one of the advisory committee members are lawyers. Five are official representatives of the American Bar Association. They are President Kuhn, former President Powell, John W. Cummiskey, chairman of the ABA Legal Aid Committee, F. William McCalpin, chairman of the ABA Committee on the Availability of Legal Services, and myself. The National Bar Association is represented by its president, Revius O. Ortique, Jr., and the National Legal Aid and Defender Association by its president, Theodore Voorhees, and director Edward Q. Carr of the New York Legal Aid Society.

You will shortly hear from E. Clinton Bamberger, the distinguished Maryland lawyer who is director of the legal services program. After you have met him and talked with him, I think you will agree with me that you or I would be delighted to have him as a partner in the practice of law. That is as high a compliment as one lawyer can pay to another.

We are satisfied that Mr. Bamberger is just as keenly interested as we are in preserving the independence and traditions of our profession. We have good reason to believe that neither he, nor the fine staff he is building, would knowingly do anything to weaken the profession of which they too are members.

LEGAL AID AND LOCAL CONTROL

I will not go into the details of the program as you will hear these from the director himself. However, I would again emphasize that the program, in its essentials, is simply more and better legal aid, financed in part with funds you and I pay in Federal taxes. The lawyers participating in this program, as Dean Page Keeton of the University of Texas Law School said the other day, will be helping "to preserve the free society in which we live."[6]

All programs are controlled locally. The canons of ethics remain intact. If the canons are not observed in any particular, the fault will lie with local enforcement. Indigency standards are established locally and if any competition with practicing lawyers should develop, it will not be the fault of Washington.

In assessing the impact of the legal services program, I hope that the bar will have faith and confidence in its national leadership. We have no intention of bargaining away any of our precious traditions or independence. On the contrary, we would fight tooth and nail any attempt along these lines. We are working closely with Mr. Bamberger and his staff. If Director Bamberger objects to our looking over his shoulder, he has given no indication of it. On the contrary, I am confident that he and his chief, Sargent Shriver, genuinely welcome our participation.

A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

The legal services program gives to our profession a golden opportunity to move forward more rapidly than we had ever thought possible in serving the legal needs of the poor. The program, as President Kuhn has pointed out, "offers new opportunities for extension and improvement of legal assistance for the poor in cities and counties, large and small, throughout the Nation."[7]

The ultimate success of the program will depend largely on the character and strength of participation by the bar at the local level. Bar associations should be working closely with community leaders in the preparation of appropriate programs tailored to community needs. Where possible it is wise to build upon existing facilities, especially the local legal aid society if one exists. A great deal of information and help in planning these programs is available from the American Bar Association, the National Legal Aid and Defender Association and OEO staff. Bar leaders should also read the fine article by Howard C. Westwood of the District of Columbia Bar, entitled "Legal Aid's Economic Opportunity" in the February 1966 issue of the American Bar Association Journal.

If we do not take advantage of these opportunities I have no doubt that we will regret it and that history will not deal kindly with our default. The program will sharply advance the progress of the legal aid movement, one of the most cherished projects of the organized bar. We are freely given a strong voice in its operating policies at the national level. Actual operations will be controlled at the community level where lawyers will be in the driver's seat. Our independence and traditions are not in fact threatened.

In helping to carry out a program established by our National Government dedicated to the principle of equal justice for all, we have nothing to lose and much to gain in terms of public service and good will for our profession.

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[1] The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster, vol. 3, p. 300 (Little Brown & Co., 1903).

[2] Brownell, Legal Aid in the United States, xiii (1951).

[3] Brownell, op. cit., xiii.

[4] 1961 Report of ABA Standing Committee on Legal Aid Work.

[5] Brownell, op. cit., xviii.

[6] Keeton, "The Need for Legal Aid Services to the Poor," Symposium on Law and Poverty, Austin, Tex., Mar. 24, 1966.

[7] Kuhn, "Foreword to Guidelines for Legal Services Program," published by Office of Economic Opportunity, 1966.

Remarks by Vice President Hubert Humphrey at the Goddard Memorial Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, Vice President HUMPHREY has been chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council for a little more than a year. At about the time he took office, he candidly stated that he knew very little about the specific details of our national space program but that he intended to learn all that he could, and learn fast.

The speech which he delivered on March 16 at the National Space Club's annual Goddard Memorial Dinner, and which I include in the RECORD for the benefit and edification of my colleagues, shows that he meant what he said. He has learned fast. He has become, in a very short time and in a very real sense, one of the country's leaders in the enormous task of exploring space for peaceful purposes. His address clearly reveals his dynamic outlook and eagerness to demonstrate our leadership in every aspect of space exploration for the benefit of all mankind and to promote thereby our efforts to bring peace to the world.

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY AT THE GODDARD MEMORIAL DINNER, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 16, 1966

Today we commemorate the 40th anniversary of Dr. Robert Goddard's launching of the first liquid-fuel rocket.

As we all know so well, Dr. Goddard's recognition came long after it should have come. But today there is no question of his role in moving man into space.

On the occasion of this anniversary, President Johnson today received the Goddard Award. I was privileged to take part in that ceremony, as chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council.

Tonight I particularly wish to commend the National Space Club, which already has done so much to open up the space age, on the award of its first annual Dr. Hugh L. Dryden Fellowship.

When I addressed you a year ago I confessed myself a newcomer in space, but I promised to be a diligent student.

I have not yet been put into orbit. However, I have logged over a quarter of a million miles in 80 missions here on earth and many of those missions have included visits to NASA and Department of Defense field installations.

I have also visited a number of private industry installations vital to our space effort.

And of course I have chaired a number of Space Council meetings and followed closely all aspects of our activity in space.

Let me share with you tonight, 1 year later, a few of my thoughts concerning our space program. I will begin by saying that I have been deeply impressed by the dedication and high performance of those—both in Government and private sector—who participate in our national space effort.

Our space program is a superb example of the kind of creative partnership for progress between Government and the private sector which increasingly marks all areas of our national life.

I wish tonight to stress two things that have been very much on my mind regarding the space program.

First. I am impressed by the vital importance of maintaining the most meticulous standards of performance at every level of our space effort, from the worker on the shop floor right up to the top.

Although this tremendous enterprise involves hundreds of thousands of people, it is vital that each individual concerned in it fully recognize and fulfill his own individual responsibility for its success.

As you well know, the slightest slip-up, the smallest oversight in any one of millions of processes and procedures can put critically important projects—and human lives—in jeopardy.

I know that I am preaching to the converted here. But I feel this cannot really be said too often.

Second. I feel the necessity for cost consciousness.

This is the need, to put it another way, of getting the most space for the tax dollar.

These are times when we must exert high discipline in public expenditure. And our space program cannot be exempt from that discipline.

In this connection, I was interested to note the theme of the Fourth Goddard Memorial Symposium, sponsored by the American Astronautical Society, which many of you have been attending for the past 2 days.

Last year I spoke of the "year 2000." But the symposium this year chose to focus instead on the theme, "The Space Age in Fiscal Year 2001."

Certainly, Federal appropriations today have an important bearing on where we will be in the future.

I have examined the fiscal year 1967 space budgets with the greatest care. I honestly believe that much can be accomplished within them although other priorities, notably our effort in Vietnam, have required postponement of some objectives.

I also believe that we can and will achieve the goal set by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson: a manned landing on the moon before 1970.

My own confidence in our rapidly advancing science and technology is such that I can visualize many more dramatic achievements ahead, although I will fix no timetable for them.

1. The exploration of the lunar surface, and possibly the establishment of one or more permanent bases there.

2. The development of a whole family of earth-orbiting stations, manned and supplied by regular ferry services.

3. The building of spaceports in a number of places in this country for the departure and arrival of spacecraft.

4. The development of recoverable and reusable launching vehicles, and manueverable space vehicles, with a consequent drastic reduction in the cost of space travel.

5. The improvement of propulsion methods, with the use of nuclear as well as chemical energy, so that faster and more powerful rockets can make planetary trips in a week or less which today would require many months.

6. The launching of unmanned probes to every part of the solar system—and perhaps manned planetary expeditions as well.

We must not, however, become so totally fascinated by the wonders of outer space that we neglect the applications of space technology to a better life right here on earth.

A few days ago we orbited our first truly operational weather satellite—Essa II. I was pleased during my recent visit to the Goddard Space Flight Center to see the successful read-out of the first weather pictures it sent back. This is a satellite the entire world can tune in on—not only governments but, with a relatively small investment, colleges, or even individual citizens.

The time is not distant when we will be able to predict, and predict with accuracy, the weather everywhere on earth. We may even be able to control it—and thus open up many arid portions of the world to cultivation.

Global communication by satellites will become a fact in the very near future. It will be followed by direct broadcast of both voice and TV to home receivers throughout large sections of the world.

In the field of medicine alone, the benefits are already impressive. Improvements in medical instrumentation, resulting from electronic innovations in the space program, are already beginning to revolutionize the equipment of clinics and hospitals. It should be possible to monitor continuously and in detail the condition of hundreds of patients from a single location.

Other direct benefits will come in the form of wideband transoceanic communications, improved forest fire detection, and highly accuracy navigation.

We have already made fantastic strides in devising more effective, reliable, and compact electronic equipment with a wide variety of applications. We have developed improved alloys, ceramics, and other materials. And there have been other innovations, such as the accelerated use of liquid oxygen in steelmaking, new coatings for the temperature control of buildings, and filters for detergents.

Our progress in space has already contributed to our national security. The use of communications satellites is backing up our effort in Vietnam.

In addition to the support of our Armed Forces by better communications, our peaceful application of space competence for national security takes many other forms.

Among them are more accurate knowledge of the weather, more effective mapping, earlier warning of impending dangers, and the detection of nuclear explosions in space or in the atmosphere.

There are some who claim, with all sincerity, that the terrestrial relevance of space science and technology has been much exaggerated. Concerning this, I would make two comments.

One is to the skeptics outside this hall. I think they have forgotten the fact that this whole field is still only in its infancy. The best is yet to come.

The other is to you. As you constantly enlarge the horizons of space science and technology, I urge that you be everlastingly alert to recognize those discoveries and innovations which can usefully be applied here on our own planet.

Moreover, it is not only technology that we have developed. Perhaps even more important, we have called into being rich human and intellectual resources—methods, capabilities, insights, and management techniques which can be brought to bear upon problems far removed from space.

In this respect, I want to commend the initiative of private companies and of Governor Brown of California, who have shown the way toward focusing the talents of the aerospace industries on matters as important to our everyday living as traffic congestion and garbage control.

I believe the technique of systems analysis—developed to its highest point so far in the aerospace industries—will be invaluable to us as we face up to the problems of urban life, to the pollution of our waters and our atmosphere, and to many other challenges of today and tomorrow.

I believe those of you here who are in the aerospace industry have a very real obligation to make your capabilities more widely known to State and local officials.

Why you? Because the technical and intellectual capabilities you possess in abundance were made possible by the tax dollars which have supported the space program.

Why you? Because your management and your workers are citizens of many of the communities which will directly benefit from such efforts.

Why you? Because it will be a practical demonstration to the world how democracy and free enterprise function effectively for the common good.

I shall conclude with a few observations on the international significance of the space effort.

I believe it is virtually impossible to overestimate the interest of peoples throughout the world in the unfolding space age.

For example, a USIA-sponsored space exhibit last month in Rangoon, Burma—a place most of us might have imagined to be remote from the space age—drew over 250,000 visitors.

Astronaut John Glenn was there, and Astronauts Walter Shirra and Frank Borman are currently winding up a successful swing around the free Asian capitals, Australia, and New Zealand.

Many countries with little or no space experience are showing their interest in a very concrete and practical way. They have realized the need to engage in space programs to develop their own scientific competence, and we are helping them to do so. Already we are cooperating with about 70 countries, and the State Department and NASA are pressing forward with new initiatives in international cooperation.

For what I now say, I may be accused of being something of a visionary—but I am encouraged to do so by being in the good company of other visionaries.

I believe that the exploration of space will have a profound effect upon how we look at our life here on earth. It will put all our affairs in a wider and more wholesome perspective.

Ever since Copernicus, we have known that our earth is a small planet in an immense universe. But while we have known this intellectually and theoretically, most of us have not really taken it to heart, not really felt it in the marrow of our bones.

As the full significance of that fact is brought home to us by the actual exploration of space, it will seem increasingly absurd that we have not better organized our life here on earth.

Our experience in space can be a powerful stimulus to all of us, wherever we live, to move toward the establishment of a world of law, where freedom and justice are assured to all—and where, in the words of the Prophet Isaiah:

> "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Poland's Millennium Celebration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in joining with my colleagues in observing today the millennial year of Christianity in Poland. This indeed is an event of worldwide significance. For we are not only reminded that Poland has had close ties with the West for a thousand years and that these ties continue to influence the outlook of the Polish people. We are also reminded by the events that have surrounded Poland's own observation of the millennium of Christianity in Poland, that the forces for change in Eastern Euorpe cannot be snuffed out, and that confronted by these forces, the Communist regime in Poland has revealed itself, as never before, weak, defensive, and fearful.

Today, thousands of devout and patriotic Poles will gather at the Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa in Poland to testify to their continuing faith in a persecuted church and their adherence to principles of religious and constitutional liberty that have been intertwined throughout the thousand-year history of the Polish state.

But the Polish Communist government has made every effort to hinder preparations for these ceremonies and to downgrade their significance. They have refused to permit a visit by Pope Paul on this occasion, and have refused to grant visas to thousands of foreigners seeking to attend these ceremonies.

Perhaps most important, they have made every attempt to discredit the movement for reconciliation between Poles and Germans, a movement that was given new impetus by the recent exchange of conciliatory letters between the Polish and German church hierarchies.

What better evidence do we need to document the point that the Polish Communist regime lives on fear—that its very existence would be threatened if it could no longer raise the specter of an ominous threat lying to the West and of undying enmity between the Polish and German nations. But the Polish people know better. No government, no matter how coercive and arbitrary, can wipe out the influence of centuries of history or decree faith out of existence. It is this truth that we reaffirm today as we observe with the Polish people a landmark in the Western history.

Pay Increases for the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the House Armed Services Commitee has, in my opinion, very wisely voted to increase the pay of members of the uniformed services so as to make them comparable to recent pay increases for Federal civilian employees.

The bill will apply to active duty personnel and corresponding increases will be added for Reserve personnel, cadets and midshipmen, and persons retired after the effective duty of the increase.

It is gratifying to know that in effecting these meritorious pay raises for our Armed Forces, the committee had the cooperation of the Department of Defense, and particularly that of the Honorable Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, who worked closely with our committee staff in assessing the analysis and developing the formula relevant to the pay increases.

In this process, it was necessary to review the methodology employed in developing the increase which is being considered for Federal civilian employees, and it was found that civil service calculations considered the value of retirement benefits, in addition to health benefits and direct payroll.

It is estimated that first-year budgetary costs of this pay increase program for Department of Defense and other uniformed services will total something like $552 million.

The Department of Defense has stated through Secretary Morris that it is now engaged in the quadrennial review of the total military pay structure as required by last year's pay act, passed by the Congress. In this review, the Department is reexamining the whole range of pay and career incentives needed to attract and retain the numbers and types of skills required at every level—enlisted and officer—including professional specialists required to have advanced degrees before entering the service.

The goal, states the Department, is to develop imaginative new approaches to the solution of problems, many of which are of longstanding, for consideration by the House Armed Services Committee next year.

I do not believe there is any special need for further justification of this proposed, new, pay increase for members of the armed services. To be sure, it would be deemed very moderate and minimal, and is comparable to that being provided this year for civilian employees of the Government.

When we contemplate the great sacrifices being made by members of the Armed Forces, many of whom are making indescribable sacrifices these days, it will be generally agreed, I believe, that this pay increase is definitely warranted, and I am very proud indeed to be privileged as a member of the House Armed Armed Services Commitee to support and work for this fine bill.

Statement of Hon. Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), Before the House Committee on Armed Services, April 28, 1966

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee on April 22 you wrote asking that I appear before the committee to discuss the increase in pay of members of the uniformed services which would be comparable to that recently recommended for Federal civilian employees.

Your letter stated that after deducting "the annual value of the new medical care fringe benefits and related items, a final dollar increase in basic compensation of approximately $303 million is indicated" and that this "translates into an increase in basic pay of 3.2 percent." As your letter indicates, these figures apply to active duty personnel and corresponding increases must be added for reserve personnel, cadets and midshipmen, and personnel retiring after the effective date of an increase.

We worked closely with your staff in assessing the analysis and wrote you on April 25 stating that we will not oppose the increase which the analysis indicates.

We also reviewed the methodology employed in developing the increase which is being considered for Federal civilian employees. We found that the Civil Service calculations considered the value of retirement benefits in addition to health benefits and direct payroll. To further verify your analysis, we prepared an alternative calculation for military compensation including increased retirement benefits. This revealed that the inclusion of these costs produced the same conclusion that you had reached; namely, an increase in the basic pay of active duty personnel of $303 million equaling 3.2 percent of the fiscal year 1967 basic pay budget.

We, likewise, reviewed and confirmed your estimates of the first year budgetary costs, as follows:

	Amount (*millions*)
Department of Defense:	
Active duty, basic pay	$303.2
Active duty, other pay	22.4
Reserve personnel	20.7
Cadets and midshipmen	.7
Personnel retiring after effective date	3.2
Death gratuity	.5
Subtotal	350.7
Active duty medical benefits	74.9
Retired personnel medical benefits	115.8
Total Department of Defense	541.4
Other uniformed services:	
Pay increases	6.1
Medical benefits	4.6
Subtotal	10.7
Grand total	552.1

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to report that we are now engaged in the quadrennial review of the total military pay structure as required by last year's pay act. In this review, we are reexamining the whole range of pay and career incentives needed to attract and retain the numbers and types of skills required at every level—enlisted and officer—including professional specialists required to have advanced degrees before entering the service. Our goal is to develop imaginative new approaches to the solution of problems, many of which are of long standing, for consideration by this committee next year.

This concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman.

Single Direction Needed in Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert into the Record the text of a brief editorial which appeared in the New London, Conn., Day on March 8, 1966. The editorial is entitled "Johnson's Transportation Department" and is in support of the President's recent proposal to establish a U.S. Department of Transportation.

As stated in the editorial, there is no excuse for further delay of this proposal. The Federal Government, it is rightfully pointed out, entered the transportation picture around the turn of the 20th century, but over the years conflicting policies have developed. I agree with the view expressed in the editorial that a single direction of such efforts was needed years ago, and it is most certainly needed today.

The editorial reads as follows:

JOHNSON'S TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT

Does President Johnson's proposed U.S. Department of Transportation mean one more bureaucratic behemoth or a sensible concentration of effort within one branch of the Federal Government to solve a wide variety of problems long evident? The President was emphatic in his recommendation that Congress create such a department and specific as to which existing agencies should be included under its umbrella.

Some insight into the question lies in the fact that there's nothing new about the idea. First proposed in 1936, it subsequently was one of the 1949 recommendations of the Hoover Commission. President Eisenhower dusted it off later and, more recently, a congressional committee advanced the idea.

The Nation's transportation system, rail, road, air and sea, can't possibly be developed under local or State regulatory agencies. Even groups of States have found it impossible to cope with such pressing dilemmas as those posed by the bankrupt New Haven Railroad.

The New Haven situation is but one small segment of the whole, however apt an illustration it is of the inability of State and regional agencies, some quite makeshift, to arrive at a workable plan. Efficient transportation systems of all types, the backbone of the Nation in peace or war, must be designed with an idea of the relationship to one another. The Federal Government entered the transportation picture around the turn of the century but all activities thus far have only contributed to a mish-mash of conflicting—and costly—policies. Single direction of such efforts was needed years ago. There is no excuse for delaying action any longer.

It may seem curious to place the Coast Guard under such a department. Yet, here again, the Coast Guard's principal functions today, whether breaking ice in rivers so that tankers can move upstream, studying the nature of the sea, inspecting ships or directing safety programs among pleasure boaters, deals with basic transportation, not with smugglers or slave-runners. The Coast Guard is among the Nation's more adaptable and effective public agencies. As such, it is unlikely to become buried in the new department.

Like everything else involving Federal direction, it's unlikely that the proposed new department will save the American taxpayer money. But there is a strong likelihood he'll get a lot more for his tax dollar if the department is established under an able administrator at the Cabinet level.

Cancel the Grant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared recently in the Knoxville News-Sentinel. I am sure that a great percentage of the Members will agree with this excellent editorial:

CANCEL THE GRANT

One of five cutups who disgraced themselves and their country by their recent capers in Saigon was William Davidon, a professor at Haverford College, near Philadelphia.

The Vietnam Government was obliged to expel these troublemakers.

This professor also listed his name among a group advertising that none of them would pay Federal taxes so long as U.S. forces are in Vietnam.

But Professor Davidon recently was granted a $12,000 Federal fellowship to study in Denmark. That's taxpayer money.

In addition to the discourtesy of palming off such a character on the friendly Danes, we think most Americans will subscribe to the belief that some standard of good citizenship should be expected of those who derive personal benefits from grants of taxpayer money. Washington authorities, we hope, will waste no time in canceling the Davidon grant.

Policy Endorsed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, the Houston Chronicle has taken note of the efforts by this administration to reach a better understanding with Red China.

The paper states:

> Clearly, the Johnson administration is headed in the direction of a much-discussed policy of "containment without isolation" and this is good.

It adds:

> The United States is right in showing its willingness to take the first step in the direction away from a United States-China war.

I include this editorial which my colleagues will find interesting in the RECORD at this point:

CONTAINMENT WITHOUT ISOLATION

The flurry of diplomatic statements and proposals coming out of Washington during the past few days underlines the Johnson administration's willingness to work at establishing peace in Asia.

Consider these developments:

The State Department's invitation to Red China to send scholars and scientists to study in U.S. colleges.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk's proviously unpublished statement that the United States welcomes steps toward establishing an era of good relations between Red China and the United States.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg's statement that the United States is willing to see Red China in the United Nations under certain conditions.

Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD's proposal that the State Department attempt to set up a peace conference which would include Red China, the United States, North Vietnam and "such elements in South Vietnam as may be essential to the making and keeping of a peaceful settlement."

And finally, statements from both the White House and the State Department indicating that they "welcome" MANSFIELD's proposal.

Clearly, the Johnson administration is headed in the direction of a much-discussed policy of "containment without isolation," and this is good. As Rusk explained it, "We do not expect for the time being the Chinese Communists will seize upon these avenues of contact or exchange, [but] we believe it is in our interest that such channels be opened and kept open * * *. We believe contact and communication are not incompatible with a firm policy of containment."

Unfortunately, whether the dance involves the United Nations, Vietnam, or improving United States-Chinese relations, it still takes two to tango, and Peking is not interested. The U.S. offer of permitting Chinese scholars to study here was quickly rebuffed. The offer was a fraud, Peking said. And Red China's attitude was summed up in a recent editorial in the official Peking People's daily, which said: "So long as the U.S. Government does not change its hostile policy toward China and refuses to pull out its Armed Forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait, the normalization of Chinese-American relations is entirely out of the question."

So the outlook for achieving anything through Washington's increasing flexible attitude isn't too bright. Still, the United States is right in showing its willingness to take the first step in the direction away from a United States-China war. One of these days, for one reason or another, Red China also may want to follow suit.

The Cooley Loan Program: American Free Enterprise Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, because of the wide interest and the numerous inquiries concerning what is known as the Cooley loan program, I have asked for this time to discuss this program in a way that may be helpful to Members of the House in responding to persons who seek information on its purposes and its operations.

At the outset, I will say that I have a feeling of humility, mixed with pride, that this program around the world has come to bear my name.

This local currency loan program, which I sponsored as chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, was initiated in 1957 by an amendment to Public Law 480—the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, now known as the Food-for-Peace Act.

The program complements and supplements other foreign assistance activities by stimulating private U.S. investment in friendly, usually less-developed, areas of the world. I am proud that it has planted the flag of American free enterprise in many foreign places

THE PROGRAM

Administration of the program was originally assigned to the Export-Import Bank of Washington. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 reassigned this responsibility to the Agency for International Development on January 1, 1962.

The purpose of the program, broadly, is to promote "balanced economic development and trade among nations" through loans mutually agreeable to the administering agency and to the foreign country whose currency is involved. Certain of the local currencies received in payment for U.S. agricultural products are made available for loans to U.S. firms and their affiliates for "business development and trade expansion" in those countries, and for loans to U.S. as well as foreign firms "for the establishment of facilities for aiding in the utilization, distribution, or otherwise increasing the consumption of, and markets for, U.S. agricultural products." Loans for the production of items which would be exported to the United States in competition with U.S. production are prohibited by the statute, as are loans for the production of agricultural commodities to be marketed in competition with U.S. production.

AID has also recently revised its procedures to provide for Cooley loans to U.S. banks or their affiliates for relending to local enterprises, both U.S.-affiliated and locally owned. It is hoped that such loans will encourage the development and strengthening of credit facilities for small and medium size private enterprises in less-developed countries; promote sound development banking concepts and practices; make available increased banking and credit facilities for private enterprise by supplementing with Cooley funds the banks' own resources for medium and long-term investment possibilities; and stimulate wider use and more effective management of Cooley funds.

SOURCE OF COOLEY LOAN FUNDS

Funds for the Cooley loan program are derived under agreements for the sale of agricultural commodities under title I of Public Law 480. Until October 31, 1964, the statute provided that funds allocated to title I's section 104(e) could not exceed 25 percent of the total proceeds of a sales agreement. The law was amended on that date to permit "maximum usable" amounts to be allocated. Legislation now under consideration provides for a transition from sales for foreign currencies to sales for dollars; but it also provides for payment in foreign currencies to the extent the President determines that such currencies are needed for various purposes including section 104(e) loans under the Cooley program.

AID does not have extensive control over the allocation of local currency funds to the Cooley program. They are generated as an incident to Public Law 480; the host country must agree to the uses to which the currencies will be put; and more importantly the other anticipated U.S. Government uses make a large claim on the total currencies to be generated. In some countries, where U.S. holdings of local currencies are so small that it is presently necessary to convert dollars to meet local U.S. Government expenditures, new local currency deposits will be allocated for that priority need. Many countries that are of great interest to U.S. investors are not traditionally importers of U.S. agricultural products, and no sales agreements are made. Nevertheless, when funds are available to meet demand, the program is much appreciated by U.S. investors and is a valuable part of AID's efforts to encourage U.S. investment in the less-developed countries.

PURPOSES AND TERMS

In making loans to "U.S. business firms and branches, subsidiaries, or affiliates of such firms," AID requires that affiliation be evidenced by at least 20-percent ownership by a U.S. firm of the applicant's voting stock—and a higher percentage may be required. If the U.S. firm owns less than a majority interest, its other commercial and operating ties to the applicant will be looked to, to determine that the U.S. firm has the power to exercise a significant influence on the applicant's policies and operations.

Loans are ordinarily not made to refinance existing loans or to acquire equity interest in other enterprises. Cooley loans are available to finance working capital costs—except in India, where the Government has asked that we not lend Cooley funds for that purpose—but in many areas AID has found that ample funds are available from local commercial banks for working capital. Because the demand for Cooley funds sometimes exceeds the supply, AID has established administrative norms to favor applicants whose projects have the highest priorities in terms of the foreign country's economic needs. Hence, when demand does exceed supply, AID may limit the use of Cooley funds soley to the acquisition of fixed assets.

Maturities are established in accordance with the nature of the project being financed, and the applicant's projected cash flow. Grace periods are permitted on payments of principal, but not on interest, until facilities become productive; arrangements may be made for acceleration of repayment if profitability exceeds expectations. Loans are made and repaid in local currency, with no maintenance-of-value requirement.

Interest rates are established for each country comparable to the basic rate charged by local development lending institutions or, where such institutions do not exist, based on the existing rate structure for similar projects. Taken into consideration are the attitude of the foreign government, the potentially adverse effects of providing funds at rates lower than the cost of credit to local competing firms, and the danger of fostering uneconomic enterprises through financing at subsidized terms. Within these limitations, however, rates are kept as low as possible to encourage borrowers.

The largest Cooley loan to date has been the equivalent of $22.6 million in Indian rupees to help finance a fertilizer plant. Among the smallest was a loan in the equivalent of $8,000 to a popcornmaking venture in China—Taiwan. Interest rates have varied from 4 percent on a loan to a Colombian affiliate of the U.S. firm to 12 percent on projects in Bolivia and China. The present interest rate in China is 9 percent. Rates on recent loans have been 6.5 percent in Pakistan, 8 percent in Peru, Korea, India, the Philippines and Israel, 9 percent in Colombia and Paraguay, and 12 percent in Bolivia. Loans have run from 3 years to 20 years, but the average is 9 years for repayment with a 2½-year grace period.

PROCEDURES

Application for Cooley loans may be made to the U.S. AID mission in the country concerned, or to the appropriate Regional Bureau of AID in Washington—Bureau for Near East-South Asia, Bureau for Africa, Bureau for Far East, or Bureau for Latin America.

Guidance in preparing a detailed application should be obtained from the AID mission or the AID Regional Bureau in Washington. However in general the application should include the name and organization of the applicant, name of the U.S. affiliate, amount requested, repayment period desired, and a description of the general purposes for which the loan is sought. Required financial data includes the applicant's existing capitalization and additional capital needed to complete the project and, if the enterprise is already in operation, current balance sheet and balance sheets for the past 3 years; profit and loss statements for the past 5 years; and a current cash flow statement together with similar statement for the past 3 years. Pro forma balance sheets and profit and loss and cash flow statements estimated for future years are also required, as is information on all equity investment contemplated and the amount, source, and repayment terms for all other proposed borrowing. Pertinent economic data indicating the benefits which the proposed activity would yield to the enterprise and to the host country should be included and, if the applicant is not a U.S. affiliate, an account of how the facilities to be financed with the Cooley loan will increase the consumption of and markets for U.S. agricultural products.

Prior to final review by AID/Washington, loan staffs in the Missions are asked to comment on the project, particularly on those factors relevant to local conditions. Public Law 480 sales agreements also provide a 60-day period for the local government to make a formal statement of "no objection." Final concurrence is obtained from the National Advisory Council, under the chairmanship of the Treasury Department.

PROGRAM TO DATE

From the inception of the Cooley loan program (the first loans were authorized on June 19, 1958) through December 31, 1961, the Export-Import Bank of Washington authorized 176 loans in 19 countries, for an amount in foreign currencies equal to approximately $102.7 million—15th semiannual report on activities carried on under Public Law 480, 87th Congress, 2d session, House Document No. 385. From January 1, 1962, when AID assumed this responsibility in accordance with the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, through December 31, 1965, AID authorized 180 loans in the total amount of $196 million—U.S. dollar equivalent.

Very favorable comments have been received from Cooley loan borrowers. An American firm whose affiliate was the recipient of a loan in Indian rupees equivalent to $4 million, advised AID that the loan "was of enormous assistance in establishing a firm financial basis for this project—a $12 million pulp and paper plant—without delay and contributed markedly to its early completion and successful operation." Other U.S. firms have commented that "the filling of the financial gap might otherwise have been impossible," and that the program "has provided most welcome and beneficial aid, particularly to a company of truly international proportions."

AID welcomes interest in this program, and is constantly endeavoring to improve its procedures and to expedite the processing of applications, to be as responsive as possible to legitimate needs of U.S. investors.

The Cooley loan program, as well as other AID programs to assist and encourage U.S. private investment in developing countries, is described in a brochure, entitled "Aids to Business—Overseas Investment"—which can be obtained at no cost from the Office of Development Finance and Private Enterprise, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C., 20523. That office also issues periodic announcements of local currencies available for Cooley loans, and will be glad to add the names of interested firms to its mailing list for this information.

In the food-for-freedom bill now under consideration by the Committee on Agriculture, the Cooley loan provision has been carried forward without substantial change.

The committee has thus far made two amendments, both of which are in the nature of clarification or emphasis of existing authority in the law. It has stipulated that business firms, both foreign and domestic, shall include cooperatives. It has also put into the proposed language a provision making it quite clear that loans for private housing are to be included in the Cooley loan program.

In its last previous revision of Public Law 480, the committee commented in its report that housing appeared to the committee to be one of the most beneficial uses of these loan funds. In spite of this statement by the committee, very few housing loans have been made and those administering the program appear to be giving preference to other types of business enterprise.

The committee report on the bill now under consideration will comment on this and strongly urge that the use of these funds for low-cost private housing development in foreign countries be given major consideration.

Taking the Service Route

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 4, 1966

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, Traffic Counsel of America is a dynamic new organization in Canton, Ohio, which has made remarkable progress in the computerization of freight rates, a program of tremendous interest to both government and industry.

I was pleased to see in Traffic Management magazine for April a feature article describing this operation which I believe will be of interest to many in government who might not have an opportunity to see the magazine.

With permission granted I include the article with my remarks:

Traffic and the Computer: Taking the "Service" Route—Traffic Management Revisits Traffic Counsel of America, Now the First "Information Utility" Offering Shippers Fully Automated Distribution

Computer men would make bad historians: all they talk about is tomorrow. One of their favorites is about the day when so much information can be stored and retrieved automatically that a new kind of enterprise—the information utility—will be born. Like a combination library and power company, it will charge by the unit for its services, pumping out whole programs for industrial customers who have neither the need nor the wherewithal to house such vast data resources.

But today is here, and so is such an outfit. Its existence comes as no surprise to many industrial traffic men, who have variously admired, disbelieved, dismissed, envied, and in some cases, bought its services. It was introduced to Traffic Management readers in our February 1964, issue as Traffic Counsel of Ohio. It is now Traffic Counsel of America and has since gone far in more ways than its name.

Its president, Stephen Kovach, could demand a hearing if only on what he and his staff have to date accomplished: an origin-destination code with 350,000 listings in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; an 18,000-unit carrier code; a complete, all modal route code; and actual computer storage of complete freight tariffs. In the building stage is a commodity code of 14,000 basic commodities with descriptions totaling over 300,000, embracing all classifications and all tariffs regardless of mode.

It took more than 3 years of deadening labor to compile all this, and at least from the tariff programing point of view, it is far from finished. But with it, Traffic Counsel of America is doing a completely automated rating, routing and billing job for a growing list of shipper customers. "Traffic Counsel of America is operative," says its president in his quietly aggressive way. "No one else can make that statement."

The best way to judge how complete a computer-distribution package Traffic Counsel of America offers is by a quick run-through of the system as it operates.

A customer teletypes an order to TCA's computer center at Canton. Information includes product number, quantity, destination or customer identity, request for either cheapest or fastest route, or actual carrier designations.

The message is received in tape form, and is either converted into cards for feeding to the computer or can be transmitted directly into the machine through an interface unit, which translates it into computer language. TCA's "on line, real time" capability can accommodate 164 separate communications lines simultaneously in and out of a computer.

The machinery then figures rates, much as a rate clerk by referring to its memory storage of tariffs. By random access, TCA's IBM 1440 can read instantly whole "disk packs," one of which can hold up to 10,000 average tariff pages. Its RCA 3301 Realcom (real-time communications) computer draws from eight storage units, each capable of holding and reading instantly 366 million characters. All the equipment units can update their tariff memories taking easy account of changes.

By the same method, the TCA computer can maintain customer inventory files, updating them as orders are processed. By memorizing customer stocks of promotional materials and "dated" freight, it can consolidate these with orders it is at the same time processing and consolidating. For customers that furnish TCA with daily reports on vehicles they have spotted for loading, it can also assign consolidations to specific rail cars or trucks.

COMPLETE FREIGHT BILL/BILL OF LADING

In its fullness, the computer can draw on its memory bank to achieve optimum rating and routing, including rules, exceptions, stopoffs, transloadings and other variables. Thus in seconds it receives orders, checks inventory, consolidates shipments, rates and routes on the basis of complete information.

With this done, the computer prints out a complete freight bill/bill of lading set, priced down to carriers' division of revenues. In cases where an f.o.b. point is different from the destination, it even allows for the shipper's being credited for the part of the bill to be incurred by the receiver. In addition, the bill copy alerts the TCA operator of any exceptions that have not been programed for, without delaying the processing.

Payment is made in either of two ways. One is by check, which is printed out as an extension of the bill set. The other is via teletype messages to a bank where funds are simply transferred from the shipper's account to the carrier's.

Finally, the document is teletyped to the shipper, whose own communications equipment prints a nine-part bill of lading/freight bill set which he distributes internally and to the carrier as usual. A paper tape which is punched by the shipper's equipment at the same time as the bill is being printed may be passed along to the carrier for its own internal accounting use, as a simple byproduct of the system.

This package of services is what TCA calls TACT (traffic administered by computer and teletype). Mr. Kovach has added two more: TACTIC (totally applied computerized tariff information center), which offers shippers and carriers the company's computerized library of information as a supplement to their own rating, billing, routing, and planning efforts; and TACTICS (transportation and computer teamed to integrate carrier and shipper), which is a service combining the first two. Taken together, they represent exactly what kind of a future Mr. Kovach plans for TCA—that of a flexible and widely adaptable information utility for transportation and distribution.

When TM reported on Mr. Kovach's young enterprise 2 years ago, all of this was still in the talk stage. At that time, Traffic Counsel of Ohio had an impressive list of clients for whom it performed a variety of traffic functions on a mostly manual basis. Only freight bill payments were automated, and not in nearly so sophisticated a way as they are today. At that time, the firm's commodity and geographic codes were only in the making. Yet even at that time, as Mr. Kovach envisioned computer rate figuring, he emphasized that "we are not trying to correct the present rate structure." Since then, many other voices have been heard echoing that belief. It was also a time when even computer experts were roundly doubting the ability of computer programs to encompass tariffs as they are. Says one top industrial traffic manager: "Kovach showed us that it could be done. That doesn't mean we agree it's the best way for it to be done, but there's a victory that you can't take away from him."

What the speaker took issue with was Mr. Kovach's contention that it is the shipper or his agent who must do the actual tariff programing. The general trend of thought seems to be against him since it is pointing toward the carrier rate bureau as the source of such programs. In fact, even Mr. Kovach would not deny that for individual shippers to take on such a job would amount to one of the most monumental duplications of work imaginable. In a sense, his operation is part tariff bureau, since it is an information source, and part shipper, since it does actual rate computations. As such, TCA is carving out its place as a classic middleman.

It is this very position that is causing and will continue to cause resistance. In an age of forward integration and competition, powerful middlemen can be dangerous. Mr. Kovach counters by arguing that such a mass-production approach is cheaper. "The cost of maintaining automated tariff libraries can be excessive," he contends. "We could serve shippers, carriers and Government bureaus without redunant applications."

TCA has 13 accounts at present, all of them shippers. Among them: American Machine & Foundry's Pinspotters Division; Reading Tube Corp.; Wallace Business Forms and Systems; Diebold, Inc., and U.S. Steel Fabricators. Several other nationally known companies are prospects. Says a spokesman for one of them: "Our computer staff is worked to death, and priorities won't let them get to traffic for another 3 or 4 years. Then we would have to turn computer people into traffic people. Kovach has taken both traffic people and computer types and made them cross over into the other field. What we want is a computer program tailored to our kind of shipments, and from all that we've seen so far, we think Kovach can do it for us."

PILOT PROGRAM SHOWED THE WAY

The big jumpoff point for TCA's expansion into computerized traffic was a pilot program with Western Electric Co. that started in mid-1964. Shipments via motor carrier from Western Electric's Columbus, Ohio, plant to California were computer-routed. To do this, the Rocky Mountain motor tariff, generally considered the most complex in transportation, was completely programmed and stored on three disk-packs in an IBM 1440. The objectives were two: to test feasibility of computerizing tariffs with fast retrieval rating; and to evaluate carrier reaction to a unit bill of lading that would include rates, extensions, totals and division of carrier revenues.

In May 1965, "the Columbus Trial came to a successful conclusion," according to Western Electric. "At this point it was determined by Western Electric that it would serve the company's interest best if a transportation system was developed by and operated within the company. For that reason the feasibility study at Columbus was not continued."

But it was continued, in the sense that TCA at last had a base to build on. "When we went beyond the Columbus-to-Rocky Mountain scales," says Mr. Kovach, "we could add any other origin point to Rocky Mountain destinations without need for another program. Basic tariff logics apply according to destinations, and can take in any origins." So far, in addition to Rocky Mountain, TCA has computerized most of the Eastern Central motor carrier tariffs, and all those for rail grain in transit east of the Mississippi.

When a shipper and TCA agree to do business together, this is what happens:

First, a contract is negotiated. Charges are made on a per-bill basis, plus a line-item surcharge. ("It always starts off as a research-and-development project, running parallel with a customer's existing system to test workability and benefits," says Mr. Kovach.)

Second, TCA agrees to supply its tariff files and logic for programing. The logic, or way TCA develops an individual program, is its big (and patented) secret. ("We don't sell programs. We work up a system for a shipper, who shares the benefits of our universally applicable codes and logics. This 'time sharing' of course lowers the unit cost to our customers.")

Third, the client supplies a file of his customers' names and addresses, and any internal customer code he may have, plus a list of his commodities with their internal identification numbers.

Fourth, TCA and the shipper sit down together to assign classifications to commodities. ("He knows his products best.")

A TOOL FOR MANAGEMENT CONTROL

Finally, TCA works out a three-part program, consisting of input, which varies according to the shipper's product codes and customers; output, which varies in the same way, but may include statistical reporting in addition to the bill of lading/freight bill; and the basic tariff logic for formulating the finished program.

It takes up to 90 days to assemble an individual shipper's program. Once done, says Mr. Kovach, "we can kick back many other kinds of information. For instance, how much money he's lost by not consolidating, how much by not meeting minimums. Our customers get a tool they can use internally to improve their management control. The cost of this particular service is minimal since it's a byproduct of the basic job we do."

One of the most demanding customer situations TCA is now immersed in is in-transit rating for several grain companies. The system works basically as the one generally described above, with a few added complications.

Each day, a particular grain company transmits to TCA a record of inbound grain received at one of several storage points. This record contains waybill number, date, railroad, car weight and number, and commodity weight. The computer uses this information with its tariff memory file to select the optimal origin point (that is, where the shipment that is now stored in transit came from). It does this by first assigning a route from transit point to destination, then comparing the inbound rates from different origins to in-transit points, and subtracting them from their corresponding total origin-destination rates. The lowest figure that results is what is then paid to the railroad.

Carole Savan, TCA's chief programer and the brains behind the grain program, points out another unusual byproduct. "We can guide the customer on where grain should be purchased. Because of variances in grain prices at different places on a given day, the computer can use its daily feed of information to choose the best origin."

As must be in his business, Mr. Kovach has several new projects working. One is a proposal soon to be brought before several motor carrier tariff publishing agencies, which he refers to as "a test case, and a crucial one": an allowance to consignors for furnishing completed, prepaid combination bills of lading/freight bills. "The shipper, after all, will do all the rating and billing work for the carrier, and in machine language that makes it easier, and on his own paper with his own equipment. He should be paid for it. For the cost of the materials themselves, Mr. Kovach proposes that carriers reimburse consignors for the unit bill document at the rate of 4½ cents per set, and pay 5½ cents per shipment tape if the tape is desired. There would also be a schedule of allowances for work done: 50 cents per unit bill set with tape and 5 cents per revenue-producing line item for every such line in excess of three per shipment. Allowance would be made only to consignors furnishing 50 or more unit bill sets a year.

In promoting its hierarchy of services—TACT, TACTIC and TACTICS-TCA looks toward a future when its biggest volume may come from "the thousands of smaller shipper companies that won't be able to do this sort of thing on their own," says Mr. Kovach. Even when the bigger ones can, and carrier tariff bureaus start providing their own automated information services, "we can still offer them a broader bank of resources than they could possibly support themselves. After all, a carrier bureau is interested only in its own territory, and a shipper in his own products. But these areas are bound to overlap, and they will need something far bigger and more complete to draw on."

No slouch in the face of his own challenge, Mr. Kovach has big expansion plans. "We'll have a network of computers with a master brain here in Canton," he predicts. Hopes are for eight satellites—in New York and St. Louis by June, later on in Atlanta, Memphis, Chicago, a Texas city, and at two west coast locations.

Another project: automated door-to-door export/import documentation of all charges for movements between continental U.S. points and anywhere in the world.

Eventually, this may even mean clearer days on the tariff front. "Simplification will be a result of computerization," says TCA's president, "not a prelude to it." As usual in this game, there is nothing history can say to prove him wrong.

Dr. Seaborg Sees Partnership Among Science, Humanities, and Government—Part Two

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, speaking to the American Philosophical Society meeting April 22, discussed the role of the newly established National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. Under leave to extend my remarks I include part II of Dr. Seaborg's address at this point in the Record:

Science, the Humanities and the Federal Government: Partners in Progress (Part Two)

(By Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, to the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., April 22, 1966)

Today with our new awareness of change and our realization that we can and must be the master of that change, we are also taking a more positive attitude toward emphasizing and cultivating human and esthetic values. Most recently this attitude has resulted in some important new action taken by the Government which has long remained at some distance from any direct interest in or support of our humanistic and cultural growth, although it may have realized the importance of those values to us as a nation. There have been many reasons for Federal inactivity in these areas.

The primary one parallels what has taken place in our scientific development and also grows out of our basic philosophy of a minimum of Government interference in all segments of life. As I pointed out in discussing the relationship of science and government in our history, the Government's role developed basically along the needs of the country. Unfortunately—or, in some respects, perhaps fortunately—wars and national crises have not demanded Government support of the humanities and cultural pursuits. With the exception of some Federal support of the arts by WPA projects in the depression years, scholars and artists have continued on their own during these periods when vast sums of money went to support science and technology.

Also, it has been traditional in our society to view scholars and artists as people who need no public support, who work best on their own; who, in fact, derive some kind of inspiration from their isolation if not their poverty. Considering the arts, most people who have this attitude conveniently overlook the fact that many of the world's great masterpieces were commissioned—masterpieces which may never have been created but for the support of a patron. America has had its great sponsors of intellectual growth and patrons of the arts in the past, and today we have numerous individuals, foundations and business organizations that are helping to support a substantial segment of the scholastic and cultural community. But private support and cultural community. But private support only begins to meet the needs being generated today.

Finally, there has been the attitude in America that government support of any educational or creative process would lead to its control by that government and to dangerous interferences with our most basic freedoms. Many have used as an example of this sort of culture control the book-burning tyranny of Nazi Germany or the directing of the arts toward propaganda in Communist countries. But it does not follow that governmental support of creative or scholarly pursuits necessarily leads to controls. I think that what transpires in this relationship between support and control depends on the basic philosophy of the Nation. And within the American framework of thought and action it seems highly unlikely that Government control of the arts would evolve here.

It is of greater concern today to find ways to support the humanities and arts so that they can have the economic freedom to reflect some of the truths that a nation needs to have revealed to itself. Through this process we can maintain and develop further the values and outlook that we so crucially need to guide our technological society, to assure its growth and development as a human society as well.

Today, recognizing the desire of our people for a more meaningful life—for a fulfillment beyond that of the materialistic life—has come a response from government. The response is taking place on local, State and Federal levels, and in many forms. There is not time to go into all the work being done or planned, but for a few minutes I would like to touch on some of it being carried out by the Federal Government, particularly by the newly created National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities.

This Foundation, created by a bill signed into law last September is comprised of a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, a National Endowment for the Arts, a National Endowment for the Humanities, and National Councils on the Arts and the Humanities. Its purpose is to help support and encourage literary and scholarly pursuits and creative arts of the highest caliber. In the arts: its interests include (but are not limited to) music, dance, drama, architecture, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and crafts arts, industrial design, fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape recording, and all the other arts related to the preservation, performance, execution and exhibition of these major art forms.

In the humanities it is concerned with our knowledge and understanding of literature, language, archeology, history, the classics, religion, philosophy, and the preservation of our heritage in all these fields. This is indeed a lot of ground to cover, but the range of interests indicates, I think, the thoroughness of consideration that went into the planning of the Foundation and its activities. It has carefully considered the complex needs of our creative and intellectual life. What are some of the ways it plans to help fulfill these needs?

As many of you probably know, Roger L. Stevens, who was formerly the President's Special Assistant on the Arts, was designated as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, and the National Council on the Arts which advises the Endowment. Mr. Stevens, who has combined a highly successful career in business and finance with an equally successful one in the world of art, recently elaborated on some of the plans of the Arts Council. And I would like to mention a few of them now just to bring out some of the areas of work involved in supporting our cultural growth.

I think you will find many of them as surprising as I did, particularly in the very practical and far-reaching way they will help the arts—and without regimenting or controlling them. Not all of the plans involve direct financial support, but some, because of their widespread effect, may be more significant than direct financial support.

For example, Stevens points out that there is already an Executive order in effect that calls for the expenditure of 1 percent of total construction costs for art in all Federal buildings, but that this is the first item cut in a building's budget when the money starts to run out. The average expenditure for Government buildings runs about $600 million to a billion dollars a year. Stevens argues that if the 1-percent figure could be made mandatory it could create a market for the purchase of art of about $5 to $10 million annually.

A similar situation exists under FHA regulations which, in view of FHA's annual expenditure of about $5 billion, might account for another $40 to $50 million worth of sculpture and painting. Aside from the support this could lend to American artists, think of what it would mean to the beauty of the buildings and the enrichment of the lives of the people working and living in them.

The Arts Council further suggests that there is no reason why the immense number of Government-owned buildings throughout the country cannot to some extent be used for art exhibits, particularly in cities that do not have museums.

Paralleling these suggestions, Stevens points out that through National Park Service receipts controlled by the Department of the Interior it may be possible to support many cultural activities such as the theater, concerts, and museums in our national parks, thus providing an excellent medium for the work of actors and musicians.

Another very practical recommendation involves making available Government surplus property construction materials to museums, theaters, and cultural centers for building or adding to existing facilities.

The Council recommended that direct aid to artists be made not only in the form of grants and commissions but in such minor but important matters as providing money for crating and shipping works to an exhibition—a matter perhaps trivial to us but quite important to the artist.

Another problem artists face is finding a place where they can afford to live and work, especially in large cities where building costs are high. Many are willing to fix up older buildings, and the arts endowment has arranged for a number of FHA loans for this purpose. It has also established a revolving fund of $100,000 for an artists' housing project, with studios and living quarters for painters and sculptors.

In the area of the performing arts, the Arts Council has been even more active than in the creative arts. Among the many things they have done is to recommend the setting up of four youth symphony orchestras in four sections of the country where there is no strong local symphony. The arts endowment would sponsor these with the idea that eventually they would support a National Youth Symphony made up of the best instrumentalists.

The Council is also interested in setting up repertory theaters, "of the highest professional quality," in different parts of the country, and the arts endowment has set aside $500,000 to help found three such companies. These funds would be augmented by local school authorities and the U.S. Office of Education. In addition to these, the endowment plans to underwrite a playwrights' experimental theater for $250,000, the purpose of which would be primarily to present plays "that cannot be produced under economic conditions facing Broadway today." Many will argue that all these funds and plans represent an infinitesimal amount of financing and effort as compared to Government support of science and technology. Nevertheless, this action is an important first step in direct Government participation in our cultural life, participation which certainly will be increased as it proves successful.

Up to this point I have been speaking of the plans of the Arts Council and Arts Endowment, but what of the work of the National Council on the Humanities and National Endowment for the Humanities, also created by the same bill? The Chairman of these new Federal organizations happens to be the president of our American Philosophical Society, Dr. Henry Allen Moe. It is in the fortunate interest of the Government to have someone of Dr. Moe's standing serving in all these capacities. Dr. Moe recently reviewed some of the plans of the Humanities Endowment, and once again it is interesting to see the extent and the scope of work anticipated.

To further individual work in the humanities, the endowment will support scholars with several types of grants. Among these are summer fellowships to teacher-scholars, full fellowships to support significant humanistic scholarly efforts, and advanced study grants for those who, working within the university or outside, "are on the edge of seizing truth—historic truth, philosophic truth, esthetic truth."

The Humanities Endowment plans to aid archeological-historical studies by supporting a number of excavations in both domestic and foreign territories, and such excavations and studies will reveal important new knowledge for scholars and historians.

Support will also be given by the endowment to local archeological and historical museums—to their staffing, cataloging, exhibits, and publications.

A most interesting area, which brings out the valuable partnership between science and the humanities, is the field of computer-oriented humanistic research. And this is an area in which the endowment has great interest.

In addition to those activities mentioned, the Humanities Endowment will also be active in and lend assistance to such interests as the study of classical languages and cultures, the support and training of critics of the arts and humanities, the study of the educational uses of radio and television, the recording of literature, the support of American historical studies and the rediscovery and preservation of American literature.

I could go on to mention other plans of the Arts and Humanities Endowments which will lend support and encouragement to ventures ranging from performances of the classics to the creating of avant-garde films and electronic music, but I think you will see at this point that a new source of support for our cultural life has come into being, and it is one which will be taking encouraging and effective action. Of course, sufficient financing of these efforts is essential but has not yet been forthcoming. If Congress is as generous in providing funds for these endowments as it was wise in legislating them into existence, I believe we can look forward to seeing some interesting and important results from this new venture of the Federal Government into the neglected one of the two cultures.

Foremost among these results will be refocusing on those values which give our lives purpose and direction. As I indicated before, we have entered an era in which mankind—and particularly individual man—will have a growing need for an inner strength, for a feeling of worth and fulfillment, and for an appreciation of the things in life which, shared or experienced alone, make life worth living. The arts and the humanities offer many of these more evasive necessities of life, supplementing those others supplied more abundantly today by science and technology.

The new support of the arts and humanities by the Federal Government should help break down some of the artificial barriers we have created between the world of science and technology and that of the arts and humanities. I call them artificial because I think we have created them to some extent only by our words and deeds and can remove them by new outlooks and attitudes.

I believe these barriers are partly the result of our desire to conveniently categorize and catalog our ideas and activities. But though science may have a pervading and ascending influence in our lives today, there cannot be any clearcut division between science and nonscience in interdisciplinary civilization which a liveable future world will require. The growing overlapping of cultures becomes obvious to those who care to pause and look for it. Some people, apprehensive over the rate and degree of change brought about by our applications of science, talk of science as if it were a force apart from man. What they tend to overlook is the simple fact that science is after all a human endeavor and that it does not exist independent of man. We must not forget that in overall history science has, so far, done more to "humanize" than to "dehumanize" man.

In trying to separate science from other aspects of our lives many tend to overlook the large areas of direct interplay between science and technology and the humanities and arts. As most of you know, science has become a valuable tool of the humanities. In the fields of history and archeology it has provided remarkable means in helping us to discover and analyze many traces of our past. Such techniques as carbon-14 dating, the use of the proton magnetometer and neutron activation analysis are today helping to reveal much new knowledge about our ancestors and their various civilizations.

A unique new example of the symbiosis of science and the humanities may bring together, in a most unusual endeavor, the most unlikely partners, high energy physics and egyptology. This proposed project, in which high energy physics (a field not yet having many direct practical applications) may help archeologists, is one involving the search for a possible hidden burial chamber in Chephren's Pyramid, one of the great Egyptian pyramids built about 4,500 years ago.

In addition to bringing together widely divergent disciplines, the project would be one of international cooperation bringing together physicists and archeologists of the United States and the United Arab Republic. Those who would be involved are Dr. Luis Alvarez and his staff at the University of California Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley, Dr. F. El Bedewi, nuclear physicist of Ein Shams University in Cairo, and Dr. A. Fakry, archeologist and well-known authority on the pyramids from the United Arab Republic Department of Antiquities.

In this high energy physics approach to archeology, originally proposed by Dr. Alvarez, the plan is to use cosmic ray "muons," occurring naturally from space, and high energy particle detection equipment to literally X-ray the great pyramid. Through the use of a spark chamber, placed in a known subterranean burial chamber beneath the pyramid, it is possible to detect the muons penetrating the pyramid's walls. Any voids within the pyramid will be manifested by a greater number of muons being recorded by the spark chamber.

Through this method the scientists and archeologists hope to discover and map out in a nondestructive manner the location of the hidden chamber they believe exists somewhere in the huge structure. This suggested project, I think, is an outstanding example of science in the service of the humanities, helping man to solve some of his past and present mysteries.

Of course, the pyramid project is a specific, isolated example of the symbiosis I referred to earlier, but the integration of our two cultures is also underway in more general terms. One indication of this—oddly enough again involving high energy physics—relates to the search for a site for the AEC's proposed 200 Bev. accelerator.

As you well know, the possibility of having a scientific laboratory of such importance and economic impact in their area has created keen competition among many communities across the Nation. What is less well known—but has even greater significance—is the unexpected effect of this competition on the various communities.

The process of assembling information brought together in each community an unusually broad group of local leaders, State officials, university presidents, professional men from a number of fields, and industrialists. Immediately there resulted a cross-pollination of ideas, an exchange of views, a frank discussion of problems—in short, these communities engaged in an unprecedented self-appraisal. In many cases, I think the people were led to see some of the hitherto unrecognized assets and shortcomings of their area.

As local resources were being mustered, it suddenly dawned on community leaders that the overall attractiveness of an area must be measured by factors which transcend economic considerations. Critics of intellectual and cultural activities were transformed into champions when it became evident that a strong academic base and a broad cultural environment were more highly regarded than amusement parks or dog racing. University presidents suddenly found that their pleas for understanding of long-range goals—pleas that had long been ignored—were blossoming into legislative appropriations. In some cases for the first time in history, legislatures specifically earmarked appropriations for their university's research programs.

This local self-appraisal brought a greater interest in racial harmony. It brought renewed support for eduaction at every level. It brought a greater appreciation for the public library, the symphony, and even children's ballet classes.

The very process of assembling information opened important new channels of communications within the community. And if the people can maintain their momentum, not only will the community be a better place in which to live—it will be in a stronger position to compete for other scientific or technical installations.

Our site search has, I think, helped in another way which is important to me personally. It has helped change the public image of the scientist from a cold, detached individual to that of a very human person with a deep interest in his family and in his community.

All of this indicates, then, that the two cultures are, indeed, becoming integrated, and this will be mutually beneficial to each.

Finally, as part of the new blending of scientific, social and cultural interests which seems to be forthcoming today, and in turn influencing it, I think we may see in our country a new rise in the quality of leadership. This should come about as, in this process of better balancing human values with the growth of science and technology, we develop men and women who have both the broad social outlook and the knowledge to make the practical day-to-day decisions in keeping with that outlook.

Perhaps also in a society which fosters this combination of wisdom and knowledge, and which tries to keep its focus on individual human values within an evergrowing nation, we will be able to develop some immunity to the "Anti-Leadership Vaccine" which John W. Gardner has described so effectively as one of today's new problems in education.

To me, all these aspects of our new awareness, and the new actions we are taking as a result of it, are signs of an important new period of maturity for our country, and I believe they will not only reflect in our building of a Great Society here but will have a profound influence in our relations throughout the world.

In October of 1963, the late President Kennedy flew to Amherst College in Massachusetts to participate in a ceremony honoring the poet Robert Frost. I think that the talk he gave at that ceremony best reflects what most Americans feel should be the goals of this country and our role in the world. And since it bears so profoundly on what I have been trying to say tonight, I would like to conclude by quoting some of this most impressive statement.

"I look forward to a great future for America, a future in which our country will match its military strength with our moral restraint, its wealth with our wisdom, its power with our purpose.

"I look forward to an America which will not be afraid of grace and beauty, which will protect the beauty of our natural environment, which will preserve the great American houses and squares and parks of our national past, and which will build handsome and balanced cities for our future.

"I look forward to an America which will reward achievement in the arts as we reward achievement in business or statecraft.

"I look forward to an America which commands respect throughout the world not only for its strength, but for its civilization as well. And, I look forward to a world which will be safe not only for democracy and diversity, but, also, for personal distinction."

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, public debate over our course in Vietnam is increasing and intensifying.

In our democratic society we have always promoted lively discussion of national policy issues and differences of opinion are considered to be healthy in the United States.

It is, however, important, I believe, to put public debate and public differences of opinion in the proper perspective—particularly in Vietnam where the war between the two Vietnams challenges not only our military might but also our commitment to freedom.

Putting the Vietnam war in perspective is not an easy task but the national commander of the American Legion, the Honorable L. Eldon James, who has personally visited Vietnam, recently analyzed the discussion of opinion over Vietnam in an address before the Legion's Department of Pennsylvania annual banquet. His address comprises one of the finest statements on our Nation's commitments in Vietnam that I have ever seen and under unanimous consent I include Commander James' talk in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The address follows:

AN ADDRESS BY L. ELDEN JAMES, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, AT THE DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA ANNUAL BANQUET HONORING THE NATIONAL COMMANDER, PITTSBURGH, PA., APRIL 29, 1966

Tonight I want to talk about something that concerns every individual who respects the dignity of other individuals and who desires freedom for himself and for his fellow man.

It is Vietnam.

Since my visit to South Vietnam last October, in all of my talks—averaging three a day and sometimes numbering as high as seven—I have sought to put this matter in its proper perspective and to bolster public support for our Government's efforts. I will not take your time to stress the need for such support. I am sure that the members of this audience are well informed generally on the relationship of the Vietnam struggle to our own national security. I will not attempt here to detail the many other ways in which the American Legion is backing the administration's Vietnam policy. We are very proud of our continuing support programs, but in my remarks tonight I want to rifle in on one particular aspect of the Vietnam problem; specifically, the conflict that exists between the President's position on Vietnam and that of his chief senatorial critic, J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT.

It is not, in my judgment, the proper business of the American Legion to concern itself with personalities. I have no intention of doing so tonight. Senator FULBRIGHT, however, is chairman of the influential Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and he personally enjoys considerable prestige, here at home and abroad. Because of his position and his following, and because he takes sharp issue with the administration's policy on this vital matter, it is important that all concerned Americans inform themselves on the Senator's Vietnam position.

The American Legion's understanding of the nature of the Vietnamese conflict and of our country's involvement is in complete harmony with that of the administration. On the other hand, we find ourselves in complete disagreement with Mr. FULBRIGHT's present conception of the nature and significance of that conflict, and with his proposed solution.

We respect the man and his office. But because of his position in the Senate we are concerned about his views on this and other foreign policy issues.

Actually what is going on in Vietnam and why? How one answers these questions makes all the difference between what we believe and what the Senator from Arkansas chooses to believe.

On the surface, we know that—half a world away—a relatively small nation is engaged, within its borders, in a desperate struggle against the agents of the government of another small adjoining nation. The acts of those agents take the form of systematic political assassination, sabotage, terrorism, guerrilla raids, and even small-scale warfare. In spite of the high casualty rates on both sides, the basic character of the struggle is political, rather than military.

If one did not know more than this about the situation there, the war between the two Vietnams might be shrugged off or dismissed as just another sorry chapter in the long history of mankind's inhumanity to itself. In fact, some persons—including Mr. FULBRIGHT—insist that what is going on in South Vietnam is only a "civil war."

That the eyes of the rest of the world are affixed to the Vietnamese struggle is good evidence that it is not merely one more "dirty little war." It is that, true enough, but it is much more. The evidence for this is confirmed when we realize that some 35 free-world governments openly are providing, or have pledged, assistance—military, economic, or technical—to one of the combatants, South Vietnam; while its adversary, North Vietnam, is being aided and abetted by the two rivals for the leadership of the Communist world, Red China and the U.S.S.R.

Placed in its proper perspective, the fighting in Vietnam can only be identified as a major part of the total Communist conspiracy to control the world. Those who believe otherwise seemingly are unaware of the history of the Communist movement, including the pertinent pronouncements of its leaders. And, I'm not speaking here of just those leaders who are deceased—such as Lenin and Stalin; I include the announced intentions of those Communist leaders on the current scene, particularly in Peiping.

Those who seriously suggest that the United States and other free world governments have no business in Vietnam—that it is not our fight, and that we should get out—make the mistake (if we give them the benefit of all doubt) of viewing Vietnam as an isolated matter. It is not an isolated matter. It is a clear-cut case of Communist aggression—aggression which is directed from Hanoi, underwritten largely by Peiping, and openly encouraged by Moscow. At the recently concluded 23d Soviet Communist Party Congress in Moscow, the current Kremlin leaders boasted about the amount and kind of war materiel they are supplying North Vietnam, and complained that Russia would do more were it not for the roadblocks which Red China has put in the way of overland transhipments.

But even while Peiping and Moscow are hurling invective messages at one another, their rivalry over who is helping Hanoi the most adds up, in effect, to cooperation in the total Communist effort to take South Vietnam over by force. After all, Communists everywhere make no attempt to hide the fact that Vietnam is a classic example of what they call "wars of national liberation," the very type of war which Khrushchev blandly admitted Russia would continue to support, as part of its policy of peaceful coexistence with the West.

General Giap, North Vietnam's defense minister and one of communism's leading experts on guerrilla warfare, stated the issue bluntly when he said: "South Vietnam is the model of the national liberation movement of our time. * * * If the special warfare that the U.S. imperialists are testing in South Vietnam is overcome, then it can be defeated anywhere in the world." Does Mr. FULBRIGHT deny that this statement was made, or that it was made seriously? Or does he deny its relevance, or what?

It is also a verifiable fact that the so-called National Liberation Front for South Vietnam was created in Hanoi and still takes its directions from there. The Vietcong, now heavily reinforced by North Vietnamese regulars, is the fighting arm of the Front. As Secretary of Defense McNamara testified last week, before Mr. FULBRIGHT's committee, the Vietcong takes its orders from Hanoi on an hour-to-hour basis.

To call the Vietnamese struggle a civil war, as does Mr. FULBRIGHT, one would have to ignore the fact that the Geneva accord of 1954 created two separate Vietnams, one avowedly Communist, the other non-Communist. Recall this: Right after the agreement, over 1 million citizens of North Vietnam promptly "voted with their feet," and joined their free countrymen in South Vietnam; less than 100,000 moved from the south to the Communist-controlled portion in the north.

Incredible as it seems, Mr. FULBRIGHT not only ignores this history, he does not concede that there is aggression from the north. As late as last week, his questioning of Secretary McNamara suggests that the "civil war" he has in mind is confined to South Vietnam. He does admit, however, that the Vietcong do receive "moral support and external physical support—from the Chinese."

Nevertheless, the Senator does not see the Vietnam problem as a Communist-inspired conflict. He contends that the entire problem was basically a nationalistic movement, but that the United States—by its intervention—turned the matter into a conflict of ideologies involving communism. Furthermore, he stated in his March 1 speech on the floor of the Senate, that "our presence itself is the principal reason for much of the activity" on the part of the enemy. (I wonder if the proximity of the United States to Cuba was the principal reason why Khrushchev clandestinely introduced missiles there, capable of destroying our cities as far away from Cuba as Minneapolis and St. Paul—as well as all others in between—including Pittsburgh and the very room in which we are gathered tonight.)

At any rate, Mr. FULBRIGHT's view as to the cause of the enemy's activity in Vietnam would seem to gloss over the considerable record of Vietcong infiltration and atrocities prior to any significant U.S. presence. President Kennedy's 1961 agreement to provide military advisers for South Vietnam's armed forces was a result, not a cause, of such activity. As late as 12 months ago, our total military presence—still in an advisory role—was less than 30,000. Again, the change in that role, and the tremendous buildup in our combat forces beginning last May, was a result, not a cause, of increasing Communist aggression.

Mr. FULBRIGHT takes particular exception to the administration's use of the term "Communist aggression" to describe what is going on in South Vietnam. He says it "offends" him, according to an interview reported in last week's issue of Look magazine.

Simultaneously, Newsweek quoted Thich Tri Quang—leader of the militant Buddhists in South Vietnam—as saying if peace could be achieved in Vietnam, it should come as "the result of a victory over the Communists," rather than through negotiations with them.

Which view is the correct one? Without intending to endorse Tri Quang in every respect, we think he is well qualified to know the truth of the matter; he was once a part of the Viet Minh, forerunner to the Vietcong. He now refers to himself as his country's "spiritual leader." The same article quotes him as rejecting the notion that the National Liberation Front, after it discontinues armed activity, take part in a South Vietnamese Government. On this point, Tri Quang stated: "No Communist Party can be a real political party. No Communist Party can live in harmony with other political parties. Furthermore, the Nationalist Parties in Vietnam are still weak and could not cope with the Communist Party if it were allowed to join" a national assembly.

Again, it would appear that Tri Quang understands the Communists very well.

On the other hand, Senator FULBRIGHT's comprehension of the international Communist movement may be less than realistic. In his first Senate speech in 1945, he referred to the fear of communism as nothing more than a "powerful prejudice." He went on to add: "as I read history, the Russian experiment in socialism is scarcely more radical under modern conditions than the Declaration of Independence was in the days of George III."

As we read FULBRIGHT today, we cannot find that his understanding of communism has progressed in the least.

Just as we differ with the Senator's views regarding the nature of the war in Vietnam, we also disagree with his solution—or should I say solutions—for a settlement.

In his March 1 remarks to the Senate, Mr. FULBRIGHT proposed at least three different approaches on the part of the United States for achieving a settlement.

He appears to favor the complete withdrawal of our military, and states that this would be "of great value as an incentive to the Chinese and North Vietnamese in leading to a settlement." I'm sure this action on our part would be of great value to the Communists, and it definitely would lead to the kind of settlement they have in mind.

At another point in those remarks, the Senator makes clear his feeling that the United States should negotiate with the Vietcong.

Then again—looking to an arrangement with Red China for the future of all of southeast Asia—Mr. FULBRIGHT proposes that we "entrench ourselves in powerful bases on the coast of Vietnam or inland where appropriate." He believes that Red China would then agree to guarantee the neutrality of all the small states of the area, in return for our giving up these bases. He does not tell us what the Vietcong and North Vietnam regulars would be doing to the rest of South Vietnam while we are encircled in our fortified enclaves.

It is a curious thing that each of these three proposals completely ignores the rights, desires, and needs of the South Vietnamese. By what authority, for example, could we proceed to entrench our forces on South Vietnam's territory, while awaiting talks with Peiping over the destiny of the entire region, without regard to the feelings of the nations concerned?

Our forces are there, at the request of the Government of South Vietnam, to participate actively in the defense of that country. If we were to employ them in the manner and for the purpose suggested by Mr. FULBRIGHT, I feel sure that the South Vietnamese leaders would tell us to leave.

In the larger sense, it is true that we have objectives beyond keeping South Vietnam free. That is, we are engaged in a multilateral effort to convince North Vietnam that it cannot take its neighbor over by force, and to convince the Communist world generally that any additional "wars of national liberation," which it might sponsor, are also doomed to falure. But, in our pursuit of these larger objectives, we cannot ignore the wishes of the people and the government of the country to which we have given our solemn commitment.

Mr. FULBRIGHT's monumental indifference to the welfare and national aspirations of the free people of South Vietnam is best seen in his recent observation, quoted in Look, that if we had not "stuck our nose in this business, it would have long since been settled in accordance with whatever the major forces in Vietnam were." Agreed; but what a blood bath that would have produced. (It has been estimated that the North Vietnamese, if they ever take over in the south, will massacre as many as 4 million people, starting, of course, with all those who fled from communism's grip following the 1954 partitioning.)

Actually, Mr. FULBRIGHT goes further. He suggests that a Titoist form of communism for all of Vietnam—both North and South—might be more in our interest than for us to achieve our goal of a free South Vietnam with a democratic form of government. His reasoning here is that, a Vietnam on the Yugoslavian model would amount to a "buffer state" against China; whereas, because it would be relatively weak and defenseless, a free South Vietnam would remain a tempting target for Red China if, says the Senator, that country "does become really aggressive in the military sense."

This argument leaves us cold. He sees Communist China only as a potential threat to the free nations on its periphery. His refusal to concede that Peiping is today the real power behind the military aggression being carried on by Hanoi and the Vietcong, against free Vietnam, also seems inconsistent with his previously expressed views on Red China. In his "Bridges East and West" speech of December 8, 1964, the Senator rereferred to Peiping's expansionist ambitions and agreed with the U.S. policy of diplomatic, military, and economic containment of the Communist Chinese. He further stated that we should withhold proposals for accommodation until mainland China's leaders "abandon their policies of aggression and subversion."

It is regrettable, I believe, that Senator FULBRIGHT has not yet seen fit to visit South Vietnam and to become acquainted with the Vietnamese. I am sure he would find, as I did, that they are a proud, sensitive, friendly, intelligent, and deserving people. He would also find them fiercely determined to carry on their struggle to remain free. Barring a visit to Vietnam, I wish the Senator could read the letters we are receiving from GI's over there, or talk with those who have served with and among the Vietnamese.

Our men and women serving the cause of freedom in Vietnam know that the Vietnamese people are worthy of our efforts. They also know that they are fighting for something more than Vietnam alone. There is published in the current issue of the American Legion magazine, a letter from a sergeant now serving with the 1st Air Cavalry Division in Vietnam. This GI says, in part, "Everyone here realizes that we are fighting for the survival of freemen everywhere."

It is also regrettable that Mr. FULBRIGHT has undergone such a reversal of opinion on the U.S. commitment to Vietnam since he delivered his well-publicized "Old Myths and New Realities" speech of March 25, 1964. He then told the Senate:

"It seems clear that only two realistic options are open to us in Vietnam in the immediate future: the expansion of the conflict in one way or another, or a renewed effort to bolster the capacity of the South Vietnamese to prosecute the war successfully on its present scale. The matter calls for thorough examination by responsible officials in the executive branch; and until they have had an opportunity to evaluate the contingencies and feasibilities of the options open to us, it seems to me that we have no choice but to support the South Vietnamese Government and Army by the most effective means available. Whatever specific policy decisions are made, it should be clear to all concerned that the United States will continue to meet its obligations and fulfill its commitments with respect to Vietnam."

At that stage, we think the Senator was correct.

Later in 1964, Mr. FULBRIGHT supported the Tonkin Gulf resolution whereby the Congress approved and supported the President's determination "to take any and all necessary measures" to repel aggression. The Senator was, in fact, floor manager for the resolution, which was adopted with only two dissenting votes out of the entire Congress.

Now, however, Mr. FULBRIGHT feels we should follow a policy of "deescalation aimed at negotiation and an accommodation among the parties to the South Vietnamese civil war." The quote is from his remarks of March 1, 1966, on the floor of the Senate. By accommodation, it is clear from the remainder of his statement that he means what he said in his "Bridges East and West" speech of December 8, 1964; that is, "compromises that respect the vital interests of both sides." In this same connection, he admitted that this would require us to make concessions to the Communists, "however distasteful" these concessions might be to us.

Brushing aside the seeming contradiction in terms here (that is, between making distasteful concessions on the one hand, and upholding our vital interests on the other), we are not prepared to agree that the Communists have any vital interests in South Vietnam, certainly none which deserve to be respected.

The basic issue at stake is that of freedom versus slavery—and not just in South Vietnam alone. Should the Communist strategy of "wars of national liberation" be even moderately successful in South Vietnam, we will soon see a repeat performance, on a new and larger scale, in Thailand and elsewhere—this hemisphere included.

We vigorously reject Senator FULBRIGHT's Vietnam position. We strongly endorse President Johnson's viewpoint when he said—in his John Hopkins University speech last April—"Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to conflict. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied." And, as he has said repeatedly, "To stand firm is the only guarantee of a lasting peace."

The American Legion is convinced that we must stand firm in Vietnam, and must keep up and even increase the military pressure on the Communists, in order that our own vital interests will be preserved. We must never fear to escalate the cause of freedom.

Today the minority view seems to get the spotlight and all the headlines. Unless the vast majority of Americans who feel strongly on this matter stand up to be counted and speak up to be heard, the world may well believe that we are divided and that the dissenter's view is the prevailing one.

I know it is easy to let George do it but, in a matter of this importance, we cannot rely on chance; we must do the job ourselves. I believe it is important that each of you do all that you can to let the world know that the overwhelming majority of thinking Americans are determined in their resolve to support our Government's efforts to defend freedom and to stop the advance of communism. It is as simple as that. We must not confuse the details of how with the overriding importance of why—the objective being the preservation and the promotion of world peace.

It is up to you.

Poland: 1,000 Years of Christianity

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, 1966 marks the 1,000th anniversary of Poland's conversion to Christianity. The significance of this solemn event to the Polish people was demonstrated on April 16, when thousands of people flocked to hear Poland's great religious leader, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. They thus showed that the Communist government leaders, despite their opposition to Cardinal Wyszynski and the church, cannot erase the deeply religious sentiments of a great people.

Christianity was introduced into Poland in 966. In that year Poland's first historically known ruler, Mieszko I, married a Christian princess from Bohemia named Dobrava. Mieszko's conversion enabled him to place Poland under the protection of the Pope and thus to stem a threatened German invasion. Mieszko's son, Boleslaw the Mighty, established many Christian bishoprics and extended Polish dominion from the Oder and Neisse Rivers in the west to the Dnieper River in the east.

Poland's religious traditions have helped to link her to the West for countless generations. It is my strong belief that Poland's cultural and religious traditions and her love of liberty and national independence will someday triumph over the forces of oppression. Let us do all we can to hasten that day.

Sea-Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining a number of my colleagues in filing a bill to establish a national system of sea-grant colleges. Its purpose is to provide improved ways to make use of the ocean's vast, virtually untapped resources. The idea is analogous to the land-grant college concept and our belief is that such a program would create the same rapid growth in marine sciences that the land-grant college provided for agriculture.

The bill has five major provisions. The first would authorize funds to be made available to colleges and universities to expand practical education in the marine sciences. In a few instances new colleges might be formed, but ordinarily programs would be founded or expanded in existing institutions with an interest in the sea.

Funds would also be available to support a relatively neglected aspect of our marine science program—applied research. These funds would be used to bridge the gap between the basic research that is now being done and technologically useful developments. This part of the program would pay off quickly in economic terms for this country. Programs that could be supported would be, for example, shellfish research, research in fishing techniques, marine conservation, pollution control, fish farming, and desalination.

Another major program provided by the bill is a service similar to that of the Agricultural Extension Service. It would provide lectures and demonstrations at the local level to disseminate useful information to those working or interested in the marine sciences. The beneficiaries of this part of the program would be not only scientists, but also fishermen, who could learn about new fishing areas, gear, and techniques. Such a program would meet a long-felt need in this country. We have made many advances in the marine sciences but often have been unable to put them to immediate practical use because the ultimate users have not had access to the information.

Development of the Continental Shelf is vital to any national oceanographic program. This bill facilitates use and study of the Continental Shelf by setting aside certain appropriate areas of the submerged lands for the use of participants in the program.

This legislation is designed to encourage the creation and expansion of regional centers of excellence in marine science fields. Such centers would be of enormous economic value to the areas where they are located. The interplay of ideas and pool of technicians and scientists that would be drawn to such areas would foster cross-fertilization of ideas and rapid growth.

Funds for this program would come, not from taxes, but 10 percent of all royalties, rentals, and other sums that are paid to the Federal Government for the use of the Continental Shelf. It is estimated that the total of these royalties in 1966 will be $270 million. This seems to be an appropriate way of financing the sea grant system. Moreover, the funds will be likely to grow along with the program, since exploitation of the Continental Shelf is likely to increase in future years.

Grants could be given not only to educational institutions but also to any public or private agency, any foundation, laboratory, corporation, industry, or even group of individuals which plans to operate a program under the provisions of this bill. The broad range of beneficiaries is in my view one of the bill's strongest points. One of the weaknesses of oceanography in this country has been that it has been largely a government operation. However, this bill would bring in many diverse groups. Our national program will be strengthened by the participation of many segments of our society—each has something to contribute as well as to gain.

On a recent trip to Russia for the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, I was struck by Russian capability in applied oceanography. My impressions were confirmed by scientists in this country who say that although we still lead the Russians in basic oceanographic research, we are lagging in applied research. Moreover, the Russians appear to have two or three times as many people as we do in the ocean sciences. Each scientist in the Soviet Union has more technicians to back him up up than do our scientists. The bill I am filing today would meet three of the most pressing needs of our oceanographic program—particularly in the light of the Soviet challenge—applied research, dissemination of information to users, and provision of more personnel, especially ocean technicians.

To understand how the bill could work, let us take for example a center of excellence in oceanography such as exists today in southeastern Massachusetts, having Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution as its focal point. The fact that this institution is located in an area where the people have historically looked seaward means that interest in oceanography is high.

My office constantly receives requests from this area for information on careers in oceanography, and a number of educational institutions are presently sounding out plans for oceanography curricula. In fact at this very moment I have on my desk a plan proposed by a group of marine scientists and other responsible citizens for a vocational training school for ocean technicians in the Cape Cod area to meet the demands of Woods Hole for such technicians.

Southeastern Massachusetts Technical Institute is a school ideally situated for an oceanography curriculum on the outskirts of New Bedford. It is a young and rapidly growing institution which could provide an invaluable service to both community and country by teaching oceanography. Preliminary development plans for oceanography have just been approved by the trustees. The interest is there—with adequate funding, a great deal could be done.

Another place where oceanography could be developed is in the high schools. A rather unique pilot project has been approved for the town of Falmouth in my district, introducing oceanography into the high school curriculum.

Apart from these educational institutions with an interest in oceanography, there are independent laboratories and businesses with ocean science orientation in this area. The energy, motivation, and talent to build important and imaginative oceanographic programs already exists in southeastern Massachusetts as I am sure it does in other such centers across the country. With this solid foundation the sea grant college system could produce a rapid flowering of developments in the marine sciences.

Education is the key to the sea grant college bill. The education that we provide today will determine the state of our marine sciences tomorrow. On education rests the future of our national oceanographic program.

VISTA Volunteers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, last month the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Kentucky paid special tribute to the 119 VISTA volunteers who have dedicated themselves to serving the people of our hollows and mountain communities. Without a single dissenting vote, the entire house of representatives passed a special resolution commending these VISTA volunteers. Because House Resolution 83 expresses the sentiments of the people of Kentucky, I would like permission to insert it into the RECORD:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 83

Concurrent resolution commending VISTA volunteers

Whereas during the past year more than 100 Volunteers in Service to America, often called VISTA volunteers, have been invited to the State of Kentucky to serve in the front ranks of the war on poverty; and

Whereas they are living and working in some of the poorest counties in this State, and their number constitutes one of the largest VISTA contingents to be found in any State of this Nation; and

Whereas the VISTA volunteers have achieved victories in our war to eradicate poverty; and

Whereas for living allowance only but no salary, they are devoting 1 year of their lives to helping our fellow citizens through personal example, guidance and especially their deeds: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (the Senate concurring therein), That the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky hereby commends these VISTA volunteers for their dedicated service, and looks ahead to these volunteers who will follow in the future. They shall be remembered for their contributions to the people of Kentucky.

Fino Introduces Legislation To End Tax Break for Municipal Bond Abuses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today, in response to numerous statements of the AFL–CIO and the Investment Bankers Association, I am introducing legislation to terminate the tax-free interest status of certain abusive varieties of legislative bonds. The abuses my bill strikes at are industry-pirating municipal industrial development bonds, and bond issues of a type otherwise legitimate but which are floated in excess of municipal requirements in order to cheaply obtain surplus revenues which the community can invest at a high return.

In recent years, municipal bonds have more and more often verged on gimmickry. Now that the volume of municipal bonds is swelling because of the difficulty to borrow money at reasonable rates and the attractiveness of the municipals' tax-free interest, municipal bond abuses are getting out of hand.

The first type of thing I am out to cure is the use of municipal bonds to get cheap money to build industrial plants to attract "runaway" industry from *builtup, high-cost areas of the country.* Under my bill, bonds, the proceeds of which can, under the terms of their issuance, be used to build, furnish, or otherwise provide a structure for sale, lease, or disposition in whole or in part, to a business enterprise, are not given tax-free interest status. To get tax-free interest status, the bonds must provide that not more than 30 percent of the structure to be made available with the proceeds can be occupied by a business enterprise within 3 years. My bill would not affect bonds for structures like municipal wharves or airports.

I am completely opposed to the idea of a tax break for bonds used to build cheap, tailormade industrial plants the leasing of which at low rents is used to attract or "pirate" business from other parts of the country. Many of these bonds are indirectly "unionbusting" bonds by virtue of being floated as part of right-to-work State campaigns to attract industry from fair labor practice States, leaving workers and unionism behind.

The other bond gimmick I am out to block is overflotation of bond issues so that a community can pull in surplus funds for which 2½ or 3 percent is being paid, and then deposit those funds to earn 5 percent. All this does is cause the Federal Treasury to lose tax revenues which it must then make up from other sources. Bonds used in this way are being used as revenue devices, and it is not within the purpose of the Federal tax break to encourage use of municipal bonds as revenue-raising devices.

My bill would block this sort of thing by making the following condition a prerequisite of a bond issue's tax-free interest status: to carry tax-free interest a bond must specify, in its instruments of issuance, that the proceeds of the issue cannot be deposited or invested to earn interest for more than 1 year from the date of issuance. Local government has no right to get an overage from earning higher interest rates on deposits than are paid out in interest. Money that must be deposited for longer than 1 year can be put in escrow. I believe that my bill would take the wind out of use of tax-free bonds as municipal revenue-raising gimmicks.

If tax-free, interest-bearing bond abuses get out of hand, the whole idea of tax-free interest-bearing bonds is likely to be ended. This would have unfortunate consequences for federalism. I believe my bill is a sound double-barreled answer to a problem that has ramifications far beyond the taxation of interest per se.

To convey an idea of the extent of municipal industrial development bond financing, I am including a chart showing the 15 largest issues to date. It is of interest that they have been concentrated in the so-called right-to-work States:

FIFTEEN LARGEST MUNCIPAL INDUSTRIAL BOND ISSUES

March 1961: $25 million—Cherokee, Ala. (population 1,400), to build a chemical plant for Armour & Co.

December 20, 1962: $21 million—Opelika, Ala. (population 15,678), for U.S. Rubber.

October 7, 1963: $50 million—Lewisport, Ky. (population 750—employs 1,000), to build an aluminum plant for Harvey Aluminum Co.

June 1964: $33 million—Helena, Ark. (population 11,500), to build a fertilizer complex for Arkla Chemical Corp., a subsidiary of Arkansas-Louisana Gas Co.

September 28, 1964: $22,500,000—Maricopa County, Ariz. (population 663,510), for American Sugar Refining Co.

October 1964: $30 million—Blytheville, Ark. (population 20,797), to build an anhydrous ammonia plant for Continental Oil Co.

December 1964: $45 million—Prattville, Ala. (population 6,616), to build a plant for Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp.

March 1, 1965: $25,500,000—Selma, Ala. (population 28,385), for Hammermill Paper Corp.

March 21, 1965: $45 million—Phenix City, Ala. (population 27,630), for Mead Corp. and Inland Container Corp.

August 1965: $55 million—Scottsboro, Ala. (population 6,449), Revere Copper & Brass Co. plant.

February 1966: $60 million—Clinton, Iowa (population 33,589), for construction of a plastics and petrochemical plant for Chemplex Co., a venture sponsored jointly by Skelly Oil Co. and American Can Co.

February 1966: $30 million—Lorain, Ohio (population 68,932), Litton Industries of L.A., shipbuilding enterprises.

April 1966: $70 million—Camden, Ala., to finance construction of lumber, plywood and paperboard facilities for United Fruit Co., Boston, and MacMillan, Bloedel & Powell River, Ltd., Vancouver, Canada.

April 1966: $35 million—Issued by Northern Delaware Industrial Development Corp., an agency of the State of Delaware to finance acquisition and modernization of steel plant from the Phoenix Steel Corp., for that corporation.

April 1966: $34,400,000.—Ashland, Ky. (population 31,283), to build a steel plant for Armco Steel Corp.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 28, 1966]

UNPROFITABLE PROFITS

The economists and Federal legislators who have long been critical of tax-exempt securities issued by States and local governments may be getting fresh ammunition from some New York State communities.

As many an investor has happily discovered, when a State or a city sells bonds the buyers don't have to pay Federal income tax on the interest they receive. The exemption makes it possible for the governmental units to raise money at interest costs a good deal lower than they otherwise would have to pay.

This exercise in intergovernmental courtesy did not attract a great deal of criticism until certain States and cities began selling tax-exempt bonds to finance factories built to lure industry from other areas. Naturally enough, people in those other areas became more than a little disturbed since they were in a sense helping finance the pirating of their own industry.

Now for the New York State refinement: A number of towns and school districts have begun to sell tax-exempt obligations at least partly for the purpose of getting into the investment business. Here's the way State Controller Arthur Levitt outlines a more or less typical case:

A municipality or a school district borrows $15 million to finance a $10 million school, by selling notes to a bank at a 3-percent interest rate. The excess $5 million then is deposited in the bank to earn 5 percent interest. The borrowing government is pleased, because it makes a profit on the difference in the interest rates. The bank is happy, because the 3-percent return on the tax-exempt notes would be equal to 5.77 percent if the investment were taxable.

However, as Mr. Levitt says, "Such a practice is fiscally unsound, contrary to public policy and involves an abuse of the tax-exempt feature of municipal bonds." While there is of course nothing wrong with careful investment of municipal funds which are temporarily unneeded, borrowing to reinvest is something else again.

The local governments doubtless like their present profits, but if the practice puts new steam behind moves to end their tax exemption, they may have to conclude that the investments weren't so well advised after all.

The 2-Year Term Has Worked Well

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson has proposed a 4-year term for Members of the House of Representatives. My colleague, SIDNEY YATES, of Illinois, relates a story that the late Vice President Barkley told regarding a bachelor friend of his who nearly got married. "It happened only a few days ago," the friend said. "I was introduced to this very attractive girl. I took one look and fell in love with her." "Fine," said Vice President Barkley, "why didn't you marry her?" "Well," the bachelor replied, "I took a second look." Our present 2-year term is a success. The American people have someone to call upon whenever they have a grievance against their Government. They know their Representative generally and their Representative strives to know those he serves.

The real issue is whether the voting citizen should be deprived of expressing his will in choosing Members of the House every 2 years.

In 1938, 111 new faces were elected to the House in the off-election year of President Roosevelt's second term. The people of the First Congressional District of Arkansas did not send me here at that time because they did not like the way President Roosevelt was administering the affairs of the Government. Probably in some other districts that could have been the case. These newly elected Members were successful for various reasons. The 2-year term provides a full and complete look at the record made in Washington at the halfway mark of a presidential term. This is one of the checks and balances which make for good government.

In the President's view a 4-year term would be desirable as the sessions continue to get longer, new problems arise, and campaign costs are excessive. He further stated that such a term would attract the best men. I cannot agree that a longer term will attract better people to seek office. When the Constitution was being drafted, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, favored a 1-year term for Members of the House. James Madison of Virginia sought 3-year terms, while John Rutledge of South Carolina fought for 2-year terms. None of them asked for a 4-year term.

It was the Founding Fathers' contention that a Representative should be close to the people, and that he should speak the will of the people he serves. He meets that criterion fully under the present system.

A 4-year term of office for a House Member could cause him to become lax and inattentive to his duties. He may lose touch with his district. He also may be difficult for some of his constituents to locate when needed, should he be entrenched for a period of 4 years, as he could get Potomac fever.

A Representative is a public servant and whoever enters upon such a position should bear in mind that the people who employ him should have ready access to him at all times. He should be available to his people when called upon in all matters coming under the purview and prerogatives of his office. Quite a lot of opinions will be expressed on this issue before a final determination will be made. The 2-year term has worked well. It is responsive to the will of the people and gives the people better government.

The Brinkley, Ark., Citizen of April 14, carried a most thought provoking editorial, "The 4-Year Term," the full text of which is as follows:

THE 4-YEAR TERM

President Johnson has asked Congress to approve a constitutional amendment that would extend the terms of Congressmen from the present 2 years to 4. As one could have expected, this has aroused a great deal of comment, both pro and con, and much more is expected in future days.

The proposal creates issues that go to the very heart of our governmental system and on which a wide variety of views exist.

President Johnson says, in effect, that the change is justified because of the increasing complexity and volume of legislation, the improvement in communication, and the high cost of campaigning. And the administration position further, is that the election of all the Congressmen should take place in the presidential election years. This proposal, by itself, has resulted in a great deal of controversy.

To quote the President: "The competitive pressures imposed by the 2-year term, when the incumbent must remain in Washington into the fall to attend to public business. reduce his capacity to do either task—campaigning or legislating—with the complete attention his conscience and the public interest demand." The longer term, he said, would lead more of the best men in both private and public life into campaigning for the office. And needless to say, the longer term is mighty attractive to a great many Congressmen. The frequency of campaigning under the present 2-year term, along with the accelerating costs is, they believe, a needless and destructive burden on their energies, abilities, and resources.

This view, however, is far from universal. Take Representative CELLER, of New York, who opposes the extension.

In his words: "It is being said that the issues are so complex that it takes at least 4 years for a member to become schooled in the intricacies of House rules and thus become an effective legislator. This is nonsense. To follow this argument to its logical conclusion, we would not permit a Member to vote before he has been in the House for 4 years * * * it is also argued that the workload of a Member has increased a thousandfold since the founding of this Nation. This is true—but so have the aids available to Congressmen."

Opposition to the proposal that the House should be totally elected in presidential election years is based on the belief that the successful candidates would run clinging to the presidential coattails and, once in, would be a rubberstamp for the Executive. This objection has been very widely echoed both in and out of Congress.

More fundamental is the argument that the extended terms could seriously weaken the whole constitutional system. Speaking of this, the Saturday Review said editorially: "Those wise souls who produced the incredible document sought checks and balances wherever they could find them so that no one man or branch of Government could force a foolishness permanently on the people * * *. Not the least of the reasons behind their logic in a 2-year House term based on population and a 6-year Senate term giving equality to every State was this very check-and-balance philosophy for which no better substitute has ever been devised.

There are powerful forces on both sides, and both can present a case deserving of sober public consideration. A legislative structure, old as the Nation, is at issue.

Proposal Hailed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. GRIDER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. GRIDER. Mr. Speaker, the country can be proud of the tremendous reception which President Johnson received on his trip to Mexico. One newspaper—typical of so many—which hailed the importance of the visit is the Nashville Tennessean.

This newspaper editorially praises the idea of a summit meeting to examine common problems and to give the Alliance for Progress increased momentum.

As the paper points out:

> A reexamination of common problems can be timely and capable of working needed transformation.

Since this comment indicates ways in which we can work together with our southern neighbors for the common good of all, I make it a part of the RECORD where others may see it:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Apr. 18, 1966]

A WORTHWHILE PROPOSAL

President Johnson's visit to Mexico brought a tremendous reception to the visitors, and it gave the Chief Executive a chance to plug the Alliance for Progress and greater efforts to "breathe new energy into Latin America."

Speaking at the unveiling of a statue of Abraham Lincoln, President Johnson said that in the months to come he would "join with Latin American leaders in exploring the proposal for a new meeting at the highest level to examine our common problems and to give the Alliance for Progress increased momentum."

There can be little doubt but that such a summit would be helpful. The Alliance for Progress has done a great deal of good in Latin America. In many countries its accomplishments are visible, but it is just as clear that problems tend to grow faster than solutions can be effected.

There is a decided trend toward greater stability and faster economic growth in some of the Latin American nations. But, there are problems of progress in land reform and tax reform; in employment, food production, housing, and other areas.

It can do no harm for the leaders of the United States and Latin America to get together to review some of the problems and talk about ways in which each can help itself and help others.

President Johnson was correct when he said that Latin American economic integration is vital to development of the hemisphere. But here, too, progress has been slow, especially in the projected Common Market for Latin America.

There are difficulties in trying to develop such an economic community. There are differences in size and in economic development and in inflationary pressures. Some of the countries are industrial powers and others are not, and the prospect that the advanced countries would benefit at the expense of the less advanced has been an obstacle.

But these are not insurmountable, and President Johnson has left that strong implication. His proposal in Mexico should be accepted quickly by Latin American leaders. A reexamination of common problems can be timely and capable of working needed transformation.

Congressman Horton Pays Tribute to 175th Anniversary of Poland's Constitution

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK HORTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, May 3 marks the 175th anniversary of an event in the political history of the world which is well worth recalling. It is the anniversary of the day in 1791 when the Polish nation was given a new and great Constitution. This event was a momentous one in Poland's tragic history. It was also, both in the manner in which it was formed and in its provisions, a lesson to all of us who have faith in the reasonableness of human beings and in their ability to govern themselves well.

The Constitution was created by a group of patriots, led by King Stanislas Augustus, in order to give Poland a more modern and effective government. This was especially needed as there was a growing threat from the Imperial Russia of Catherine the Great. Poland needed some regime which could enable it to stand up to the weaknesses within and the dangers without.

The new Constitution was quite progressive in some areas and conservative in others, but the purpose of the whole was to promote the national welfare. The peasants were given the protection of the law for the first time. The townspeople were restored many of their ancient political rights. The old principle of total unanimity for passage of legislation was abolished. In its place the executive was made implicitly responsible to the legislature. The legislature itself was in a form familiar to ourselves. It was bicameral, with however, the provision that the upper house was appointive and advisory. The ministers of the executive were liable to dismissal by two-third of the lower house.

The executive was not in the mold of the newest type of that era—a president of a republic—but nor was it a return to the traditional despotic ruler by divine right. The Constitution stated that the people were the basis of sovereignty. The king held his throne for life and his heirs could inherit the throne. He was not, however, an absolute monarch.

This radical departure from the past, this admirable submersion of personal prejudices and preferences in governmental forms, this rising to the national need at the moment of peril was an act which we should recall. It showed the truth of the belief that men will put the common good above individual gain. It showed that changes can be made peacefully in governments, even if of a revolutionary degree, when done by reasonable men. The adoption of the Polish Constitution in 1791 was truly an inspiring example of our faith in man's political future.

The end of the story is not pleasant. That there are people in the world who do not desire progress and freedom was brutally shown by the invasion and conquest of the revitalized Polish nation by Imperial Russia. This despicable act was taken in order to destroy the new liberal order on Russia's border.

Mr. Speaker, the nature and history of the Polish Constitution of 1791 should show us that man can raise himself and thereby give us renewed hope that tyranny everywhere will someday be defeated. Let me join millions of others in affirming my hope that the commemoration of this great day in Poland's history will help to keep the light of liberty strong in the hearts of the oppressed Polish people and that we may soon see a new free Poland, with the tradition of the Constitution of 1791.

Israel: The 18th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues a very impressive speech delivered by our able friend, Congressman JAMES HOWARD, of New Jersey's Third Congressional District. Congressman HOWARD's speech was made at the program of Jewish community organizations in Lakewood, N.J., on the occasion of the celebration of Israel's 18th birthday.

The speech, which indicates a deep understanding of Jewish history, follows:

> I feel highly honored and privileged to speak before such a distinguished group and participate in this, the celebration of Israel's 18th Independence anniversary. Most of us, I am sure, at one time or another prior to 1948, had often wondered just how long it would be before an independent and sovereign state of Israel would be reborn. Well, on May 14, 1948 that apprehension and wondering was ended when independent Israel was proclaimed. Out of the desert has been created a new and modern state with a tremendous record of achievement over the last 18 years and with a most fruitful future.
>
> I wonder how many of you assembled here have reflected on the character of Judaism which has enabled the Jew to endure for more than 5,000 years and yet triumph in the face of tragedy, pain, torture, expulsion, exploitation, and other degrading acts which man can perpetrate against his fellow man. I have often reflected on that topic, and in addition I like to reflect on the inner strength of Judaism which has enabled the Jews to endure where so many other famous civilizations have faded into history. Max I. Dimont, the noted scholar and lecturer, has estimated that there are perhaps 3 billion people on earth, of whom upwards of 12 million are classified as Jews.
>
> Numerically speaking therefore, they represent less than one-half of 1 percent. Such a small percentage might easily lead one to the conclusion that their overall impact on the world's history would be relatively small or short lived. But obviously that has not been the case. At least 12 percent of all the Nobel prizes awarded in the fields of physics, chemistry, and medicine have been awarded to Jews. Jewish contributions to the world's store of culture and knowledge in music, religion, science, politics, and philosophy among other fields staggers the imagination. Although leaving many great and lasting contributions, some former great civilizations have declined throughout history, never reclaiming the past power and glory that their ancestors once attained. On the other hand, the 5,000-year history of the Jews has continued unabated, though at times they have been in severe danger of outright extinction.
>
> Many other famous and powerful nations and kingdoms have made their appearance on the world's stage just at the time the Jews appeared. Each of us has read of the Babylonians, the Hittites, the Persians, the Philistines—all played their part and then disappeared or declined. Yet today the Jewish nation still lives, a thriving center of democratic and economic accomplishments, stronger and more promising than ever.
>
> Today there are only three groups living that are as old or older than the Jews; the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the civilizations of India. But by comparison their experiences covered only one primary cultural period and their impact on later civilizations has not been as far reaching as that of the Jews. In addition, they were spared the hardship of dispersal and the struggle for survival in foreign lands under sometimes hostile and violent conditions.
>
> We can pinpoint at least three facets in Jewish survival which distinguished the history of the Jews from that of other peoples. First, they have had a continuous living history for more than 5,000 years and have been a strong intellectual and spiritual force for about 4,000 years; second, they were able to survive during this long history for the most part without a country of their own, still managing to preserve their ethnic identity among foreign cultures; and third, their ideas have been expressed in all the major languages of the world. These were but three of the factors that were vital in the survival of the Jews during the Diaspora. But I think there is another factor which we should consider which not only influenced Jewish life, but has had a lasting impact on the world at large. I refer to the role of the Jewish yeshivas or academies of learning.
>
> The story of the founding of these scholarly institutions is a most fascinating and interesting one, and I would like to recount some facets of it now, perhaps in a somewhat condensed manner. For decades the Jewish people had endured atrocities and oppression at the hands of imperial Rome. The Zealots, a political party which demanded a stronger stand against Rome, finally got their wish in the year A.D. 66. This resulted from Roman desecration of the sacred vestments of the high priest and Roman threats of blackmail. The result was the famous Jewish war against Rome. Our concern with the war centers on the period 2 years later when Roman legions had Jerusalem under siege.
>
> One of those behind the walls of Jerusalem was a Jewish leader by the name of Jochanan ben Zakkai, a rabbi-philosopher.

He was convinced that if the leaders did not lay foundations for preservation of Jewish learning, Judaism would suffer certain extinction. He envisioned the need for an academy or yeshiva which would carry the torch of Jewish learning. Consequently, he devised a plan in which he was smuggled outside the walls of Jerusalem for a conference with the Roman general Vespasian. Ben Zakkai was given an audience with Vespasian during which he predicted the general would soon be named emperor of Rome. In return for this prophecy, ben Zakkai requested that if it came true, Vespasian would permit the establishment of a yeshiva to teach religious principles.

The prophecy was really a calculated guess, but it came true, and Vespasian allowed the construction of the first yeshiva, which took place in Jabneh, north of Jerusalem.

I have referred to the origin of the yeshiva in an attempt to show two things, an example of Jewish ingenuity and ability to surmount incalculable odds under extreme pressure; and the length of their history, suggesting the staying power of the yeshivas over the years down to this very day. I might also mention their integrating role. It is commonly believed that there were three tools which played a leading role in sustaining Jewish thought and culture during the thousands of years of dispersal; religion, language, and law. The yeshiva's role in the use of those tools can hardly be overestimated. The teachings of the Talmud must also be remembered when we take into account the various factors upon which the Jew could rely during his thousands of years of trial and quest for his own country.

No commendation of Israel's achievements would be complete without recognition of some of the men who were so instrumental in laying the foundation for Zionist movement and the eventual creation of Israel. Zionism itself meant basically a return to Jerusalem, and the concept of such a return had been embedded in Jewish thought since the early years of the Diaspora. The progression from the idea of Zionism to the reality of Israel began about 1860, at which time the messianic concept of a "return to Zion" began to change to the political concept of a "return to Palestine."

I feel certain that you are familiar with such names as Moses Hess, Peretz Smolenskin, and Judah Pinsker, but the founder of the Zionist movement as we know it was Theodor Herzl. He labored vigorously in pursuit of a Jewish state and organized the First Zionist Congress, which was held in 1897 at Basel, Switzerland. That conference was the forerunner of many other conferences, meetings, debates and declarations. But its end result was the May 14 declaration which established an independent and sovereign Israel. We are all aware of the many tragedies and ordeals experienced by the Jews between the 1897 congress and the events of 1948, but the hopes and dreams built up over that half a century were finally realized with the creation of a genuine home for the children of Israel.

Now how do things stand today as we join the people of Israel in observing their 18th anniversary? In the years since independence the achievements by Israel both foreign and domestic have been outstanding. When Israel was first created it had roughly 800,000 inhabitants, of whom 655,000 were Jews. Today she has more than 2.5 million persons, of whom more than 2 million are Jews. Not only have the doors of welcome been thrown open to persons from Europe and the Americas, but immigrants from Asia and Africa have found a warm welcome and a real home in Israel.

One of the most substantial bases upon which independent Israel's nationhood has been built is that of education. Public schools are free and scholarships are available for students otherwise unable to finance their higher education. The schools have also been a leading institution in overcoming past cultural barriers which immigrants had brought from their diverse cultures. Now they are taught to regard themselves as citizens of Israel—one nation; one people.

The country's economic position has vastly improved since independence. The Nation has overcome most of the problems of material shortages and inflation and has taken major steps to integrate all the segments of her population. During the same period Israel has substantially increased its per capita gross national product and its gold and foreign exchange reserves. While the economy is still largely agricultural, the industrial sector has grown rapidly and generous tax benefits and guarantees of convertibility have been extended to attract foreign investments. Israel has not lost sight of the fact that the decline of colonial empires has brought about a vast expansion of newly independent states. Thus, she has undertaken a program of economic and technical assistance which has been highly successful because recipient states realize that Israel has no territorial designs or strings on her foreign aid.

But despite the numerous accomplishments of the Israel nation, she is still treated as an outsider or intruder by her neighbors. This has caused the government to expend vast sums for defense equipment such as planes, radar, and so on. Such large expenditures obviously detract from other sectors of the budget such as education and health, but she has no choice. Currently there are scant indications that her neighbors are willing to accept Israel as a reality, but it is also a certainty that Israel is here to stay. After thousands of years without a home of their own, the people of Israel should not be expected to yield to intimidation or threats from jealous neighbors.

I have not tried to give you a lesson in Jewish history, even though I find the subject very interesting and fascinating. But rather, I have attempted to present a brief sketch which might serve to indicate some of the factors that have been so instrumental in preserving Jewish institutions and identity.

I could hardly find suitable words to describe the social and political and economic accomplishments which have taken place in Israel other than to say to those of you here tonight who have not visited Israel to go there and take a look yourselves. I think it will amaze you. As we express our congratulations and best wishes to the people of Israel, let us not just marvel at their achievements but let us join in supporting their attempts to make Israel the great and glorious country it has been and is once again becoming. By so doing, we shall be helping to strengthen Israel's contributions to the world peace and progress in which all of us have a vital interest.

Polish Constitution Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today, I want to pay tribute to my colleagues, the Members of Congress of Polish descent, to the millions of Americans with Polish blood in their veins, and to loyal Poles everywhere.

Two celebrations honoring Poland are being observed today. One: May 3 Constitution Day in memory of the day in 1791 when the people of Poland adopted the first democratic Constitution to be recognized by a European nation. Their Constitution was modeled after the American document so that the philosophies of government of the American and the free Polish people are strongly linked.

George Washington, the first President of the newly formed Republic of the United States said the Constitution was one of the greatest achievements in Polish history as it made "large strides toward liberty."

It was on May 3, 1791, that the Polish Diet adopted a Constitution which proclaimed to the world that all power in civil society is derived from the people, thus striking a blow for freedom not only in their own land but in other countries in Europe—then, as now, under the heel of tyrants. Unfortunately, Poland is and was surrounded by powerful, acquisitive neighbors, and down through the years her periods of freedom were short. But successive generations of Poles, at home and abroad, have continued to dream and to struggle for liberty. All of us remember, some of us personally, the heroic story of the fight for freedom waged by the Poles in exile in World War II. In that war the skill, daring, and bravery of the Polish forces filled the free world with wonderment.

Of their heroic struggle against Nazi-Communist tyranny Franklin D. Roosevelt said they were "an inspiration to mankind," and an epitaph in a Polish cemetery in Itally graphically describes these brave men. It says:

> These Polish soldiers, for your freedom and theirs, have given their bodies to the soil of Italy; their hearts to Poland; their souls to God.

These men must not be forgotten. But it is only through action, not words, on behalf of the Poles in bondage today is it possible for us to repay the debt we owe to the Poles who fought for freedom at home and abroad—including in our own War of Independence—down through the centuries.

Commenting on the Polish Constitution, a French writer of the time said:

> In France, to gain liberty, they began with anarchy. In Poland, the nation was given liberty and independence; the respect for the law, for person, and for property was assured, and all this without violence, without murder, solely through the virtue of the nation.

The other event in Polish history to be celebrated today is the millennium of Poland's Christianity and the beginning of Poland as a nation. The year was 966, when Poland, by accepting Christianity, forever linked her destiny with that of the West and became a creative force in Western culture. Her literature, sculpture, painting, architecture, and learning contributed a series of masterpieces to the common European heritage from that day onwards. Looking back to the thousand-year existence of Poland as a Western Christian country, Poles all over the world can view with pride Poland's role in the history of mankind and her part in the world's achievements. Polish history has been a tragic story of foreign occupation with brief periods of freedom.

But the unconquerable spirit of the Polish people is a guarantee that Poland, at present halted in its progress through the Communist regime imposed by force, will in time throw off its manacles and will regain its freedom and independence. Today the Poles may have a satellite government but Poles will never be a satellite people.

Viet Blood Drive Set for New Paltz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the New Paltz News of April 28, 1966:

VIET BLOOD DRIVE FOR NEW PALTZ

Students at State University College, New Paltz, with the support of the student government association and other student organizations, have set up a blood donation drive for Allied wounded in Vietnam.

The blood donor program at the college will be held on May 16, and will accept donations from the public as well as the students, faculty, and staff.

The student committee said that the blood program has nothing to do with the "politics" of the Vietnam war.

A committee announcement said, "A blood donation is not a 'vote' in support of Johnson, Rusk, KENNEDY, FULBRIGHT, McNamara, MORSE, escalation, deescalation, negotiation, withdrawal, total victory, nuclear warfare, labels, personalities, propaganda, or policies.

It is simply a recognition of the fact that—like it or not—the United States has committed at this time over 225,000 American troops to this southeast Asia area. A blood donation is a physical statement that says to them, and to the allied military forces, "Everything else set aside, I want you to live." The committee does not mean to imply—and no one should infer—that those who choose not to give blood are somehow less American than the donors. The program is strictly voluntary, and was formed to provide a sane response to the need for blood created by the war," the committee statement said.

Heading the drive are two married undergraduate students, Gaile Schram, Milton, the mother of three children, and Roy Allen, Kingston.

The student committee said it recognized that Vietcong and the North Vietnamese troops were also being wounded in South Vietnam and were probably in need of blood. They said, however, that the committee also had to assume that blood programs were being conducted in North Vietnam, Red China, and possibly other countries to help save the lives of the wounded.

"If they should need blood, this committee would support our Government in any action it decided to take in this area," the committee said. "However, no Washington-Hanoi machinery for such a program now exists. This drive on campus does exist, here and now, as a sane program of assistance which every person can support rationally and fully," the committee stated.

The students called the request for blood a "reasonable, human move" and said it is a "life-preserving gesture."

In the first 3 days of a pledge campaign this week, over 500 of the 3,200 students had pledged to donate. The college health office will continue to accept the names of students until May 13. The committee said it was not necessary to pledge to donate before giving.

The Ulster County Chapter of the American Red Cross, will administer the program for the Defense Department with the help of volunteers from the college and the community. The main lounge of the college union building will be used for the collection. Hours are 12 noon to 5:30 p.m.

Illinois Journeymen Barbers' & Beauticians' Association Passes Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, George A. Pavese, president of the Illinois Journeymen Barbers' & Beauticians' Association, whose offices are located in my own Seventh Congressional District in Illinois, has just made available to me a resolution adopted by his organization on May 1, 1966.

The resolution expresses the appreciation of the Illinois Journeymen Barbers' & Beauticians' Association to the U.S. Department of Labor, to the Members of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, and to President Lyndon B. Johnson, for their efforts which brought about the establishment of an on-the-job training program in the men's barbering and hairstyling fields in Illinois.

This program has not only encouraged young people to continue their training, rather than dropping out of the barbering industry, but has prepared many others, by giving them advanced training and experience, to take advantage of job opportunities now opening up in the related men's hairstyling field.

Mr. Pavese, the able and farsighted president of this association, has pledged himself and the members of his fine association, to supporting the continuation of the Department of Labor's on-the-job training programs and urges the Congress to do likewise.

In order to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the resolution passed by the Illinois Journeymen Barbers' & Beauticians' Association, I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

A RESOLUTION BY THE ILLINOIS JOURNEYMEN BARBERS' & BEAUTICIANS' ASSOCIATION

Whereas the Illinois Journeymen Barbers' & Beauticians' Association meeting in regular session on Sunday, May 1, 1966, at 320 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Whereas the delegates and members of this State that they represent have realized the need for upgrading training in order to take advantage of the job opportunities of today in the men's hairstyling field. Through the on-the-job training program the rate of dropouts from the barbering industry has been discouraged, while at the same time has created many related job opportunities in the barber—men's hairstylist field.

Whereas the Government of the United States of America has made this training possible: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Illinois Journeymen Barbers' & Beauticians' Association wish to thank the Barbers International Union, the U.S. Department of Labor, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and the President of the United States for this training program that was so badly needed. We wish to see it extended for many are yet to receive the training. We pledge ourselves to its support and to utilize every job opportunity related to it as we know it has great future potentials.

GEORGE A. PAVESE,
President.
JAMES A. RICE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. Santa Claus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARBER B. CONABLE, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, a gentleman who won a national reputation for his role as Santa Claus and who was founder of the Santa Claus School of Albion, N.Y., passed away in western New York this past week. He was Charles W. Howard whose dedication to keeping bright the image of Santa Claus made him friends all across this country and overseas. All who knew this wonderful gentleman will be sadden by his death.

Mr. Howard, himself, portrayed Santa Claus in such widely separated places as Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York City and the Nieman-Marcus Department Store in Dallas. In addition he trained hundreds of other persons to portray Santa Claus in a manner that was a credit to the spirit of Saint Nick.

The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle reported Mr. Howard's passing this week and I am including excerpts of this report from the additions of May 2:

CHARLES HOWARD DIES AT 69; FOUNDED SANTA CLAUS SCHOOL

ALBION.—Charles W. (Charlie) Howard, 69, founder of the nationally known Charles W. Howard Santa Claus School, died yesterday (May 1, 1966) at Newfane Inter-Community Memorial Hospital, Newfane, following a heart attack.

He had been a patient at the hospital for several weeks earlier this year, after returning from his annual Santa Claus job at Nieman-Marcus Department Store in Dallas. About a week ago he returned to the hospital suffering pneumonia.

Founded in 1937, the Santa Claus School trained hundreds of Santas for leading stores, clubs, theaters, and institutions in all parts of the Nation. Many of them came back year after year for refresher courses.

He claimed it to be the only school of its kind in the world, "dedicated to the training and equipping of men and women to play the role of Santa and Mrs. Claus."

A natural impressario, Mr. Howard made a life study of the history of Santa Claus and his classes delved into the evolution of the patron saint, the art of makeup, showmanship, salesmanship and the science of Santa Claus mechanics.

He appeared annually in Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York City, and has been the host to hundreds of toy sales conventions from New York to Los Angeles.

The owner of the Myers Stores chain took Mr. Howard and his wife Ruth, to Australia a few years ago to conduct a school there. The Howards were planning a return trip next Christmas.

The magic of the Santa role had up until now, kept him going, and he bounded back despite many adversities over the years. He had been hospitalized about 15 times, sustaining two fractured legs, a fractured collarbone, a heart attack, chronic cracked lips, and two nervous breakdowns.

Mr. Howard designed Christmas Park a few years ago, complete with reindeer and other amusements including a miniature railroad.

Mr. Howard was secretary of the Orleans County Fair for several years and sponsored a pageant entitled "The History of Orleans County." During his term as secretary, he had the largest apple pie baked in the Nation, which was the subject of a "Believe-It-or-Not" cartoon by Robert Ripley.

Mr. Howard directed plays in Western New York before he founded the Santa Claus School. In demand as a public speaker, he was given a standing ovation for his stirring message at the Kansas City Rotary Club, the first such honor given a speaker there.

Active in the Albion First Methodist Church in the past, he was a Sunday School teacher, the organizing Sunday School teacher of the "Hustler Class," a soloist in the choir, a trustee and a lay speaker.

Mr. Howard was born at the family home on Route 31, Albion, June 15, 1896. He was a 1916 graduate of the Albion Central School. He owned and operated the Howard farm and was a member of the Medina Toy Factory until its closing.

He retired from farming in 1948 and spent full time developing Christmas Park until 1964 when he retired. He continued as dean of the Charles W. Howard Santa Claus School until his death.

Congressman Duncan Summarizes Legislative Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to call attention to the interest the people of the Second District of Tennessee have expressed in national and international affairs. Some 12,000 families and individuals responded to my second annual legislative questionnaire.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to find out what views my constituents have on some major issues facing the Congress.

The answers reveal that the majority of Second District citizens think alike. In the most decisive response over 82 percent said we should reduce our foreign aid spending.

Nearly 3 out of 4 are for cutting back on new domestic programs to help finance our efforts in Vietnam and for escalating the war in Vietnam to include bombing major sites in North Vietnam.

The complete returns to my questionnaire are as follows:

DO YOU FAVOR—

1. Restoring the excise taxes on telephone service and automobiles that were repealed last year?

	Percent
Yes	24.0
No	72.0
No opinion	4.0

2. Increasing the term of a Congressman from 2 to 4 years?

	Percent
Yes	53.2
No	44.1
No opinion	2.7

3. Expanding U.S. trade with Russia and Communist countries of Eastern Europe?

	Percent
Yes	22.8
No	71.9
No opinion	5.3

4. Escalating the war in Vietnam to include bombing major sites in North Vietnam?

	Percent
Yes	69.9
No	20.6
No opinion	9.5

5. Cutting back some of the new domestic programs to finance our efforts in Vietnam?

	Percent
Yes	71.6
No	24.2
No opinion	4.2

6. Further legislation to give the Federal Government more power to enforce civil rights laws?

	Percent
Yes	16.2
No	81.1
No opinion	2.7

7. A new department of transportation for the President's Cabinet?

	Percent
Yes	24.0
No	67.8
No opinion	8.2

8. Enacting laws of international scope as proposed by President Johnson—International Health Act and International Education Act?

	Percent
Yes	22.4
No	66.1
No opinion	11.5

9. Federalizing unemployment compensation which is now completely under the control of the States?

	Percent
Yes	20.5
No	74.9
No opinion	4.6

10. Legislation to outlaw strikes that affect the public interest?

	Percent
Yes	67.7
No	27.9
No opinion	4.4

11. Revision of our tax laws to give States a fixed percentage of the personal income taxes collected by the Federal Government?

	Percent
Yes	64.3
No	26.9
No opinion	8.8

12. Reduction in our foreign aid spending?

	Percent
Yes	82.5
No	13.4
No opinion	4.1

13. Giving States the right to apportion one house of their legislatures on factors other than population?

	Percent
Yes	54.5
No	33.8
No opinion	11.7

NOTE.—Tabulations were made by private auditing firm—not under my supervision or control.

H.R. 14841

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES M. HANLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I introduced H.R. 14841, a bill to clarify the status of National Guard civilian technicians by declaring that they are employees of the United States, and as such, are eligible for all the rights and benefits of employees of the United States.

My bill is identical to the draft version submitted by the Department of Defense and introduced by Congressman HÉBERT. I add my wholehearted support to this legislation because I am vividly aware of the grave problems which exist because these civilian technicians, in effect, have no identifiable, and, therefore, responsible employer.

There are some 38,000 technicians working for the Army and Air National Guard in the several States and Puerto Rico. Their job is to care for the material, equipment, and armament of the National Guard. A condition of their employment is that they must be members of the National Guard as well as its employees, and so loss of membership with the Guard results in loss of employment. The major purpose in making it clear that the technicians are Federal employees arises from the fact that at the present neither the Federal Government nor the States acknowledge them as employees.

The technicians are hired and fired by the State Adjutants General, but their numbers and compensation are fixed by Federal authorities, they care for Federal property, they are paid directly by Federal finance officers from Federal appropriated funds, and they are governed in the main by Federal regulations. However, the Comptroller General of the United States has consistently held that National Guard technicians are not Federal employees. Yet the Department of Labor considers them covered by the Federal Employees Compensation Act. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that the technicians are not Federal employees within the meaning of the Federal Tort Claims Act. In my own State of New York, the courts there have held that the technicians are not State employees for the purposes of the State's civil service laws. The point of H.R. 14841 is to make it clear that the technicians are in law as well as fact Federal employees.

To my way of thinking, the failure in the past to clearly define the status of the civilian technicians makes its greatest impact on the normal fringe benefits that all of us have come to consider part and parcel of employment. It should be easy to see that no defined employer is going to cause trouble in this area.

New York's National Guard technicians are presently neither employees of the State nor employees of the Federal Government. Consequently they can look forward to neither Federal civil service retirement nor State retirement. Fortunately, the Federal Government does pick up the tab for the employer's share of the social security tax. So the technicians do have social security protection. In addition to this, they do accrue retirement credits as a result of their military service. For the technicians, these benefits are payable at age 60 on the basis of 20 or more years of military service. For example, a sergeant major, E–9 rating, will receive $1,600 per year with 2 years of active duty and 18 years of nonregular creditable service. An E–7 rating, the old master sergeant, with 2 years of active duty and 18 years National Guard duty, will get $60 per month. With 28 years of National Guard duty his retirement check would be $102 per month. This is all very good, but in a State like New York, where the technicians do not participate in the State retirement system, the technician at age 60 has only his military retirement to live on until he becomes eligible for his social security. To my way of thinking, this sort of treatment is intolerable and it should be corrected.

The Cabinet Committee on Federal Staff Retirement Systems, in its report to the President this year, made this recommendation:

> Since National Guard technicians perform essentially Federal functions, necessary procedural changes should be effected by statute to provide formally for their Federal appointment and supervision. Their resulting formal designation by statute as Federal employees would entitle them to Civil Service Retirement Act credit for all past National Guard technician service.

In discussing the recommendation, the Cabinet Committee pointed out that the technicians constitute the full-time nucleus of key personnel assigned to the Guard. The Committee pointed to the fact that the technicians perform essentially Federal functions, but they are denied the benefits of Federal employees and that in the majority of States they are also denied the benefits of State employees. Then the Cabinet Committee stated:

> National Guard technicians should not thus be left in a legal no-man's land bereft in many cases of retirement coverage. The basic national security mission they are employed to perform clearly warrants enactment of legislation formally designating them as Federal employees for all purposes.

Mr. Speaker, it is my fervent hope that the Armed Services Committee will find time in its very heavy schedule to give this legislation early consideration.

Joplin, Mo., Firm Sets Public Service Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, a Joplin business firm is currently sponsoring a public service TV program involving interviews with Members of the U.S. House and Senate from the Joplin, Mo., viewing area. I believe this sponsorship by Tamko Asphalt Products, Inc., of Joplin, might well be emulated by other business concerns in our free enterprise system. I believe the sponsor's messages used on these programs are deserving of public recognition, and I insert them at this point in the RECORD.

A PUBLIC SERVICE MESSAGE

(NOTE.—This statement was used as the sponsor's message on a public service television program by Tamko Asphalt Products, Inc., Joplin, Mo.)

The eagle is a symbol of freedom—the kind of freedom that gives meaning and purpose to human life. Most of us take our freedom for granted with little or no concern about losing it. But there is concern. Tamko Roofing Co. of Joplin has this to say on the subject:

"We are deeply concerned over the individual freedoms that have already been lost and the freedoms that are slipping through our fingers in America today. The Founding Fathers of this country gave us the most unique theory and mechanism for self-government that the world has ever seen. Yet, we believe that this birthright is slowly being sold today for a mess of pottage. Some of the birthrights enumerated by the Founding Fathers were: Freedom of speech, freedom of exchange, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion. Actually, our Founding Fathers didn't give these freedoms to us at all, they simply recognized and stated these truths to be self-evident: that man is endowed by his Creator with life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"The purpose of our original Constitution was to protect each person from the tyranny of government. Our Founding Fathers knew that the least government was the best government.

"Today, most wage earners never even get to see or touch their property when it is withheld from their paychecks for Federal income tax, social security tax, State income tax, or perhaps in the near future, even a city income tax. Today, we have the most efficient and destructive taxing mechanism ever devised by man. It used to be well known that the power to tax is the power to destroy.

"A socialistic society has been called the one-profit system—which means something for nothing. For every person who profits in a socialistic society, there is another person or persons who must suffer a corresponding loss. In a socialistic society, you become either a thief or a victim of thievery.

"A free society is called the two-profit system—something for something—a fair trade or exchange between equals. At Tamko Roofing, we believe earnestly in the two-profit system. We know that to prosper we must serve our customer. We know that to profit more, we must serve more and better. This is the two-profit system where property rights, which are an extension of human rights, are sacred."

A PUBLIC SERVICE MESSAGE

(NOTE.—This statement was used as the sponsor's message on a public service television program by Tamko Asphalt Products, Inc., Joplin, Mo.)

The thing of greatest value to man is his freedom. Tamko Roofing Co. is concerned about the American citizen's freedom in today's society and would like to think with you for a moment about the attacks being made on our freedoms.

One of the greatest dangers is that our individual freedoms have been slipping away from us without our even knowing it. It is most disturbing that the attack is sometimes being led by persons in all walks of life who profess to be, and, indeed, think they are—good Americans.

We have been led to believe that government is the source of all good things and that government should do more than fill its rightful role. Government has come to be looked upon as an instrument for social and economic planning. We have become victimized by the belief that men are no longer able to take care of themselves and have established, or let be established, an enormous system of bureaucracy to take care of them. We have government participation, and control, in many areas of our lives—and outright government ownership of hundreds of enterprises. We have government interference in practically every area of economic activity today. This interference is so great that in many cases our individual freedom of choice is gone. We have allowed ourselves to think that there is such a thing as "Federal money," "Government aid" and "public funds." Government is not a source of goods—money or otherwise. Government produces nothing. Government has nothing that it first does not take from the people. And it always gives back less than it takes. The idea that it doesn't cost us anything because the Government is paying for it is nonsense. Not only are we paying, but we are paying a far greater price than if we did it ourselves. Everything that government gives to the people, it first must take from the people.

At Tamko, we believe in human freedom and the dignity of the individual. We can have neither as long as we let Government take from us, reduce that which is taken by a fantastically expensive bureaucracy, then give us back less than was taken—and tell us how we can use it.

The first step toward saving our free enterprise system is the recognition that Government money is a fallacy.

A Letter From Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, apparently a recent speech of mine made here on the floor of the House was read in a broadcast heard in Rhodesia. As a result of that broadcast, I have received a letter from a Mrs. Carolyn Nelson of the city of Concession, Rhodesia, corroborating my statements in defense of that beseiged nation.

Her letter contains a number of statements one does not find in the press these days in their biased accounts of life in Rhodesia. Since it comes from someone who lives in Rhodesia and not from some ivory-tower resident here in the United States, I commend it to the attention of every Member seeking the true picture of conditions in that country.

This is Mrs. Nelson's letter:

P.B. 51K, CONCESSION, RHODESIA,
April 20, 1966.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have just heard a repeat broadcast of your speech on Rhodesia to the House of Representatives, and I am writing to tell you how encouraging it is to know that we have a champion in your country. At the moment the spirit of this country is wonderful, but I do confess that at times I wonder what the final outcome will be, perhaps war, heaven forbid. We are such a peaceful country and always have been, all we want is to be left alone to work out our own future which I believe is a great one.

If you have never visited this glorious country, please try and do so. My husband and I would be delighted to have you stay with us. We own a tobacco farm 110 miles north of Salisbury. My husband was born in Rhodesia, as was his father, and his grandfather came to this country before our pioneers. So we can hardly be described as "white settlers," a term very popular with the British press. My husband started this farm 9 years ago out of virgin bush and we now have a very successful business, employing 150 Africans whom we pay an average of £5 per month, feed (rations are graded according to size of the employee's family), give free medical attention from a fully equipped clinic with a white nursing sister in charge, and they also have a social club with beer over weekends, and a small store stocking groceries and a few other essentials. I should be very pleased to supply you with any other information of this sort if it is of any use to you.

One of the accusations you have no doubt heard about Rhodesia is that it is a police state. I hope that you take this with a pinch of salt. Please remember that it is an accusation which, because it is based on impressions rather than a set of rules, is easy to make against almost any country. People can interpret it in many different ways and often do, depending on the country involved.

It is a phrase which slurs by implication rather than labels by definition, and to answer it, therefore, one must first decide just what the average man does mean by a police state. Generally, I suppose, it would be one in which the police control every activity and crush all opposition to the government. But do you really believe that this is true of Rhodesia?

Take a look at our parliamentary system, for example, and you will see that it is blatantly untrue. For our government is sometimes accused of being intolerant of African opposition and surely, therefore, if this was a police state, such opposition would be prevented? But it is not. Our parliament already seats 13 African M.P.'s, and will undoubtedly hold more in the course of time. As a parliamentary opposition, these M.P.'s frequently oppose the government both inside and outside the house and they remain free to do so.

Of course, our critics always point to the restriction of the so-called African nationalists. But they are not restricted because they oppose the government. After all, they were invited to work the 1961 constitution and, at first, agreed to do so. They are restricted simply because of the criminal methods they use—methods which would not be tolerated in any country. Yet, they cannot be brought before the courts because witnesses are terrorized into silence.

However, every day we do get broadcasts from Zambia which prove our point. For they are made by the nationalist colleagues of our restrictees and they preach incitement to crop destruction and the hamstringing of cattle, arson, and murder. The fact that our African population continues to be peaceful only goes to show how false is the nationalist claim to wide African support.

For the fact is that few of our Africans are nationalists; the majority are not. If they were, intimidation would be unnecessary. Nor would 14,000 Africans have voluntarily joined the police reserve to protect their homes and families.

When you hear Rhodesia described as a police state, you should remember that two-thirds of Rhodesia's police are Africans. You should remember, too, that the majority of our European police are British, some with police service in Britain. There it was said of them: "Aren't our policemen wonderful?" But the same men in Rhodesia apparently become fascist tyrants.

Of course, they are nothing of the sort. The few people here who oppose the Government have complete freedom to criticize and often do so, whether it be from the pulpit, in public conversation or through the press.

It is true that we have press censorship. But so did Britain during the war, even as, indirectly, she exercises censorship today. And like Britain then, we are at war now. We are involved in a fight for our survival.

Our daily press is in the hands of a monopoly controlled from abroad and hostile to the Rhodesian Government. It automatically takes our critics' point of view. It seeks to pour out a stream of pessimism by slanted reporting. It attempts to publish our economic secrets. It practices, not press freedom, but license. In times of crisis such as this, we have to balance the picture, and we have done so by what must surely be one of the most benevolent of censorships.

No—this country is not a police state. In fact there are less police in proportion to population than there are in Britain. It guards its security, as does any other country, but police activity is as normal as anywhere else. In fact, whilst the rest of Africa has witnessed the bloodshed of a series of coups, Rhodesia's total death roll through police action since independence is one—a stone-throwing thug. Our policemen continue to go unarmed on normal duties; the army has not been used to support the police; nor have police or army reservists been called out.

Not long after independence, the editor of Nigeria's Lagos Daily Times visited this country. On his return, he wrote in his paper that the world picture of Rhodesia as a grim, tense police state was a "massive fraud." More recently, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd stated, after his visit, that he had found no evidence of such a state. And many other prominent visitors have expressed similar opinions.

It is strange that so many people in Britain today, who have never been to Africa, lay down the law to us on Rhodesia. But we are as British as they are. We have the same background, traditions and way of thought. The only difference is that our critics do not have to face the consequences of their decisions. It is a strange basis on which to give superiority to their opinions.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. Carolyn Nelson.

Statement of Pure Milk Products Cooperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this morning's newspapers carried the prominently displayed story of the expressed renewed concern of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler, with the balance of payments problem. Secretary Fowler especially pinpointed the acceleration of our imports in relation to our exports.

I wonder if Secretary Fowler is aware that his Cabinet colleague, the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, is currently asking for authority to more than double the importation of Cheddar cheese in the next 15 months?

Perhaps one of the many special assistants at the White House ought to attempt to get these two Cabinet officers to check signals. If the Secretary of Agriculture could be prevailed upon to commiserate with the Secretary of the Treasury, both the balance of payments and the persistent dairy problem could be materially assisted by calling off the Cheddar cheese import proposals.

In connection with the proposals to increase the Cheddar cheese import quotas, I submit herewith a statement submitted to the Tariff Commission by Wisconsin Pure Milk Products Cooperative.

STATEMENT OF PURE MILK PRODUCTS COOPERATIVE, TO THE U.S. TARIFF COMMISSION, RELATIVE TO INCREASE OF CHEDDAR CHEESE IMPORT QUOTAS, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 28, 1966

Pure Milk Products Cooperative is a dairy farmer bargaining and service organization that services some 125,000 dairy farmer members located throughout Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and the Michigan Upper Peninsula. These farmers are dependent upon the sale of milk for their livelihood. The milk which these members produce is marketed through more than 200 milk plants where it is processed into many different dairy products. A large portion is ultimately utilized in Cheddar cheese production.

We are strongly opposed to any increase in import quotas for Cheddar cheese. We, in fact, have been vitally concerned with the excessive imports of low-quality dairy products which are presently permitted to enter this country.

For years, this Nation's dairy farmers have suffered financial hardships, while the urban sectors of our economy enjoyed greater prosperity and favorable income levels. They also have had the benefits of cheap food subsidized by the absurdly low-farm prices and income returns to the Nation's farmers.

For many years, dairy farmers have sought better income returns. Increased dairy farm returns have been an avowed objective promised by the past five Presidents of the United States. The farmers have sought to bring their production and the demand for their products more nearly into balance, so that they might get prices to provide a decent living standard. Dairy farmers have spent large sums of money to build better markets for their products as they financed industry advertising, education, and promotion programs. Although they could ill afford the costs of such expenditures, they were willing to make the investments in the hope of better returns in the future.

The most recent issue of USDA information bulletin No. 230, "Farm Costs and Returns," shows that dairy farmers in Wisconsin had farm investments ranging from $38,000 to $72,000 per farm. Producers of manufactured milk realized only 17 to 18 cents per hour for the dairy farm operator and family labor in 1964. This has improved slightly, but is still far below, or about one-twentieth of average hourly labor returns for industrial workers who have no investment in their jobs.

The numerous programs enacted by Congress over the past several years to increase dairy farm income, have cost large sums of money.

Increasing cheese imports to reduce dairy farm prices and income, is being dishonest with dairy farmers and this country's important dairy industry. To give to foreign countries a larger part of our domestic cheese markets, is economically unsound and an obvious ignoring of the intents of Congress. It is a betrayal of the confidence of farmers by those administering programs that were meant to benefit farmers.

Recently, dairy farmers had seen a much-needed improvement in the relationship between milk production and the demand for dairy products. The need for the Government to purchase dairy products to maintain a reasonable return to dairy farmers was almost eliminated. Modest price increases brought the national average for manufactured milk in March 1966 to $3.73 per hundredweight, or up to 83 percent of parity.

Dairy farmers were glad to see occurring in markets the long-awaited price improvement so badly needed to meet higher costs of farm production items, increasing property taxes, social security and interest rates. A much-needed realinement was taking place in the relationship between prices of cheese, milk and that used in other dairy products. This converted manufacturing milk from use in butter and powder to the manufacture of cheese for which there has been a sound and growing domestic market.

Our members are shocked and embittered that their National Government, which has so long professed an objective of increased farm income, should decide that $3.50 a hundredweight was a reasonable milk price-support level. This amounts to only 78 percent of parity equivalent for manufactured milk. Even more shocking was the use of increased cheddar cheese import quotas for the last 90 days of this year by 926,700 pounds to force the market-price level down to that disastrously low price-support level.

If dairy farmers had any optimistic hopes of better prices, they were quickly removed as cheese prices dropped 3 cents per pound immediately following the announcement of quota increases and this hearing to consider tripling next year's quotas (9,565,300 from 2,780,100 pounds). The immediate drop in cheese prices as a result of these actions was equivalent to about 30 cents per hundredweight for farm milk used in cheese. It amounts to a reduction in price to farmers of more than 6 percent of parity.

Dairy farmers simply cannot afford such sharp administratively manipulated reductions in income. The ever-increasing costs of milk production coupled with deliberate efforts to reduce prices at the expense of already poverty-stricken dairy farmers, can only mean a step-up in dairy-farm sellouts and chaos in the dairy business.

We urgently request that no increases in cheddar-cheese imports be authorized. We believe the 2,780,100 pounds quota used in recent years is generous. The need for improved dairy-farm income is urgent. Consumers have incomes to buy our reasonably priced, carefully inspected, domestic cheddar cheese and dairy foods.

It is absurd to use cheddar cheese import quota increases to depress prices that are the lowest in history in terms of consumer purchasing power.

We urge the Tariff Commission to recommend no increases in Cheddar cheese and other dairy products quotas. Graded, carefully inspected, quality controlled domestic Cheddar cheese and all dairy products are available to the U.S. consumers at reasonable prices.

Quota increases should not be used or increases threatened to nullify reasonable farm prices as intended by Congress in the many programs for farm milk price improvement.

Construction Creates Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the following article is one more piece of evidence supporting the case of the housing construction industry. While the article specifically refers to my own home county in California, this same employment situation is applicable to many other sections of the Nation.

We cannot continue to turn our heads from the mounting problems faced by this vital element of our economy. If we expect to insure the hopeful prediction of the Stanford Research Institute we must provide the housing industry with the economic climate necessary to produce growth.

CONSTRUCTION CREATES JOBS

Stanford Research Institute has predicted a total civilian employment growth of 74 percent in Orange County between 1960 and 1970.

The Stanford Research Institute report forecasts that in that some 10-year period growth in the construction field will be by about 7,600 jobs out of a total employment increase of 188,000 jobs.

Orange County, Stanford Research Institute says, will account for more than one out of every five new construction jobs in the State in the 1960–70 period.

Overall in that 10 years, Orange County employment will increase at a rate 3.5 times as fast as for the State as a whole. Wholesale and retail trades will be the prime source for new jobs—55,000 of them—and manufacturing and services will each add between 52,000 and 53,000 new jobs.

Senator Pat McNamara

SPEECH
OF

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Senator PAT McNAMARA was a great and good man in the ultimate meaning of those words and in the ultimate of American idealism. He was a man of integrity—complete, undivided—a man of courage who found his purpose and sufficient reward in improving the lot of his fellow man in whatever circumstances they might be disadvantaged. He put no stock in adulation from high councils nor in the charming blarney of Irish tongue. His objective was clear—to provide remedies and answers to human need and problems. His approach was direct. He was unsparing of himself in work. He fought fearlessly and the record establishes he magnificently accomplished the manifold tasks he set for himself. He served the people so exceedingly well, he was titled "The People's Champion," "The People's Senator."

What was the essence of Senator PAT McNAMARA is perhaps best captured in a description by the eminent clergyman, Dr. Howard Thurman, of a man who has found the meaning of personal freedom:

> One, at center, disciplined in mind and emotions. The mind centered upon a goal, a purpose, a plan. Of all possible goals, purposes, plans, a single one lifted above the others and held as one's chosen direction. A principle of orderedness guides behavior and action. Emergy is not dissipated but is used to supply dynamic for the pursuit of the goal. One does not have to depend upon the favorable circumstance, the fortuitous "break," the applause, approval, and felicitation of friends, important as these are. The secret is the quiet inner purpose and the release of vitality with which it inspires the act. Achieving the goal is not measured by some external standard, but in terms of loyalty to the purpose and the freedom which it inspires.

Mr. Speaker, Senator PAT McNAMARA was loyal to his purpose. His death is mourned by all who were privileged to know him personally and by the millions of Americans whose lives he made better by his devotion and work. On behalf of the people of the 13th Congressional District of Michigan, I express our profound gratitude for the life and service of Senator PAT McNAMARA and our deepest sympathy to his family in this bereavement.

Culver Praises Clinton Engines Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, one of the least understood aspects of our efforts to assist the developing nations of the world to help themselves is the important role played by U.S. manufacturers. During 1965, for example, American business and industry supplied 92 percent of the commodities financed under the foreign aid program. We are, in fact, through the commercial import program of the agency for international development exporting goods and services, rather than dollars.

Last year, when aid procurement contracts with industries in the State of Iowa exceeded $2,200,000, one of the most important contributors was the Clinton Engines Corp. located in Maquoketa, Iowa. As the leading American exporter of gasoline engines of less than 10 horsepower, the Clinton Engines Corp. is in a strong position to importantly assist in development abroad. My most recent visit to the Maquoketa plant during the Easter recess of Congress offered further impressive evidence of the dedicated efforts of officials and employees which have brought the company to this position of leadership.

A chief benefactor of the productive ability and growing export sales operations of the Maquoketa firm is South Vietnam. Approximately $2 million worth of Clinton engines ranging in size from 2.7- to 6-horsepower have been shipped to South Vietnam and are being used effectively to help farmers in the Mekong River Delta solve the area's basic problem of how to pump water short distances from canals to productive fields.

As a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I had the opportunity to visit South Vietnam and travel extensively across southeast Asia last fall. Perhaps the most vivid recollection from the trip was the firsthand inspection of famine conditions in India and throughout the area where the rate of agricultural development has failed to keep pace with population growth and the rising demand for more and better food.

It is painfully clear that progress and freedom in this troubled sector of the world are inextricably linked to the ability of the governments to provide a better way of life for their people by effectively dealing with the prevalent problems of hunger, disease and ignorance. To assist in meeting these critical problems our aid efforts are being more heavily concentrated in the basic areas of agriculture, health, and education. In the specific field of food production, we are attempting to develop the agricultural potential of these countries by furnishing fertilizer, machinery and technical knowledge, and by conditioning our assistance on the adoption of national policies which encourage agricultural growth.

The equipment manfactured by the Clinton Engines Corp. is importantly furthering the objectives of our foreign policy by reducing the cost of food production and increasing the ability of the South Vietnamese to meet their own needs at this difficult time. I am, therefore, extremely proud to bring these accomplishments to the attention of my colleagues, and commend the company for its outstanding contribution to the cause of stability and peace throughout the world.

A Tribute to the People of Poland

SPEECH

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct privilege and pleasure for me to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to a people who for a 1,000 years have followed the path of peace and freedom, the people of Poland. This solemn commemoration of Poland's May 3 Constitution of 1791 has become a cherished tradition since the outbreak of World War II—a tradition which sustains the people of Poland in their devotion to democratic ideals, in spite of the heavy yoke of Communist rule, and assures them that we share their vision of returning to their rightful place as a free nation in a free world.

This year's celebration of one of the most progressive constitutions ever adopted by any nation takes on a special significance because this year, 1966, also marks the 1,000th anniversary of the birth of the Polish nation.

The history of Poland is the history of a heroic people, a people who peacefully welded together into a nation singularly united in language and customs, an area stretching from the Baltic Sea in the north, across the verdant plains, to the Black Sea in the south.

Though the winters of tyranny at the hands of conquering neighbors have settled upon this land of our forefathers for long periods over the centuries, the Polish people have never lost their spirit of independence. Thus, time after time, Poland has thrown off the yoke of oppression and, like the life cycle of nature itself, risen again.

Fettered or free, Poland has continued to contribute to the cultural, scientific, and intellectual progress of all mankind. The roster is long and brilliant, including such names as Chopin, Curie, Conrad, Kosciuszko, Pulaski, Paderewski, and Reymont, to list but a few.

The first Poles arrived in America at Jamestown in 1608. Polish generals were heroes of our own Revolution. Almost 900,000 Polish-Americans served in our Armed Forces in World War II.

And so it has gone, down through the centuries—in Poland or in the new homelands to which they went seeking refuge and freedom, the Polish people have never lost that indomitable spirit that has enabled them to give so much to human achievement.

The Communists who control Poland today would not risk recognition of the devotion of the Polish people to their May 3 Constitution. The Communist concept of government has nothing in common with the ideals it expressed: First, local administrative and judicial autonomy; second, free access to possession of land and to public office; third, absolute religious tolerance; and, fourth, parliamentary responsibility.

But these are the ideals, the very foundations, of day-to-day liberty, and with them ever in mind and heart, the Polish people, in spite of despair or defeat, ceaselessly search for a better life and the brotherhood of all men.

Across the majesty of a full thousand years, the flame of faith has never died. It lights and warms the heart of Poland today with all the depth and dedication that marked its kindling a millennium ago.

The Communists may suppress freedom of expression, but they will never extinguish it, not in Poland. They may fear and attempt to proscribe the power of the church, but they will never diminish the Polish faith and prayer. They may limit the numbers of us who may visit the land of our fathers, but they will never reduce—no, not even by one—the messages of hope and encouragement that go forth from our hearts to our Polish brothers.

The Polish Constitution of May 3, 175 years old yesterday, is not merely a document in history's archives. It is a vital symbol of assurance that one day Poland will again stand in full freedom and independence. Here in these halls, where we so fully reap the blessings of freedom, we must ever be prepared to support freedom.

Mr. Speaker, it is in fitting discharge of that sacred responsibility that we dedicate this celebration of Polish Constitution Day to the abiding faith of the Polish people in the ultimate freedom of man.

Equal Opportunity Practices

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 10065) to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and for other purposes.

Mr. WHITE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, the House will probably approve H.R. 10065, a bill altering existing law on equal opportunity employment practices. I oppose passage of this bill at this time for the following reasons.

I would like to state for the record that I deplore discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and I favor proper measures conducive to working out fair employment practices in industry and business in my district and throughout the United States. I particularly favor cooperative, voluntary arrangements.

This particular legislation, however, is submitted prematurely. The subcommittee completed hearings on H.R. 10065 only 2½ weeks after the effective date of title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. H.R. 10065 repeals that title. Very brief hearings were held by the subcommittee, and during those hearings both Clarence Mitchell, of the NAACP, and Andrew Biemiller, of the AFL–CIO, stated their belief that it was then too early to make corrections in the law, and that they would favor hearings in depth and an overall review of the legislation once actual data was available. The subcommittee decided to report this bill immediately, however, and the full committee reported it out with only the briefest consideration. Thus there was no time for proper experience with the newly enacted bill, or for an opportunity to analyze the workings of that bill.

The 1965 act provided for coverage for firms with 100 or more employees on the date of enactment, with 75 or more employees on July 2, 1966, with 50 or more employees on June 2, 1967, and with 25 or more employees on June 2, 1968. The Congress, in approving this legislation, felt that implementing the provisions in these increments would best alllow for realistic working out of problems, provide employers with adequate advance notice, and allow for administrative and technical problems to be resolved as the coverage was extended. I believe in giving legislation the chance to work before immediately amending it and altering the intent of the Congress.

I know from direct experience that implementation of the current law has not been easy, and that there are many questions to be resolved in the Southwest section of our country. This new legislation would compound the problems of a new agency which is still resolving many difficulties, including those of proper representation of minorities on the Commission itself.

The new bill changes the law so that any employer in interstate commerce with 50 or more employees on June 2, 1966, will be covered, and on June 2, 1967, any firm with 8 or more employees. Labor unions would be covered on the date of enactment. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will receive power to issue antidiscrimination orders, a power now held by the courts, where it more properly should be.

In my district I have encouraged employers to exert every effort toward fair employment regardless of the number of employees and whether or not the firm is engaged in interstate commerce. Very fine progress has been made, and we are well on the road to working out this difficult problem.

If the Congress finds, after due consideration and evaluation, that a piece of legislation is inadequate or faulty, then I believe that the Congress should correct such defects to the satisfaction of the people. It may be that major revision of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 will prove necessary to effectively implement the goals which that legislation represents. Hasty action on one section of the law, however, without regard for working data and experience, does not make for wise lawmaking or thoughtful attention to these important questions.

Food Store Prices Reflect Federal Excesses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, last month I received a letter from a constituent who explained that it was becoming impossible to sustain his little family on the pension for which he worked so many years. He asserted that since last July roast beef had risen in price from 52 to 75 cents, 5 pounds of sugar from 52 to 75 cents, oleomargarine from 39 to 49 cents, a peck of potatoes from 57 cents $1.05; and a cleaning powder from 49 to 53 cents.

In addition, he said that the shoes he wears went up from $7.95 to $12, a coat from $3.95 to $5.95, and boots from $5.95 to $7.95. While I cannot vouch for the authenticity of these figures, I would not hestitate to defend the writer's sincerity; yet for the purposes of the record I have undertaken just a sample item-by-item survey of grocery store prices as advertised during the third week of April 1965 as compared with those for the same period of this year—same store, same brand names. Here briefly are some results of my study:

	1965	1966
Ground beef	2 pounds, 75 cents	3 pounds, $1.49.
Sliced bacon	55 cents per pound	75 cents per pound.
Boneless beef roast	59 cents per pound	89 cents per pound.
Bananas	10 cents per pound	2 pounds, 29 cents.
Evaporated milk	6 cans, 75 cents	6 cans, 85 cents.
Shampoo	51 cents	69 cents.
Carrots	2 packages, 19 cents	2 packages, 39 cents.
Canned corn	2 cans, 33 cents	2 cans, 45 cents.
Cooking oil	41 cents per bottle	49 cents per bottle.
Toothpaste	57 cents per tube	63 cents per tube.

Those are typical prices, Mr. Speaker, and I have omitted some items simply because the disparity between last year and today is so great that I must check them more closely before convincing myself that the quality of the products are not in some way involved. I quickly point out also that some products have held steady and others have even dipped slightly in price, yet the fact is that most food costs have inclined so sharply that families on fixed incomes are forced to come home with shopping bags that get lighter by the month.

Here, then, is the most convincing argument against wanton government spending that is stoking inflation. Nonessential Federal spending financed by a money supply that has been growing at an annual rate of 6 percent in recent months is the reason why family subsistence is becoming more and more expensive. Under a prudent monetary policy, it would be possible to finance the conflict in Vietnam without driving prices upward; but if we must continue to support bureaucratic orgies without regard to budgetary considerations, then there is no answer but high prices and/or higher taxes.

Polish Millennium

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a thousand years ago Poland and her king accepted Christianity. By this religious conversion Poland became associated with the West and hence took on the religious, political, and cultural values of western civilization.

This was a voluntary act. What a contrast between the Christianization of Poland in 966 and the communization of Poland in the period since World War II. The latter was no voluntary act by the people of Poland. They never accepted communism, but rather communism was forced upon them by the awesome presence of Soviet military power and the Kremlin's manipulations of their Polish Communist agents.

The Communists claim that Poland is part of the Soviet eastern bloc and in the nearly two decades that have passed they have done all within their power to maintain the Soviet Iron Curtain between West and East.

This is, however, an unnatural relationship; for it is a fact of history that Poland is a part of the West. Because the relationship is natural, it is understandable that during recent years the ties between Poland and the West have been growing.

Let us all work for the flowering of this relationship between the Polish people and the West; for they as well as we look forward to the day when Poland will again be closely united with the West as she was a thousand years ago.

Osteopaths Now Eligible for Commission in Military Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have pointed out to the House the failure of the Secretaries of the respective services to implement the provisions of Public Law 84–763.

You will recall that this law gave osteopath physicians the same rights to commissions in the military as allopath physicians. For some reason the surgeon generals and the respective Secretaries have failed since the enactment of this legislation to properly implement it.

Today I received a letter from Deputy Assistant Secretary Shirley C. Fisk, Department of Defense, advising me that the Secretary of Defense, upon completion of his reexamination of the osteopathy question, has concluded that qualified osteopaths can now be effectively utilized in the military medical service. He has accordingly instructed the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force to change the regulations dealing with medical officer commissions so that qualified doctors of osteopathy may be accepted for appointment on active duty. It is anticipated that the necessary changes in the regulations concerned will be made within the next 2 weeks.

I am grateful to the Members of the House who joined me in our efforts to correct the inequity that existed and commend the Secretary of Defense and his associates in the Defense Department for this constructive action on their part.

Farm Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, during the last few days I have spoken of the concern that livestock producers and grain growers have registered with respect to actions of our Secretary against Agriculture and the President to depress farm prices. I pointed out that these actions were very unfair and discriminatory because it is apparent that a rise in farm prices was singled out as the chief cause of the inflationary spiral in the cost of living. Nothing could be further from the truth, and farmers everywhere are very resentful of this charge.

As I pointed out the other day, 40 Members of the House sent a telegram to the President detailing the actions and directives to various departments of Government to bring down farm prices. This complaint to the President was sent last Friday—it must have struck home because according to today's Washington Post, the Secretary against Agriculture yesterday recommended to the Defense Department a resumption of purchases of ham and bacon and other pork products to feed the troops. It was only a couple of months ago that Mr. Freeman had requested the Defense Department to cut purchases of these products by 50 percent in order to bring down the price of hogs.

Also, our Secretary against Agriculture insisted that farm prices are not inflationary—according to the Washington Post article. What a sudden reversal of position because in March he intimated that he took pleasure in announcing a decline in farm prices and that they would continue to decline during the months ahead.

Further evidence that our telegram to the President was on the mark is a report that on Saturday, the day after the telegram was sent, there was a high level meeting held by the Vice President, the Secretary against Agriculture the Under Secretary against Agriculture, Mr. Schnittker, and others at the request of the President to consider what to do next. Now it seems apparent that our Secretary against Agriculture has been told "Whoa, back up." I might add, "Be careful Mr. Secretary, your slip is showing."

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a copy of the wire which was sent to the President and a copy of the Washington Post article dated May 4, 1966, "Freeman Urges Pentagon To Reconsider Buying Cuts":

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.:

Your recent actions directed at American farmers and ranchers taken through Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, Secretary of Commerce Connor, and Mr. Gardner Ackley have done and will do little to lower consumer food prices, but will insure financial hardship for many farm families.

Over the years attempts to bolster farm prices have led to large and costly farm programs. Now that farm prices have risen somewhat, you act to undermine the very thing we seek. The actions you have ordered taken:

1. Dumped huge quantities of Government-held stocks of wheat, corn, and grain sorghum at cut-rate prices in order to force compliance with the wheat and feed grain programs and to overexpand livestock productions.

2. Initiated an incentive program for soybeans in order to create a surplus and force down market prices.

3. Ordered an increase in the import quota for cheddar cheeses.

4. Ordered the Department of Defense to substitute margarine for butter and initiated a margarine purchase program for relief donations in place of butter.

5. Ordered the Department of Defense to cut the use of pork by one-half, and authorized the purchase of meat in foreign countries for our military establishments abroad.

6. Directed the Department of Commerce to limit the exports of cattle hides and skins.

7. Made large payments to cotton textile manufacturers to offset a part of the market price for cotton, but let them increase prices of textile goods.

These actions will directly lower prices to farmers, but will not result in significantly lower consumer prices. Depressing farm prices only worsens the farmer's already tight cost-price squeeze. No effective Government action is taken to curb the increasing cost of items farmers must buy to produce our food.

Mr. President, this policy is totally discriminatory against an important segment of our economy gravely injuring a $42 billion industry.

JOE SKUBITZ, ANCHER NELSEN, BOB DOLE, CATHERINE MAY, DURWOOD G. HALL, H. R. GROSS, ALBERT QUIE, CHARLES M. TEAGUE, GEORGE HANSEN, E. ROSS ADAIR, CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR., JAMES B. UTT, CHESTER MIZE, JOHN ASHBROOK.

GERALD FORD, LESLIE ARENDS, MELVIN R. LAIRD, JOHN BYRNES, E. A. CEDERBERG, GLENN CUNNINGHAM, RALPH HARVEY, GARNER E. SHRIVER, JOHN ANDERSON, MARK ANDREWS, DON CLAUSEN, GLENN R. DAVIS, ROGERS MORTON.

CHARLES HALLECK, FRANK BOW, PAGE BELCHER, ODIN LANGEN, DELBERT LATTA, BEN REIFEL, E. Y. BERRY, PAUL FINDLEY, LAURENCE BURTON, JAMES F. BATTIN, DAVE MARTIN, ROBERT ELLSWORTH, RICHARD ROUDEBUSH.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 4, 1966]

PORK PRODUCTS CITED: FREEMAN URGES PENTAGON TO RECONSIDER BUYING CUTS

(By Eric Wentworth)

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, in an apparent move to disperse political storm clouds over the Farm Belt, recommended yesterday that the Pentagon consider buying more ham, bacon, and other pork products.

Earlier in the day, on television, Freeman insisted that farm prices are not inflationary and that the Johnson administration is not trying to "put a lid" on them. On the contrary, he insisted, the administration "has been trying to firm and to strengthen farm prices."

BUYING CUT CRITICIZED

A Pentagon directive in mid-February that purchase of most pork products for U.S. troop feeding be trimmed at least 50 percent for 6 months to ease pressure of several grievances among farmers who claim the administration is fighting inflation at the expense of farm profits.

In his "Dear Bob" letter yesterday to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Freeman said hog prices have declined about 20 percent from January's high levels "and pork prices are also down." Though these prices may show seasonal increases in the next 2 to 3 months, he continued, "We expect that prices later this year will be below current levels."

ALSO CITES FRUITS

Freeman also told McNamara that "large supplies" of fruits and vegetables are likely this year and that he would have some recommendations on what to buy later when more details are available. His letter said nothing about expected prices for butter or other dairy products, however. The Pentagon slashed its butter purchases when prices rose.

On NBC's "Today" show yesterday morning, Freeman said the Pentagon was "reacting like the prudent housewife" when it cut back pork and butter purchases. His Department has advised the military for years on food buying.

DEFENDS INCOME RECORD

Freeman insisted the record of rising farm income will help freshman Democrats from the Farm Belt retain their congressional seats come November despite "a lot of demagoguery." At the same time, he said that while farm prices have "strengthened moderately," they are still "far below what they ought to be in relation to the rest of our economy."

Meanwhile the criticism continued, House GOP Whip LESLIE C. ARENDS, of Illinois, charged that Freeman's role in administration steps to control farm prices proves the Secretary "sacrifices our farmers on the altar of political expediency."

Freeman met last Saturday with Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY and others according to one report the Secretary was urged by some present to actively oppose White House anti-inflation warriors who seek to roll back farm prices. Administration spokesmen called it a routine meeting, one of a series requested by President Johnson, and vigorously denied that it was a secret strategy session to discuss countering White House policymakers.

Rockefeller Foundation Aids Growth of Theater in Minneapolis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, we in Minnesota are very proud to be recipients of important grants from the Rockefeller Foundation to assist cultural development in our area.

The University of Minnesota has been receiving grants for curriculum planning for a program in professional theater training and grants for an experimental program of support to outstanding playwrights and directors. The Minnesota Theater Company Foundation has received grants under which the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis conducts a training program for teachers of voice for the theater.

These programs are described with many others in the Rockefeller Foundation's recent report on the arts.

"Minneapolis, a Place to Which Playwrights Can Turn" is the headline over the report's section on developments in that city. And the text of the section reads as follows:

> There is a remarkable consensus in the American theater today that its overriding need is to develop new playwrights; unfortunately, equally remarkable is the lack of opportunity for dramatists to see their plays produced within anything except a sink-or-swim context. "The commercial theater is just what the name implies—a theater interested almost exclusively in commerce; it has no real faith in serious dramatic experimentation," says Arthur Ballet of the University of Minnesota.
>
> Professor Ballet probably knows as much about the concerns of playwrights as anyone in America today—his Office for Advanced Drama Research specializes in finding and then giving special professional stagings to new plays. From the vast number of scripts sent to him (Ballet reads a play a day, including Christmas), he selects a few to be considered by colleagues in the university and by directors such as Peter Zeisler and Oliver Rea of Minneapolis' renowned Tyrone Guthrie Theater.
>
> Once a play is selected, the playwright is brought to Minneapolis to develop his script with a professional director and cast. It is then presented before invited audiences. Play and playwright thus profit from the test of an actual staging in an atmosphere free from commercial pressures and commitments. Several plays have later found professional producers, and the university publishes the developed scripts in paperback editions to broaden the literature available to other drama groups. But to Ballet and his associates the most important thing is "that we're here and functioning, that playwrights know there is a place to which they can turn."

Mr. Speaker, this report, which covers the Rockefeller Foundation's program in cultural development for music and literature as well as the theater, is worth the attention of every Member of the House. The well-written, beautifully illustrated publication contains subject matter that emphasizes the vitality of our Nation's cultural growth from coast to coast.

Where Should It Stop?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, it was shocking to many of us to read of the latest proposals by the administration to expand and extend the social security program and its coverage.

In view of the fact that the medicare program is still deep in the developing stage and is hitting snags at every turn, it would seem only logical that we first get our house in order before inviting more guests.

The extensions of social security, that the administration is planning, are irresponsible and strictly political answers to the needs of our people.

I could not agree more with the following editorial from the Rogersville Review, Rogersville, Tenn. The article asks the question: "Where should it stop?" My answer is that it should be halted right now.

If we are really thinking of the welfare of our people we will ignore any such proposals that will lead us further down the road to socialism.

The editorial follows:

WHERE SHOULD IT STOP?

> President Johnson, in a recent Texas speech, said that he would seek a greatly expanded, revised, and improved social security program, as well as a new Federal plan to provide free dental care for children under 6.
>
> He apparently spoke out of deep personal conviction regarding his plans to do more for the elderly, the disabled, and the needy.
>
> If what he said he would like to see done were to be done, America would move a good bit further than ever before in the direction of social welfare assistance.
>
> One chief restraint is, of course, financial. The Republicans in Congress, whose strength will likely increase after the November elections, will continue to press hard for cuts in nonmilitary spending, especially in Great Society programs.
>
> Some opposition to helping the poor and needy achieve a better standard of living has been based on a callous disregard of their welfare. And this is irresponsible. But it is not irresponsible to consider the total needs of the economy before deciding whether to embark upon new programs or expand the old ones. And it is not an irresponsible notion to object to carrying social welfare to a point where it could sap society of its enterprise and drain the individual of his incentive.
>
> To give aid to those who truly need it is one thing. To extend it to cover all citizens, regardless of need, is another.
>
> Somewhere between these two extremes a line will have to be drawn. Congress and the country need to consider carefully where to draw it.

The Honorable Pat McNamara

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the passing of the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan, PAT MCNAMARA, leaves us with sorrow and regret. We in the House knew him both in his public role as a Senator, and in his private role as a man. To a degree unusual for people whose careers lie in public service, these two roles were joined.

Independent. Frank. Compassionate. Forward looking. These are the things that come to mind when we think of PAT MCNAMARA, the Senator and the man.

There is no need to recite his immense legislative achievements, which range all the way from the medicare bill to the passage of the Older Americans' Act. As chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, he worked in a way both effective and untampered by considerations not germane to the wise and proper expenditure of money.

In his case the man was the Senator, committed to the highest goals, free of sham, and vigorous in action. His passing makes us in this Congress and his State of Michigan the poorer.

National Guard Launches Blood-for-Defense Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I have been privileged to speak to this House on numerous past occasions on the invaluable and continuing contribution of the National Guard to the defense of our Nation and to the well-being of each State and its citizens.

This month—May—the Guard has embarked on still another program for which they should be recognized and praised. It has launched a blood-for-defense project to obtain some 250,000 pints of blood from members of the Guard themselves, and from members of their families, over the next 6 months.

Every ounce of this blood will be earmarked for defense use, most of it in the form of gamma globulin and serum albumin, two vital blood derivatives which are being used in ever-increasing amounts by our forces in southeast Asia.

Military stockpiles of these two vital blood components have shrunk under the growing demands of the conflict in South Vietnam, and the National Guard Association of the United States agreed to sponsor this nationwide program among guardsmen to replenish our dwindling stocks.

Cooperating in the program is the American Red Cross, which says that this will be the largest blood donation program ever conducted within a single organization. By way of comparison, the Red Cross collected a total of approximately 13 million pints from all sources throughout the 5 years of World War II, and 7 million pints during the Korean conflict. Now, a single organization, the National Guard, intends to collect a quarter of a million pints just from its own members and families, and if the Guard's past record of performance is any indicator, it will have no trouble in attaining its objective.

The Nation has asked a great deal of its guardsmen in recent months. Nearly 120,000 of these citizen-soldiers are devoting almost twice as much time to their training as they were a year ago. They are doing this to insure their readiness for rapid mobilization and early deployment to an overseas area in case a ticklish international situation requires their presence.

This means that guardsmen in this category are spending the equivalent of 48 full 8-hour days per year on military duties, and these are men, you must remember, who are attempting concurrently to carry on normal civilian lives and satisfy the demands of full-time civilian careers.

A large group of air guardsmen, in the Air National Guard's 25 heavy transport squadrons, are making 75 cargo-hauling flights to South Vietnam each month, and 140 overseas flights to Europe and other parts of the world, in direct support of our Active Forces overseas. These, too, are guardsmen who are carrying on civilian careers and simultaneously performing valuable and vital services for our defense establishment at no small cost to themselves.

On this and past occasions, when the Nation needed their help, members of the National Guard have never failed to give far more of their time and energy and talent than is required by their mission. In volunteering to obtain this huge supply of badly needed blood from their own ranks, then, members of the National Guard are simply perpetuating the tradition of unselfish service which has made the Guard the outstanding military organization it is today.

The Unions Help in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest things being done in South Vietnam is the reconstruction projects being carried out with the financial and moral support of American labor unions.

The story is told by Victor Riesel in the April 7, 1966, edition of the New York Journal-American.

Mr. Riesel's article follows:

U.S. UNIONS AID VIET VENTURES

(By Victor Riesel)

WASHINGTON.—Outcries of those who exercise their inherent right to high decibel dissent over Vietnam have in recent days drowned out the voices of those who believe they at least have the same right to assent.

The voices of the former, loud and harsh, are heard on the streets of our land. The voices of the latter, softer, more charitable, now are heard easing the pains and anguish of women and children in Vietnamese villages and little-known delta cities.

Among the assenters, ignored amid the shrillness of the streets, are leaders of millions of unionists who are helping to neutralize Vietcong terror, rebuild villages, feed hungry children, build orphanages, put floors into clinics and roofs on welfare centers and provide teachers for youngsters in far-off South Vietnam.

A can of chocolate milk dispatched by a steelworker may not fill out a headline, but it does wonders for the stomachs of disease-seared kids, desperately needing safe foods in the Asiatic heat.

To some there may be the touch of jingoism in the title of the committee to support American servicemen in Vietnam. But its leaders care little about brickbats hurled at them by the dissenters.

These leaders, officials of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), district 3, are devoting themselves to rebuilding villages which have been bombed out. This is being done by collecting funds from IUE members for the IUE Resettlement Village and for the aid of the U.S. Marine Corps' civic action program.

Under the guidance of Committee Chairman Jerry Leopaldi, the union members help the marines work out a series of specific projects aimed at winning the peace piecemeal after each battle has been won.

Where, for instance, the marines go in and win a fight but a village has been knocked out in the struggle, the commanding officer surveys the damage. Was a church or temple destroyed? Was a school demolished? Was the water supply wiped out?

When the answers are learned, the CO assigns a sufficient number of men, medical corpsmen and other specialists as a "peace team." They locate a village interpreter. They tend to the wounded. They begin rebuilding the hamlet.

To make possible more schools and food and tiny hospitals, the IUE has set up its committee and is successfully urging its members to donate a dollar a month to help support the marine's reconstruction program.

Nor is IUE alone in Vietnam. An official of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) was over in the delta city of My Tho recently.

He was a guest of a meeting of the provincial labor council. They gathered in an uncompleted social welfare center. Their money had run out. The building needed a roof.

The IAM sent them the funds. But now they need a floor and doors and windows. The machinists are raising those funds, too, from the rank and file here in the States. Soon the social center, which houses a clinic and school, will be complete.

And it is the million-member steelworkers, headquartered in Pittsburgh, which is sending the safe and caloric chocolate milk.

It is the Screen Actors Guild which is encouraging its people to make certain that Bob Hope is not the only entertainer who has been on the road to Saigon. Eddie Fisher, Charlton Heston, Martha Ray, Edgar Bergen and his dummy, and lots more have defied the plastic bombs of the terrorists.

It's all part of a union-to-union program launched by AFL–CIO President George Meany, spokesman for some 14 million laborites. It's all coordinated with the Confederation of Vietnamese Labor, whose leader is Tran Quoc Buu.

Once he fought alongside of Hanoi's Ho Chi Minh against the French. But soon Buu, whose life George Meany saved, saw for himself that the first to suffer torturous deaths at the skilled Communist hands were the labor leaders and the intellectuals. Of him it can truly be said, he'd rather be dead than Red. He made the choice freely.

Small wonder that early in March the North Vietnamese propaganda publication warned its followers not to trust Vietnamese labor leaders.

And so, this report is written in the hope that the world, which has heard the outcries of the dissenters, will learn the quiet accomplishments of the assenters.

Cannot Afford To Delay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 6, 1966

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker—

The argument for creating a central Department of Transportation to coordinate all systems is hardly answerable. Consolidation of research promotion and policy is absolutely essential.

This quotation is from a recent editorial in the Bristol, Conn., Press endorsing President Johnson's proposal for a new Department.

The creation of an additional cabinet post is not something to be taken lightly—

The editorial concludes—

But any nation which wants to keep up with modern problems cannot afford to delay on matters vital to the economy.

Under unanimous consent I insert the editorial in the RECORD:

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

It is estimated that by 1970 there will be 120 million motor vehicles on the Nation's highways. It is not hard to see what additional problems this will create.

In order to make some coherent planning possible, President Johnson has proposed a 12th Cabinet post, an Office of Secretary of Transportation.

The President says that some 100,000 persons are now spending some $6 billion a year in some 35 different agencies connected with some kind of transportation.

It is estimated that about one-fifth of the gross national product is spent on transportation in one form or another.

It is quite obvious that with 35 separate agencies all concerned with their own policymaking, the transportation problem will be much worse as more cars clog our highways.

It is also obvious that transportation affects everybody. In one respect it is much more far-reaching than urban renewal which will have its effect on specific areas alone.

The argument for creating a central Department of Transportation to coordinate all systems is hardly answerable. Consolidation of research, promotion, and policy is absolutely essential.

Bureaucratic fragmentation, as it now exists, would mean complete disaster if it is permitted to continue as our motor vehicle population continues to grow, to say nothing of the tremendous increase in airplane and bus transportation.

The creation of an additional cabinet post is not something to be taken lightly. But any nation which wants to keep up with modern problems cannot afford to delay on matters vital to the economy.

Merit Awards to Members of Naval Reserve

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday last I had the great privilege of attending an inspiring ceremony in my home city of New Orleans marking awards of merit to members of the Naval Reserve unit in New Orleans.

The recipients were Cmdr. Stuart W. Thayer, CPO Thomas A. Motto, Jr., PO James M. Smith, Stationkeeper Lewis C. Hayes, and Capt. Charles Frank. These men have made outstanding contributions to our Armed Forces. Captain Frank has received many awards during his distinguished career, and I was pleased indeed to see him earn another.

Capt. Gayle Schneidau, Jr., who heads the unit, made a very thoughtful address, and I am pleased to include it herewith in full:

Our mission this afternoon now moves into its final phase. Coincidental to this program ending is a personal parallel. In a very few weeks I shall relinquish my duty as group commander to a very fine officer, Capt. Rocco Sinisi, and next year, if it is his wish to maintain this muster, he will be up here, doing a far better job, I am sure. To him, and to you all, I say smooth sailing, fair winds, and a following sea.

Certainly, when this time next year arrives let us hope and pray that the world will be at peace. Let us hope that the men in our gallant Armed Forces will have completed their mission in Vietnam. If we could, in all the simplicity and dignity of a Navy message sent a century and a half ago, end the southeast Asian conflict, saying, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." Relief would shower around the Nation.

But ours is a far different world from that in which Commodore Perry won a victory in 1813. Our main military interest today is preventing a full-scale war, rather than considering victory in one, for with modern capabilities, a global war could well be the final chapter of man on earth.

But no matter what the future holds, it must be met with a determination which will see our Nation through its perils. We may examine the past with a relaxed and philosophical attitude; the future can only be met with alert, thorough resolution.

The ceremony today captures this very theme. We are not assembled here for mere pomp or sheer repetition.

We are here as members of an organization which has the broadest meaning among our many millions of citizens: we are here to pay tribute to the soul of our society, which is our great country.

We have served her, we serve her now, and we will serve her in the future.

I am so bold to say that this is a patriotic occasion, an old-fashioned idea, but not an outdated or useless one.

Patriotism is not dead; it may be lifeless in some, it may be forgotten by others, but it survives just as surely as there are men wearing this uniform. And dying in it.

But I am not here to dramatize that which needs no dramatization. We are aware of what war is, of what demands it places upon the individual, his family, his total existence. It would be far more pleasant to forget these things; however, we should not forget our associates who right now are defending our personal freedoms by confronting a hard enemy halfway around the world.

It is my wish that this ceremony be dedicated to our fellow Americans in Vietnam.

In closing, I have a few words to any young man embarking for the first time on the seas of Navy life: Look not to luxury, but to learning. Apply yourself with energy, enthusiasm and imagination, and there is no question but that the rewards will follow. It is impossible not to move ahead in an organization as huge, and as receptive to individual effort as our Navy.

Take pride in your own abilities, and you will not fall into any category except the top one.

To the older echelon among us, those who seem to have already been initiated by a few years of service, there is the danger of apathy, and negative attitudes. We all have met the man who has decided halfway through his career in the Reserve that the Navy is all wrong, and that he is the only one right. This is the man who will detour valuable time expounding on all the supposed mistakes made from John Paul Jones through the present Chief of Naval Operations.

Avoid this waste. Equip yourself with a perspective which will tolerate a mistake now and then; but more essential, maintain your own course of activities so that you will not create mistakes.

As we pursue our missions in this Reserve program, there are problems, certainly. But it is ridiculous to assume that problems are produced with direct intent, obviously they are not. A part of our task is to do all we can to reduce problems, to find solutions, and to suggest ways to reach objectives more effectively.

I urge you not to be discouraged if problems do not cease tomorrow, or your suggestion is not carried out right away.

Finally, as you learn the ropes gradually, you make new adjustments, you assume more responsibilities, and if you make progress as you should, there emerges a feeling of belonging to something you hold very dear, of having achieved your destiny as a human being, and as a man.

So it is with me, an enormous fulfillment.

I thank you for your kind attention; I thank our guests for their continued friendship, and I congratulate our award winners.

The 1,000th Anniversary of Christianity in Poland

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, a ceremony which took place yesterday, May 3, which is of considerable historical and contemporary significance and of personal interest to me. Yesterday at the historic shrine of the Black Madonna at Czestochowa 300,000 Polish Roman Catholics celebrated the 1,000th anniversary of the establishment of Christianity in Poland.

Mr. Speaker, like many of my colleagues in this House, I represent a congressional district where many Americans of Polish descent live. I have twice visited Poland. On one occasion I had the privilege of visiting the historic monastery of Czestochowa, and talked and dined with the monks who live there. I therefore do not hesitate to say that the ceremony which took place there this week was a dramatic symbol of the continuing struggle between the Roman Catholic Church of Poland and the Communist government of that country.

One thousand years ago, the man whom history identifies as Poland's first actual ruler, Mieszko I, was baptized into the Roman Catholic Church. At that same time, the first missionary bishop arrived on Polish ground to spread the new religion. Embraced by the overwhelming majority of the Polish people, the Roman Catholic faith has played a highly significant part in the turbulent and often tragic life of the Polish nation.

As Dr. Peter Siekznowicz noted in a document prepared last year for a subcommittee of Congress, "The tremendous role of the church through the thousand years of life of the Polish nation is indisputable. Catholicism is inseparately connected with the national feelings of the Poles. In difficult eras, the church was the sole visible spiritual power which bound together the nation as a whole."

In Poland today there is a continuing struggle between the church and the Communist government. Since 1945, the government has employed a variety of tactics turned to methods of terror. A great number of clergymen were imprisoned and Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Catholic primate of Poland, was placed under detention. But as has been true throughout history, this frontal attack upon religion only encouraged the citizens to close ranks and to intensify their religious life.

Pressure built up under the growing oppression eventually broke out in the form of the Poznan riots of 1956. This uprising forced the Communist Party to release the primate from detention and to set other bishops free. An agreement was entered into in which the Government acknowledged, in the words of First Secretary Gomulka, that—

> The idealistic doctrine will exist for a long time beside the materialistic doctrine.

Unfortunately, this acknowledgement of the political need for a policy of coexistence did not erase the fundamental opposition of the state to the practice of religion.

Since the 1956 agreement, there has been a continuous campaign against the church. Doctrinal teachings have been attacked in Communist propaganda; administrative activities of the church have been hampered; church property has been confiscated, and exorbitant taxes have been imposed.

As the church began laying plans for its celebration of the millennium in 1966, a seemingly innocuous expression of the spirit of ecumenism precipitated a serious clash between the Catholic hierarchy and the Communist Party. In November of last year, the Polish espiscopate assembled in Rome during the final stage of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council sent a letter of invitation to the Catholic bishops of Germany in connection with the coming millennium celebration. This letter came under vehement attack from the Communist regime. The party accused the bishops of offering forgiveness of the Polish people for the Nazi crimes of World War II. On the pretext that the content of the letter was offensive to the Polish people, the Government first denied Cardinal Wyszynski a passport to visit the Vatican in January. Subsequently, the Government stated that it would not permit Pope Paul VI to enter the country for the millinneum celebration. And it appears that the Government will block Cardinal Wyszynski from making his long-awaited tour of cities in the United States later this year.

The dispute over the letter from the Polish to the German bishops was calmed a few weeks ago by simultaneous publication of explanations in Catholic and Communist journals. This appeared to bring about a cease-fire with clear victory for neither side.

I believe I do not overstate the case, however, when I say that the sending of the letter from the Polish to the German bishops was an event of major significance. For it represented the first time that a non-Communist ideological body inside an Eastern European Communist state has taken the initiative in what amounts to an act of foreign policy. This kind of initiative is intolerable for a totalitarian regime. It may well have been this initiative rather than the content of the letter that was the fundamental cause of the attack upon the letter by the Communist government of Poland.

Conflict between the Communist government and the church of Poland can be expected to continue. The church, for its own part, can be expected to maintain a stout defense of its historical position. For there is no sign of weakening in such statements as that delivered by Cardinal Wyszynski in a sermon at the shrine of the Black Madonna in Czestochowa a few weeks ago:

> We have to stand up before the rulers, princes, and authorities and calmly and bravely proclaim the Gospel.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, I note that the New York Times of May 2, 1966, reported that the Polish Communist leader, Wladislaw Gomulka, refrained in his May Day speech from pressing his recent "violent propaganda campaign" against the church. This restraint alone, however, does not mean that the struggle between church and Communist state will end, but hopefully, it may mark an easing of the recent high level of tension.

I also note that today's New York Times reports that President Johnson will soon send to Congress a bill aimed at encouraging trade between the United States and the nations of Eastern Europe. At a time when the United States is getting ready to consider the opening of a trade relations with the Eastern European countries, I suggest that it would be most unfortunate if the Government of Poland were to intensify its attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church. Such a course of action would undoubtedly make far more difficult the prospects of increasing trade and other contracts between the people of Poland and the people of the United States.

In expressing concern for religion under attack in Poland, we in the United States are made doubly grateful for the freedom that religion enjoys in our country. The contrast with a Poland where life today is "difficult, hard, and gray," in the words of the New York Times writer, David Halberstam, inspires our prayer that the Polish nation will not have to await a second millennium before Christianity within its borders may enjoy a similar freedom.

The Whooping Crane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the rare whooping crane never had a better press agent than Jay Vessels of Austin, Tex., a writer for the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

For more than 15 years, Vessels has journalistically bugled the comings and goings of the 5-foot-tall birds, which wildlife experts are trying to save from extinction.

Reports Vessels:

> The whooper carries the torch for mounting millions as it struggles successfully to conquer civilization's pyramiding pressures.

Through the efforts of Vessels and a few others, the whooping crane has become perhaps the best publicized bird in the world. Thirty years ago, it came to the attention of some that the species appeared doomed to extinction.

Conservationists started watching for the few remaining whoopers—and an area where they winter on the Texas coast has been set aside as a refuge for them.

A vast network of observers from the Great Slave Lake in Canada to the Texas coast now maintains annual vigils on the migrations of the great white birds. Vessels is part of this team.

Now numbering 44—highest since its decimation prompted extensive aids—the huge bird enjoys enormous privileges.

While nonbirdlover types may wonder about all his hubbub over a small band of awkward-looking cranes, it is more than just a scientific project.

The Aransas refuge and nearby Goose Island State Park have become an international attraction for birdlovers wishing to view the whooping cranes.

I therefore offer three short reports that Vessels authored recently concerning the whooping cranes:

Ex-Farmer Sees Rare Crane Hop

Austwell.—The fellow, lucky or not, confirming the first genuine flying saucer, will be just another celestial observer to the people who know Earl L. Benham, lanky staff member at the Aransas National Wildlife Refuge.

Benham, farmer turned wildlife babysitter, saw something never before recorded—a flight of 20 rare whooping cranes begin their flight to the Great Slave Lake nesting areas 2,500 miles northward.

Benham, quiet, softspoken, is known as "Mr. Whooper" by the refuge professionals. He scanned the skyline in that gulf coast area for many years as a hungry farmer, as he put it, before formally joining the staff.

Benham had been assigned by Refuge Manager Bob Shields to check one of the new experimental food areas on the morning of April 6. A strong south wind had been churning the area for almost 24 hours. And it was about time for things to happen. The forecast was for continuance.

Almost on the dot of 9 a.m. a family of three whoopers took off with a great outcry of their shrill call, likened to the trumpet of an agitated elephant. For the next 20 minutes Benham sat transfixed at the historic scene, his powerful binoculars glued to the swirling feathered elite directly above him.

Most of them whipped their 7-foot wings into small clusters but there was one group of seven.

Benham carefully scaled the original mass departure down to those seven cranes, plus two sets of two each and three sets of three each. Twelve other whoopers became airborne but swerved back to the shallow bay area as the excited monsters spiraled farther upward, flapping faster when they circled into the powerful wind. Twenty minutes later, all turned gracefully northward and disappeared into the overcast at about 4,500 feet.

"Mr. Benham was a good man for that assignment," Refuge Manager Bob Shields told the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

Crane Flight Shrouded in Mystery

Austwell.—You can find polite disagreement even among the top-level official observers about the precise migration pattern of the mighty whooping crane, itself controversial to some few skeptics of its role as symbolizing the struggle to conserve all wildlife.

The good-natured conflict of opinion certainly provokes some healthy speculation, according to reports to the Aransas National Wildlife Refuge near here, where the big cranes enjoy the semitropical winters.

A Texas Parks and Wildlife Department visitor astutely changed the subject when the man known as "Mr. Whooper" explained why he thinks the main whooper northward migration carries nonstop 2,500 miles between Great Slave Lake nesting areas and Blackjack Peninsula.

"Mr. Whooper," who signs his name Earl L. Benham, layman member of the staff who quit farming 30 years ago to help accommodate wildlife, believes that the whoopers definitely take the northward spring hop without stopping. "I think it takes them about 70 hours," said Benham quietly but emphatically.

Of course, like everyone else, tall, greying Benham has no positive proof for his calculations. He simply credits the huge birds with the navigating knowhow to take advantage of their powerful 7-foot wingspread and great endurance as well as favoring winds at great heights to wrap it all up in one mighty sweep.

It is a matter of record that the actual routes are more or less mysterious, as well as the altitudes at which the cranes fly.

But Refuge Manager Bob Shields firmly says he believes the 5-foot-tall cranes break up the long flight. Each fall there are confirmed reports of whooper sightings down through the Alberta provinces, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and the Texas panhandle, particularly on the Platte River in central Nebraska.

But veteran Benham says that is only to rest the young birds, eight of which arrived from the northland last fall.

Many Perils Haunt Crane Survival Try

Austwell.—Hazards haunt the giant whooping cranes. Some are naturemade. Most are manmade.

The former was vividly demonstrated at the wintering grounds on the Aransas National Wildlife Refuge during the recent 5-day period when all but 1 of the 44 birds used the natural launching pad for the 2,500 mile flight to the Great Slave Lake area of far north Canada.

A violent spring storm raked the 47,261-acre tract. Huge hailstones splattered the landscape. A drake shoveler fell dead near refuge headquarters. Presumably it was bashed by a chunk of ice. But lightning also was severe. At the time about 16 of the whoopers still remained.

Refuge Manager Bob Shields shakily admitted that hailstones of the size that battered the area could at least wound a flying whooper and might even damage their precious red-capped heads.

But the principal effect, he deduced, would be endurable harassment. This perhaps less damaging than the manmade disturbances, such as oil exploration blasting in the gulf and practice aerial bombing. Then there are such sinister perils as pollution and siltation that have damaged natural food areas and necessitated the experimental food plots, apparently a permanent fixture to supplement salt water crustaceans.

Hazards for whoopers sometimes are more spectacular. Like the young crane that crippled a wing when it struck a tree while learning to fly in the summer nesting areas. It was rescued by the bird watching jet set and restored at least for zoo occupancy. Last fall, an 18-month old male was killed in western Kansas when it struck a powerline.

Bird watchers dolefully agree it's enough to reduce the massive white birds to eccentric ways. They all have great compassion for the odd-ball whooper that again remained behind when the others left the other day. The brooding one, called Scarface, was the last to arrive last fall and has reflected other understandable confusion at nature's habitat deterioration.

Senator Daniel Inouye's Address at the International Banquet of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANTE B. FASCELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday evening, April 28, 1966, an audience of several hundred people, assembled in the Washington Hilton's International Ballroom, had the opportunity to hear an address by one of this country's most promising legislators, Senator Dan Inouye, of Hawaii.

Senator Inouye's address was so moving—and so inspiring—that words cannot begin to adequately express its impact on those fortunate enough to be present. The enraptured audience listened in attentive silence—though at times the Senator's light and warm-hearted humor split the hall with laughter.

The Senator was addressing a group of dedicated fellow Americans whose attention and efforts are directed toward assisting the Nation's handicapped through service on the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. In this outstanding group were several residents of the Fourth District of Florida which I have the honor to represent here in this body. Those from the Fourth District included Mr. and Mrs. Ben Fox, Mrs. Ed (Billie) Parodi, Mrs. Dorothy Mertens, and Mr. Jay McGlon.

We in this Chamber can take special pride in Senator Inouye since he was his State's first Representative in this body. We fondly recall his great and effective contributions during his service here. Now we have witnessed his emergence as an able and dynamic leader in the Senate. I know I speak for many of our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, when I say that I am proud to know—and to have served with—Dan Inouye.

The Senator's speech follows:

Speech by Senator Daniel K. Inouye at the International Banquet of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, April 28, 1966

Three p.m., April 21, 1945—21 years and 7 days ago. In a blinding flash of a bursting grenade, I thought the world had come to an end. I looked down at my right arm and all I saw was gushing blood, torn flesh, and shattered bones. Although I had been cited for bravery, I was afraid—totally afraid of the future. I could picture myself living a life as a cripple. I was right handed until then, and I had great hopes of becoming a surgeon. But because of my position, I put up a brave facade and smiled when the medics came to assist me. All of the men around me were rather grim, but I assured them that this was just a million dollar wound. Then one of my best friends, with tears in his eyes, told me that I would never play the ukulele again.

Next morning, while lying in bed in a huge hospital ward, I started a new and exciting chapter in my life. At that moment, I was rather bitter and sad because all of my hopes and dreams had crumbled about me.

Suddenly, a nurse came by and asked me if I wanted to smoke. I nodded yes, because I thought that a cigarette would help me dream the impossible dream. She dug into her pocket and came up with a fresh pack of Camels, and nonchalantly tossed it at me. I grabbed at it, and she started to walk away. I cursed her under my breath. I struggled and finally opened the pack. This was the first time that I had opened a pack of cigarettes with one hand. Cigarettes were strewn all over my bed, when I finally got one to my lips unlit.

After a few moments, the nurse came by again and approached me, saying, "I am sorry, you don't have a light." I curtly replied, "That's right." She again dug into her pockets and came up with a book of matches and again nonchalantly tossed it at me and walked away. I was ready to punch her. I struggled and tried to light the match but couldn't quite do it. My leg was in a cast, my midsection was bandaged, and I was strapped down to the bed. She came back again with a smile and asked if I had quit smoking, because I had taken the cigarette out of my lips. I looked at her and said, "I will start smoking if you will light it for me." She replied, "Oh, I thought you knew how to light your cigarette. I will show you how to do it." She took the book of matches and very patiently proceeded to teach me. When I tried it, I found to my great amazement that it was a very simple thing. It was a truly exciting moment for me because I found that I could help myself.

At that moment, this young nurse from Eagle Pass, Tex., taught me, without any eloquent lecturing, that I had better prepare myself to face life without sympathy and pity, and that I had better prepare and train myself to take care of my needs. I shall never forget that day.

It did not occur to me at that moment, but later, I realized that my rehabilitation program began the day after my injury.

Later, I was shipped back to the United States, and there my rehabilitation and training was carried out in earnest.

We were required to take up ballroom dancing, billiard playing, carpentry, and music. I thought I would try the trumpet first, but my instructor told me, after a couple of lessons, that I would never become a trumpet player because my lips were too soft. So, he suggested that I take up piano playing. After a month of lessons, I was ready for my graduation recital. It was a great day for me because of the presence of my ward mates and other fellow patients. I bowed and proceeded to play my graduation piece. It was "Danny Boy." The applause was rewarding.

The next important lesson was driving an automobile. It may be difficult to believe, but I had never driven an automobile until that moment. My parents were rather strict and had instructed that I was not to drive until I reached the age of 20. Since I enlisted in the Army when I was 18, the only thing that I could manuever was a bicycle. So this was an exciting experience for me.

My instructor was a rather unusual GI. He was also a patient, but a specially trained patient. He was one of our Nation's few surviving quadruple amputees; he had lost both hands, and both feet, from the extreme cold of the Vermont mountains. And he, with his hooks, proceeded to give me my first lesson.

With an instructor like that, I just had to learn. It was an inspiring experience.

Then, we were taught how to defend ourselves—and how to conduct ourselves in restaurants.

About 6 months after arriving in the United States, I was finally fitted for my first prosthetic appliance. Day after day, I reported to the special training room to receive training in using my hook. But I was never permitted to keep my appliance until my instructors felt that I was ready. Finally, after several weeks of training, the doctor in charge notified me that I was ready, and very solemnly presented me with the prosthetic appliance. It was a great day for me—it was like receiving a diploma.

That evening, I got together with my friends, and my new arm, and we happily celebrated. Training and rehabilitation continued until the very last day of my hospitalization.

About a month before my departure from the hospital, I was invited to attend a special party given by one of the patients. This patient was paralyzed from his waist down. He was a paraplegic. We all gathered at a local restaurant and had a grand time eating and drinking. He was there with his beautiful, young wife. When we finished our meal, he made a little speech. He said that a few days ago, he was notified by his doctor that he had about 3 months to live. Something had gone wrong with his kidney and bladder, and it was a hopeless case.

He said he had drawn up his will, and he was ready. He said that he was looking forward to meeting us in the next world. He did this very bravely, and with a twinkle in his eyes. He died 4 weeks later.

I cite this experience because this was one of the many times when I was impressed with the feeling that I was truly fortunate. There were those who had lost their sight, and those who were soundless, and there were the multiple amputees and the paralyzed.

After leaving the hospital, I was given the opportunity of continuing my education under Public Law 16, a special program adopted by Congress for disabled veterans. And in 1952, I received my law degree.

Although I am no expert in this business, I was shown many, many times that with proper rehabilitation and training, and given reasonable opportunities, few in this country need be cripples. I realize that the training I received, and the rehabilitation program in which I was privileged to participate, were special. It was financed by the Government and added to a great cost.

At this point, I would like to, after long last, express my gratitude to the men and women of the Army Medical Corps who so very patiently guided me through those trying months.

The activities of your organization are worthy of great support by this Nation, because as I said, with proper rehabilitation and training, and given reasonable opportunities, no one need be a cripple in this world. And I have found from my personal experiences, that a properly trained disabled person is not only a good risk, but could be a great asset to any business organization.

Incidents of accidents are lowest among disabled persons. Very seldom do you hear of a disabled person being involved in an automobile accident. A disabled person is usually one with great patience and perseverance. He is generally one with a pretty good sense of humor, and one who has sufficient courage to face odds.

Yes, as Mrs. Dorothy Devereaux, of Hawaii, once said, after recovering from a painful back injury, "It was a privilege to have been handicapped." It may sound unbelievable to one who is not disabled, but I, too, feel that, although April 21, 1945, seemed like judgment day, today I feel that it was a privilege to have been disabled. It taught me to be patient, to persevere, to laugh. and it opened up new and exciting vistas.

In 1954, I noticed that I began seeing myself in my dreams as having only one arm. Up until then, I had always seen myself with two arms. I knew then and there that my total being, my subconscience, had accepted the fact. It was a great moment for me to realize that I had reached an important high point in my rehabilitation.

Today, from time to time, my constituents approach me with great surprise, indicating that they had never realized that I had lost an arm. This is a great compliment, and I cherish this compliment.

On April 21, 1945, while sad and bitter, I dreamed impossible dreams. On August 21, 1959, 14 years and 4 months later, the impossible dream came true. I stood in the well of the U.S. House of Representatives, raised my left hand, and took the oath of office as Hawaii's first Member of Congress.

Aid Lesson for the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished columnist, Roscoe Drummond, has quite properly warned us against the danger of misreading what has happened in Ghana and Indonesia. These two countries had internal revolts and were not subject to outside aggression as is the case in Vietnam.

Mr. Drummond's column from the New York Herald Tribune of April 15, 1966, follows:

AID LESSON FOR UNITED STATES: THE PERIL OF MISREADING GHANA, INDONESIA RESULTS

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—The overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana and the eclipse of Sukarno in Indonesia have much in common.

The end of these two repressive dictatorships is a boon to Africa and to Asia. For the United States, it is a large, unearned dividend—unearned because the United States had nothing to do with either event. We stood quietly by—and the best happened without any U.S. advice or intervention.

There is a valuable lesson here. But it is crucial that we avoid drawing the wrong lesson, that we avoid the vague conclusion that, if the United States will only stay far enough out of the way long enough, then in the end stable forces will come to the fore and Americans can live happily ever after in comfortable detachment.

This is wishful thinking—if it is thinking at all.

Only a much more precise conclusion is justified. It is that the U.S. presence is not automatically a benefit to every new and developing nation and that American aid, military and economic, ought to be far more selective than it is. This is particularly true in Africa, where a U.S. policy of nonpresence in some countries and a greater presence in others would be better.

There were many parallel causes which contributed to the downfall of both Nkrumah and Sukarno.

Each neglected the nation's pressing domestic problems. There were waste, extravagance, personal vainglory, corruption—and national bankruptcy.

Each erected a screen around his neglect of national problems by trying to cut a pretentious swath on the world scene. Nkrumah tried to make himself the voice of Africa; he tried to overthrow African governments he didn't like. Sukarno decided that Malaysia must go and chose war with his neighbor rather than economic reform at home.

Each began by practicing a substantial degree of democracy and ended by snuffing it out.

Each was overthrown by popular demand, not by a grab for power on the part of the military. The army was simply the only instrument through which the popular will could be expressed. The spontaneous popular support which the military actions in Ghana and Indonesia have evoked show that the political demise of Nkrumah and Sukarno is warmly welcomed.

The news from Jakarta makes it clear that "President" Sukarno is gradually realizing he is no longer in charge and that the kind of comeback he has made in the past is not again open to him.

One reason is that he has lost the two essential props by which he stood in the past. The Communist Party has been decimated and outlawed. The nation's military leaders chose to support Indonesia, not Sukarno.

Another reason is that nearly all of Indonesia's students have shown themselves to be both anti-Communist and anti-Sukarno and add decisive support to the present army rule.

Those who suggest that the absence of the United States as a factor in the downfall of Nkrumah and Sukarno means that our withdrawal from Vietnam would bring a similar result, are, I think, wrong. Communist dictatorship has never yet been overthrown from within once it got its tentacles on a government. In Vietnam the main issue is outside aggression, and to prevent its success, the United States is indispensable.

Peter Francisco—Profile in Courage

SPEECH

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, April 24, there took place in Newark a brief but moving ceremony marking the official dedication of a small public garden as Peter Francisco Park. After the invocation by the Reverend Antonio Monteiro, Master of Ceremonies Donald B. Gomes presented Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio, who read the resolution adopted by Newark's Municipal Council to honor the great Portuguese hero of our Revolutionary War. Officials of all Portuguese societies in Newark, as well as representatives of Portugal in New York, participated in the ceremony. The joyous and historic event was organized by a committee whose members were Abilio Esteves, Abel Andrade, Agostinho Barbosa, Antonio Rosa, João Carlos Rendeiro, Abilio Marques, Manuel Sousa, Augusto Reis, David Rego, Anselmo Falorca, and Donald B. Gomes.

Though he refused a commission and remained a private soldier throughout the war, Peter Francisco's remarkable character and courage earned him the respect and friendship of the outstanding leaders of the American Revolution. I am delighted that the city of Newark has acted to enshrine the memory of this great Portuguese American who rendered such valiant and dedicated service to the cause of American independence. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD, following these remarks, a fine article on Peter Francisco which appeared in the April 21, 1966, issue of Luso-Americano, the outstanding Portuguese newsweekly published in Newark:

PETER FRANCISCO: PROFILE IN COURAGE

(By Edmund Diniz, district attorney, New Bedford, Mass.)

In 1765 Peter Francisco, at the age of 5, was left upon the wharf at City Point, now Hopewell, Va., friendless and alone. The ship which brought him to America immediately set sail and was never heard of again. Sailors and dockhands found that Peter understood a few words of English and could only speak Portuguese. The boy knew his name was Peter Francisco, that he had been separated from his parents, and that the men on the ship had left him on the wharf.

He was taken to Prince George poorhouse and cared for until Judge Anthony Winston, an uncle of Patrick Henry, took him to a place outside of Richmond, in Buckingham County. Judge Winston represented Buckingham County in the Virginia Convention and was one of the patriot leaders. On March 23, 1775, Peter Francisco listened entranced as Patrick Henry delivered his impassioned speech with the immortal phrase, "Give me liberty or give me death." War was soon to come.

In the fall of 1776, at 16 years of age, Francisco joined the 10th Virginia Regiment of continental troops. He was 6 feet 6 inches tall and weighed 260 pounds, with black eyes and black hair, and was exceedingly muscular and strong. He first saw action on September 11, 1777, at Brandywine, Pa. It was here at Sandy Hollow that Francisco met for the first time General Lafayette. Both men were wounded in this battle and became good friends during their convalescence. This friendship was to endure the rest of their lives. In 1824, long after the Revolution, when Lafayette visited America, Francisco accompanied the Marquis on his triumphant tour through Virginia.

Within a month Francisco was back in the lines at Germantown. He was among the Americans who escaped and fled to the New Jersey shore from Fort Mifflin. In June 1778, Francisco was wounded a second time by a British musket ball at Monmouth, N.J. In July of 1779 he was back in the line, ready to attack strong British outposts at Paulus Hook and Stony Point. Again Francisco was wounded.

At Stony Point he entered the fort after Maj. James Gibbon of Richmond, who was the first to enter. After Stony Point he returned to Virginia and enlisted in a cavalry troop and was engaged in many battles in the South under General Gates and General Greene.

Field dispatches of the battle of Camden, S.C., tell of how, the horses having been killed, Francisco moved an 1,100-pound cannon several hundred feet to a new position. It was in this battle that he saved Col. William Mayo's life and then made possible the colonel's escape by presenting him with a British horse, after disposing of its rider, who was attempting to capture Francisco. Colonel Mayo expressed his gratitude later by willing Francisco 1,000 acres of land in Kentucky. He never obtained the land, however, as the Mayo heirs protested the bequest and he refused to press suit.

It is reported that the sword he used in these conflicts was made especially for him by order of General Washington, and was said to have a 5-foot blade. Francisco had complained that the regulation army weapon was too light and too short.

On March 15, 1781, the American and British collided in one of the bloodiest battles of the Revolution. This was at Guilford Courthouse, Greensboro, N.C. On this day, it was reported by Benson J. Lossing, the historian and early authority on the Revolution, how Peter Francisco slew 11 British soldiers before he himself was critically wounded. Finally a British guardsman pinned Francisco's leg to his horse with a bayonet. The steel entered his leg just above the knee, sliced deep almost to the bone and ripped upward. Nearly unhorsed by the shock, doubled with pain, Francisco wheeled out of action, clung to his mount in desperation, and then, losing consciousness, tumbled from the saddle and collapsed on the battleground. He was left for dead but was discovered by a Quaker, given aid, and recovered.

The stories of his fantastic performance on the steps of the Guilford Courthouse became the talk of the Revolutionary Army. William Washington urged Francisco to accept a commission, but he declined, feeling unqualified because he could neither read nor write. Nathanael Greene expressed his admiration by having a handsome razor case especially made for him on which was inscribed: "Peter Francisco, New Store, Buckingham County, Va. A tribute to his moral worth and valor. From his comrade in arms Nathanael Greene." The razor case still exists, preserved in a room with other mementos in the museum at the National Military Park, Greensboro, N.C.

A monument is located at the site of the Guilford Courthouse Battle at the National Military Park. The inscription at the base of the monument reads: "To Peter Francisco, a giant in stature, might and courage—who slew in this engagement 11 of the enemy with his own broadsword, rendering himself thereby perhaps the most famous private soldier of the Revolutionary War."

The Commnnwealth of Massachusetts annually proclaims March 15 as Peter Francisco Day. This proclamation came about as a result of legislation filed by me when a member of the Massachusetts Senate. I chose March 15 in commemoration of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Recovering from the leg-splitting bayonet thrust that had almost killed him, Francisco became well enough to travel. The war had moved to Virginia and the stage was set for Yorktown. One day, while he was stopping at Ward's Tavern, in what is now Nottoway County, nine of the British General Tarleton's dragoons burst up the road and surrounded him. One of the dragoons demanded the silver buckles on his shoes. These were a gift of Judge Winston and Francisco refused to give them up voluntarily. When the trooper left his horse and tucked his saber beneath his arms and stooped to grab the buckles, Francisco grasped the hilt, wrenched the saber free, and in almost the same sweeping motion delivered an awesome stroke, splitting the trooper's head and neck in half down to his shoulders. The dragoons rushed at him. One aimed a pistol at Francisco and Francisco went after him with the saber. The trooper fired, the ball grazed Francisco's side, his sixth wound, but one saber thrust severed the hand that fired the shot. Another trooper leveled a gun at Francisco's breast and pulled the trigger. It missed fire. He grabbed the musket and wrenched it from the trooper's hands and knocked him from his saddle. Francisco sprung up on the horse, rose in the stirrups and hallooed, just as if he were really summoning help that was nearby. The dragoons broke and fled in panic in all directions. Francisco fled down a back country road and was able to easily elude his pursuers. This was the last of Francisco's wartime exploits. He saw the British surrender to the Americans at Yorktown.

An engraving depicting the encounter with Tarleton's troopers was first published in 1814 and met with great popular approval. Copies of it adorned parlor walls, North and South, for a generation. The original now hangs in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Francisco returned to Buckingham County when the war was over. He opened a small store the next year and later ran a tavern. He had made many friends with the leaders of the American Revolution, George Washington, Patrick Henry, the Marquis de Lafayette, Gen. Nathanael Greene, Col. William Washington, Col. William Mayo, Henry Clay and John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, many of whom have left personal records of his great charm and wit, as of his valor and superhuman strength. His closest friendship was with Lafayette, which began when they were recuperating together after the Battle of Brandywine.

MARRIED THREE TIMES

Peter Francisco married three times, each time into a Virginia family of good standing. In 1785 he married Susannah Anderson, who died 5 years after their marriage, leaving him with a son to whom she left a home and the Cumberland County lands inherited from her father. Two years later he married Catherine Fauntleroy Brooks, a friend of Susannah who bore 4 children, and they spent 27 happy years together at "Locust Grove" before she died in 1821. His third marriage in 1823 was to Mary Beverly Grymes, the widow West, who survived him. There are descendents in Georgia, Virginia, the Carolinas, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and Texas.

In 1825 they moved from Buckingham County to Richmond, where during his last 6 years Francisco served as sergeant-at-arms of the Virginia House of Delegates. The house he left is still standing.

On January 16, 1831, Peter Francisco died in Richmond. The house adjourned in respect and joined with the senate, the Governor and the city council in attending the funeral. The Virginia legislature prepared a resolution of regret. The services were conducted in the hall of the house of delegates by Bishop Channing Moore, and Francisco was buried with honors in Shockoe Cemetery, Richmond, Va.

Just before the turn of the present century, the Daughters of the American Revolution planted in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park 13 "liberty trees," 1 for each of the Original Colonies, each tree nourished by soil taken from the grave of a Revolutionary hero. Virginia's symbol was the chestnut tree, and the earth around its base came from the grave of Peter Francisco.

A portrait by an unknown artist has been preserved and hangs in the executive mansion in Richmond, Va.

A veritable giant, tall and massive, as brave as he was strong, a man described as above all personal prejudice or meanness of conduct, devoted passionately to the cause which he had made his own, there is no more valiant figure in the whole history of America's fighting men than Peter Francisco.

The Milwaukee Eagles Present "Milwaukee Remembers" Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last weekend throughout our country numerous organizations held programs of loyalty to our Nation and of support for U.S. efforts in Vietnam.

Among these events was one of special interest held in my congressional district. It was the "Milwaukee Remembers Its Veterans" program and dinner, sponsored by the New Milwaukee Aerie No. 0137 of the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

A number of civic officials planned and participated in the event. Chairman of the "Milwaukee Remembers" Committee was Judge Robert Cannon; dinner chairman was Milwaukee City Clerk Ray Markey. Attending were county board chairman Eugene Grobschmidt and Alderman Allen R. Calhoun.

Special guests were Harry Hershfield, the well-known comedian and raconteur, and Judge Robert W. Hansen, who has achieved a national reputation because of his humanitarian, civic, and patriotic activities with the Eagles and other organizations.

The honored guest of the evening was Warren Spahn, the former Milwaukee Braves pitching star. He was given the Eagles' Major Richard Bong Award for his war services.

The principal speaker for the evening was the U.S. ace pilot of World War II and Korea, Col. Francis S. Gabreski. Following a stirring invocation by the Rev. Mankowski, S.J., Judge Robert Cannon introduced Colonel Gabreski by recalling the details of the distinguished flier's career.

In World War II, Colonel Gabreski compiled a total of 166 combat missions, with 500 combat hours flown in British Spitfires and American P–47 airplanes. During this period he was credited with destroying 28 enemy aircraft in the air and 3 aircraft on the ground.

He was shot down over enemy territory in July 1944, to become a prisoner of war until liberation in May 1945. Recalled to duty during the Korean war, Colonel Gabreski became history's eighth "jet ace" on April 1, 1952.

His combined score of enemy aircraft destroyed during the two conflicts stands at 37½ and makes him the top living air ace in the United States today.

His remarks at the banquet reflected the same kind of patriotism which his distinguished war record would indicate. It was indeed a privilege for me to have participated at the "Milwaukee Remembers Its Veterans" program to hear him.

Because I believe Colonel Gabreski's words, as well as the occasion at which it was given, are significant expressions of loyalty to America and American ideals, I insert the speech at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and respectfully urge the attention of my colleagues to it.

THE MEANING OF LOYALTY

(A speech by Col. F. S. Gabreski, U.S. Air Force)

It is certainly an honor as well as a distinction once again to come back to Milwaukee, Wis., and see many of my friends. It is a real pleasure for me to address not only the members of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, but all loyal Americans participating in this event.

As you know, it was my privilege to have known and served with your own war hero, Maj. Dick Bong. For that reason it is a particular pleasure for me to present the award which bears his name to a great athlete and a man whose life has exemplified courage, loyalty, and dedication to our beloved country—Warren Spahn.

This evening I would like to spend a few moments with you and share some thoughts on loyalty. In Webster's dictionary the word "loyal" is defined as faithful and true to the lawful government. This is what I think loyalty is in its highest sense: allegiance to the law of the land.

American military men and women have learned, as champions of freedom, that loyalty and the rule of law go hand in hand. They keep this in mind as America prepares to observe May 1 as Law Day, U.S.A.

As we approach the first day of May, when international communism celebrates its past victories and parades its threatening shadow over the remainder of the world, it is fitting that we should pause and reflect by way of comparison upon our own way of life.

President Johnson, in his proclamation of May 1 as Law Day or Loyalty Day, noted that it was so designated "to remind us of the fundamental truth that our liberty, our rights to pursue our individual destinies, and our very lives are dependent upon our system of law and individual courts.

The year 1966 is the 175th anniversary of the Bill of Rights and the 190th anniversary of American independence. "These two significant events in American history," said President Johnson, "serve to remind us that the great individual rights we value so highly carry with them corresponding obligations of citizenship: one of these is loyalty."

I am mindful of the struggle of our forefathers to obtain our basic rights, I am reminded of the current conflict in Vietnam which we partake of to help a valiant people maintain their freedom and way of life from a threatening engulfing communism.

We recall in the Preamble that the Constitution was established by the people of the United States "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

We must not be complacent about our liberty and government—but we must be loyal to it. We have built great communities, attained great economic and cultural developments, and have established the highest standards of living for our citizenry. We have maintained individual freedom with equal justice, without regard to wealth, race, or religion. It is our responsibility to be alert to our great heritage of liberty, justice, and equality under the law. It is our sacred obligation to preserve and strengthen and be loyal to this great heritage so that, like our forefathers, we may secure its blessings for our posterity.

Many brave men have paid for our freedom with their lives. Why? Because they were loyal, loyal to our country and its way of life. President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed America's dedication to freedom in these words: "We would rather die on our feet than live on our knees."

Keeping America free requires Americans of every generation to value freedom more than life, to remain loyal to their ideals when the going is rough. American fightingmen have traditionally refused to give in to the enemy—these are the men who died at Valley Forge, Gettysburg, San Juan Hill, Belleau Wood, Bastogne, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, and Danang Valley.

The work of helping to sustain life is one type of monument to soldiers, sailors, and airmen who have given their lives. They were men first and fighters second—but they fought hard. Many men have left us such as Richard Bong, fighter ace of aces, and the recently deceased Astronaut Maj. Charles Bassett.

America is proud of its heroes such as these. Every man who demonstrates loyalty to duty and country has the makings of a hero.

The cold war going on today is unlike any other war we know. While the tactics and guises of communism take many forms and are often obscure, one fact remains constant and clear—the ultimate goal of communism is world domination. The progress the Communists have made toward this goal since World War II and Korea is alarming.

The thoughts of the people go where the action is. The present action is in a land that a generation ago was a quiet minor theater in a major war. But today, Vietnam is very much the scene of action. "Why Vietnam?" someone asks. One answer was provided by Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, U.S. Army, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "As the President has said so often, all we want is to get the nations in that part of the world to leave their neighbors alone. We want nothing more—no land, no special rights. Not only do we want nothing, but, as the President has also made crystal clear, we are willing to help all of the nations in the area to get back on their feet, including North Vietnam."

Today, America's military men remain loyal to our country and our cause—in West Berlin, at Guantanamo and in the 7th Fleet, in nuclear submarines under the sea, in SAC planes high in the skies, and at our bases in Vietnam.

Wherever they patrol, our Nation's heart is with them. Our Nation's life is in their hands. We pray God to keep them and to speed them home in a day of peace that they will have won. Thank you.

Transcript of an Interview Between Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman and Ray Scherer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, the following is a transcript of an interview between Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman and Ray Scherer, NBC News on NBC's "Today" show, May 3, 1966, regarding the farm income-farm price situation. I recommend it to my colleagues for reading:

TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN SECRETARY FREEMAN AND RAY SCHERER ON "TODAY"

Mr. Secretary, every time I pick up the paper you seem to be in greater trouble. Now here is the headline of today's Washington Post; "Ackley calls for restraint on profits." President Johnson's economic advisers bluntly warned businessmen yesterday that they must exercise restraint on rising prices and profits if they expect labor to hold wage demands in check. Now the farmer is a businessman. Isn't the President's economic adviser saying that the farm prices must go down or at least stay down?

Secretary FREEMAN. Ray, the farmer, like the businessman and every patriotic American, is trying to help the President in his courageous struggle to combat inflation and to continue the prosperity in this country. What we have got to take a look at are the cold, hard facts. The facts of the matter are that farm prices are not inflationary. The fact of the matter is that farm prices today are 14 percent below what they were in 1952. Let me say that again: Farm prices are 14 percent below what they were in 1952.

Now wages, every workingman knows, are up. Profits are up. Cost of living is up. But farm prices are 14 percent below what they were in 1952. Many, many people have put the finger, so to speak, on the farmer in this struggle, and the facts don't bear that out. Some of the big city newspapers that are antifarm in their orientation have been belaboring the farmer. And some of the big city politicians have, too. However, it is true that farm prices have come up somewhat since 1960. Farm income has come up even more because of some of our new programs.

Progress is being made, but farm prices are not inflationary.

Question. Mr. Secretary, isn't that exactly the trouble? The farmer seems to think that you are taking pleasure in the fact that farm prices are down. Here you are almost speaking with pride about the fact that they are down 14 percent since 1952. Didn't you, at a news conference on March 31, express pleasure that farm prices have moderated?

Secretary FREEMAN. No, Ray, I certainly did not.

Question. Well, what did you say?

Secretary FREEMAN. What I said was this. I had a news conference and I was making the projection and an explanation of what the food and farm price situation is. In the course of this, I analyzed some farm prices for a couple of commodities. In these commodities, farm prices had jumped, and had jumped to a high level. And they were beginning to moderate. They had jumped up because of extremes in the price cycle and because of weather. They were now moderating and I expressed some pleasure at that fact because extreme, high prices are damaging to the farmer and to the consumer alike. They result in more production—a lot more production—and a price break. That hurts the farmer, and the high price and the swing hurts the consumer.

Basically, the interest of the farmer and the consumer are alike in this. What we need to have and what we are struggling to accomplish—and I might say with some success are strong, fair prices—to avoid these cyclical ups and downs which are damaging to the producer, to the farmer, and to the consumer alike.

I say that we are making some progress because farm income is up. Farm prices have strengthened moderately, although they are still far below what they ought to be in relation to the rest of our economy. And of course our food costs in terms of what an hour of work will buy are sharply down. As a matter of fact, even since 1960, 1 hour of work will buy another quart of milk, an hour of work will buy another loaf and a half of bread, an hour of work will even buy more meat, despite the fact that meat prices have reflected some increase.

Question. Mr. Secretary, you are going to have a hard time convincing the housewife that food prices are down. Isn't the farmer caught squarely in the middle here? Isn't the administration, in effect, trying to put a lid on farm prices?

Secretary Freeman. No; the administration, quite to the contrary, has been trying to firm and to strengthen farm prices. Now, I want to make one distinction here, Ray, that is sometimes overlooked on it. Farm prices and food prices are not the same thing. The farmer gets only 39 cents [*Note.*—Secretary Freeman inadvertently used figure of 37 on telecast; 39 percent is correct figure.] (in 1965) out of that food dollar. The balance goes in between (for) all it takes to get that produce, whatever it may be, from the farmer to the table. And here we have had some increases. However, I want to repeat, and I realize that the housewife—this goes for Mrs. Freeman as well—comes home with a pencil a little dulled and a quzzical look in her eyes. The truth of the matter is, the real measure of this is what does an hour of work buy. An hour of work today will buy twice as much food as it would 30 years ago. As I said a few moments ago, it will buy more food than it would just in 1960.

Question. The Pentagon has announced it is not going to buy any more pork, it's not going to buy any more butter. How do you explain that to your farmer friend?

Secretary Freeman. Well, I explain that the Pentagon is reacting like the prudent housewife. When the price of something goes up, then you shop around and tend to buy things that don't cost quite as much. However, when the price of things go down, you buy more.

Back in 1964, everyone will remember that cattle dropped to an alltime low, and there was real disaster to the farmers of this country. At that time, the Department of Agriculture—for needy people—and the Pentagon, bought lots and lots of beef. We spent a couple of hundred million dollars doing it. But then, when the price strengthened, we no longer bought so much. Pork went up to 30 cents—that's pretty high—in the market. The result was, buying moderated. That price now has dropped, and yesterday pork was about $24 to $25 (per hundredweight). That means the price is coming down, and we're watching this very closely and studying it, and I expect, as matters now stand, if my estimates are borne out by careful study, I would recommend to the Pentagon that they go back to buying pork. And I think they will.

In other words, the Government is trying to contribute to that steady but moderate price that is important to the entire economy, and to the farmer and consumer alike—to buy when he needs to strengthen that market price; when that price goes up, why then to soften that buy. And this we do in other things, fruits and vegetables, and I think it is a sound policy in the national interest.

Question. So you say this works both ways?

Secretary Freeman. It does work both ways.

Question. Mr. Secretary, I wonder if I might project this situation into the fall congressional campaign. Now, there are a lot of young Democrats from the farm States who came in by very narrow margins, and these freshman Democrats are in danger of not coming back in their sophomore year unless you show them some sympathy, it seems to me. What can you do to help them out?

Secretary Freeman. Well, I'm happy to show them some sympathy, but I don't think they need it. They are a bright, alert, fine young group of Congressmen; they've made a fine record. There is concern; there has been some misunderstanding as you just noted on asking me about this remark that is attributed to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Ray, I couldn't say that I hope farm prices go down. I'd swallow my tongue. I couldn't get it out. I think the President would fire me. He's been fighting for parity of income ever since he's been in public life.

The main thing is—and there will be a lot of demagoguery; this is an election year the main thing is that farm income is up. Farm income is up almost $4 billion over what it was in 1960. Now that's not adequate. On a per capita base, farmers still get only 65 percent of what the nonfarm segment of our economy gets, but that's more than the 55 percent he got back in 1960. And farm income per farm—these are average figures now and don't fit every farm—but farm income per farm is up about 55 percent.

Now, this means real progress, and farmers are making progress—but they've got to make more. That record speaks for itself. Surpluses have been eliminated. We've increased our agricultural exports for dollars to levels that would have been impossible just a few years ago. We continue to increase our efficiency, our productivity. We feed a great part of the world. The American family farmer is the wonder of the world. This record speaks for itself, and I think it will in November, and I think it will help these Congressmen.

Question. Mr. Secretary, in the final minute we have, I wonder if you can tell us where food prices are heading. They are a major factor in the price index, and that, in turn, is a major factor in whether or not the President will have to ask for a tax increase.

Secretary Freeman. Well, there were—as you point out earlier, and I referred to— a couple of items that jumped up to extremes earlier this year. Those items have moderated; food generally has moderated; production is increasing. Farm income this year will continue strong. Food prices will be about the same as they were last year. The farmer and food will continue to contribute not to an increased cost of living, but to moderation of the cost of living.

If the price of food had gone up as much as the price of other things, why the consumer would be spending billions and billions of dollars more than he is today.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary. If we have been a little hard on you this morning, we do sympathize with you as the man in the middle. It was a privilege to have you here.

New York State Legislature Urges Enforcement of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following concurrent resolution was adopted by the New York State Legislature on March 31, 1966, and urges the enforcement of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

I commend the resolution to the attention of our colleagues:

Resolution 164

Concurrent resolution of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York memorializing the Congress of the United States to provide for enforcement of the provisions of Public Law 835, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936

Whereas Public Law 835, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, still the law of this land, implements a strong U.S. merchant marine and mandates its adequacy for national defense or emergency; its adequacy for all domestic waterborne commerce and for a substantial part of export and import (foreign) waterborne commerce; mandates vessels constructed in the United States of the most modern and efficient models, operated and manned by citizens under the U.S. flag; and

Whereas experience prior and subsequent to this act indicates that each component factor cited in the act is vitally necessary to the Nation and to its political subdivisions and the immediate and extended economy and safety; and

Whereas enforcement of these mandates has become so lax that today U.S. ships carry less than 9 percent of the total U.S. waterborne foreign commerce—because of failure by the Federal Government to support and protect the U.S. merchant marine, providing less support, less protection than is the practice common to all other maritime nations; and

Whereas the active U.S. merchant marine now consists of approximately 900 vessels—less than pre-World War II strength, and shipbuilding capacity has dangerously dwindled since that period, although the national responsibilities undertaken in the world and the magnitude of dangers confronted are gravely increasing. In contrast, the Soviet Union's maritime strength is equal to, or may now surpass, this Nation's—auguring favorable for their avowed purpose to dominate world maritime power by 1970—and meanwhile the United States allows its maritime force to diminish: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved (if the senate concurs), That the Legislature of the State of New York respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to urge that the provisions of Public Law 835, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, be enforced, and immediately to pursue every channel of such enforcement rigorously; and be it further

Resolved (if the senate concurs), That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each member of the New York delegation to the Congress of the United States.

By order of the assembly.

John T. McKennan,
Clerk.

In senate, March 31, 1966, concurred in, without amendment.

By order of the senate.

Albert J. Abrams,
Secretary.

Sales Participation Act of 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, there will shortly be before the House the bill H.R.14544, the Sales Participation Act of 1966. The matter is already under discussion in the other body. A major segment of this proposed program involves the Veterans' Administration and I have received letters on this subject from representatives of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, and AMVETS. Under leave to extend my remarks I include the texts of these letters.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
April 20, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: The Participation Sales Act of 1966 will encourage greater use of this country's private capital assets in financing education and the general welfare through loan programs. One of the major lending programs is that authorized by veterans legislation.

The Disabled American Veterans (DAV) supports only that legislation which is designed for the benefit of the disabled veteran. Recognizing that adequate financing is a foundation of any continuing program, a review of this act shows that it warrants our endorsement.

The provisions of this act have been tested and proved by a Veterans' Administration lending program in which numerous members of the DAV have participated. This includes guaranteed loans and direct loans to disabled veterans, and the special programs for partial Federal financing of special homes for certain disabled veterans. These are part of one of Government's largest lending programs, administered by the VA, which has sold almost $1 billion loans to private capital. The Participaton Sales Act of 1966 would extend the same privilege of "pooling" loans to other Federal agencies.

We find that the new act in no way changes the veterans program administration, and that the VA will continue to deal directly with the veteran. It provides selling of mortgage loans through the Federal National Mortgage Association, which acts as marketing agent for the loans to private capital. This, in turn, permits use of the capital from sales of the loans.

The VA experience has shown that this practice has allowed loans to thousands of additional veterans.

The DAV support of the President's policy of defending freedom against communism in Vietnam is unwavering, as is the support of necessary expenditures to fight the war. As veterans who have suffered at the hands of enemies who would deny our freedom, we best understand that the primary responsibility of Government is security of our country.

Since the provisions of this act strengthen the method of financing by our Government, and encourages private enterprise participation in the loan programs, it is consonant with the aims of the DAV.

The goals of the DAV remain consistent: benefits for those who gave so much in service to their country. Adequate financing of those benefits is essential. Therefore, I urge you to support this legislation and its passage by Congress.

Sincerely,

CLAUDE L. CALLEGARY,
National Commander.

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
Washington, D.C., April 27, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: As national commander of the American Legion, I have been asked to comment on H.R. 14544, the Participation Sales Act of 1966.

I am advised that this bill would authorize Federal agencies administering credit programs to enter into agreements with the Federal National Mortgage Association, whereby that association would sell to private investors interest-earning shares, known as participation certificates, based upon a pooling of Government loan certificates. I am told that this plan, in effect, would serve to substitute private for public credit.

The Veterans' Administration has since 1964 used this technique to sell a substantial number of its veterans' housing mortgages, under a similar authorization contained in Public Law 88-560. H.R. 14544 would encompass this authorization and extend it to include certain other Federal agencies.

The impact of the proposed legislation upon present VA operations is the primary concern of the American Legion. It is our understanding that the sale of participation certificates under the provisions of this bill would not give the purchasers any control over the programs under which the loans were made. The veteran would continue to deal directly with the Veterans' Administration, the agency which administers his housing loan program.

We have been assured by the Veterans' Administration that the provisions of this bill will favorably affect the operations of the VA. Accordingly, the American Legion favors the enactment of H.R. 14544.

Sincerely yours,

L. ELDON JAMES,
National Commander.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Banking and Currence Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Participation Sales Act of 1966, currently before the Congress, has been reviewed by national officers and staff personnel of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States believes that the proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966, will be of benefit to veterans desiring VA direct or guaranteed loans in the future.

The favorable effect of participation by private capital on Government loan program financing is evident in the marketing of $925 million in direct loans and vendee accounts by the Veterans Administration. This has extended the limit of credit to permit thousands of additional loans to veterans without Treasury borrowing.

As intended, and as provided in the proposed legislation, agency control of individual loans will not be impaired. The Veterans of Foreign Wars believe this to be an absolutely essential stipulation to insure that veterans will continue to deal only with the Veterans' Administration with respect to current or future VA direct loans which may be committed to a pool as security for participations to be sold for the purpose of substituting private capital for Federal funds and credit.

It is of manifest importance to veterans and to this organization that the veterans loan program funding as administered by the VA not be burdened by deficiencies resulting from inclusion of lower interest rate bearing loans of other Federal agencies. Each agency should be obligated to the fund for whatever deficiences are attributable to their respective utilization of this procedure of selling assets. It is believed that the proposed legislation satisfies this requirement.

While the VA direct loan revolving fund is now clearly adequate to meet current needs, it is conceivable that in the future additional funds will be necessary to meet the increased demand for direct VA loans by qualified veterans in areas of direct loan eligibility. Increased marketing of VA mortgage assets through the pooling device conceived in the proposal under discussion would doubtless make more funds available for VA direct loans. Likewise, the loan guarantee revolving fund for payment of claims resulting from defaults on VA guaranteed private loans would be replenished and stabilized, thus insuring prompt payment of all proper claims to lending agencies, encouraging them to continue to participate in the guaranteed loan program.

Therefore, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States recommends enactment of the proposed Participation Sales Act of 1966.

Sincerely,

ANDY BORG,
Commander in Chief.

AMVETS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Committee on Banking and Currency,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: The President of the United States has called for passage of the Participation Sales Act of 1966, which, if enacted into law, will permit greater use of private capital assets in financing education and general welfare through loan programs.

One of the major Government lending programs is authorized by the loan provisions of veterans legislation. The validity of the principle embraced in this proposed law has already been tested and proved by this veterans lending program. Since 1964, nearly $1 billion in these loans have been "pooled" and marketed to private financial institutions through the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA). This has permitted thousands of extra loans to veterans without extra Treasury borrowing.

The act would permit the same practice by other Federal agencies, in permitting "pooling" to market Government-backed loans to private capital. The officers of AMVETS have renewed the proposed legislation and find that its passage will bring absolutely no change in the management of the VA guaranteed or direct loans to veterans on homes and businesses. The VA will continue to be the administering agency, and the veteran, as always, will deal with the VA.

We also find that, under the proposed law, Congress will retain full control of appropriations, and in many areas congressional control will be strengthened. No veterans benefits funds can be diverted elsewhere.

The members of this organization fully recognize that fighting a godless enemy in Vietnam is costly, but necessary. Its cost is nothing compared to the human suffering if freedom is lost. This organization is on record strongly supporting the necessary expenditures for the Vietnam conflict and the President's policy of resisting the Communist conspiracy that has threatened to bury us. As veterans, we recognize that a primary responsibility of government is security of our country.

We also stand firmly on the long-established principle that the veterans of this country are fully entitled to the benefits provided under present laws, and more. For without those who respond to the call to colors, there would be no freedom, no United States as we know it.

This organization is seeking liberalized expenditures in compensation for those who suffered wounds in wars, bigger pensions for those veterans who are in need, and greater aid to widows and children of those who served. We further seek strengthening of veterans preference in government jobs, another benefit granted veterans by the latest GI bill and previous veterans legislation.

Recognizing the need for adequately financing veterans benefits, including those rightfully extended to millions of veterans under the new GI bill passed by this Congress, and the need for financing other programs improving the general welfare, the AMVETS endorses the principles embodied in the Participation Sales Act of 1966.

The act obviously enhances and improves Government's method of financing, encouraging a greater partnership of private enterprise and Government. This improvement and this partnership is compatible with the goals of this organization, and we strongly urge its passage.

Sincerely,

Ralph E. Hall,
National Commander.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Daily Digest

Senate

Chamber Action

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held Thursday, May 5, at noon.

Committee Meetings

(*Committees not listed did not meet*)

APPROPRIATIONS—PUBLIC WORKS

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee continued its hearings on fiscal 1967 budget estimates for public works, with testimony from Senator Cooper and Representatives Natcher, Perkins, Stubblefield, Carter, and Farnsley, on funds for various projects in Kentucky; Representatives Wright, Pool, and Cabell, on funds for the Trinity River Seaway; Representative Kluczynski, on funds for the Illinois Waterway duplicate locks; Senator Gruening, on funds for Snettisham hydroelectric power project; Senator Russell of South Carolina, on funds for Huntington Island beach erosion project; and Senators Magnuson and Neuberger, on funds for projects in the Pacific Northwest.

Hearings continue tomorrow.

ARMY COMBAT READINESS

Committee on Armed Services: The Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee continued in executive session to discuss Army combat readiness with Gen. Harold K. Johnson, Army Chief of Staff, and Gen. Paul L. Freeman, Commanding General, Continental Army Command.

Hearings were recessed subject to call.

STOCKPILE DISPOSALS

Committee on Armed Services: Subcommittee on the National Stockpile, in executive session, approved for full committee consideration without amendment the following bills authorizing disposal of materials, as indicated, from the national stockpile: H.R. 13365, metallurgical grade chromite; H.R. 13367, acid grade fluorspar; H.R. 13368, bismuth; H.R. 13371, phlogopite mica; H.R. 13373, muscovite mica; H.R. 13578, rhodium; H.R. 13579, thorium; H.R. 13580, amosite asbestos; H.R. 13663, ruthenium; and H.R. 13774, vanadium.

Prior to this action, in open session, subcommittee received testimony on these proposals from Joe E. Moody, Acting Administrator, General Services Administration.

It was announced that the full committee would meet in executive session tomorrow to consider these bills and pending nominations.

BANK HOLDING COMPANIES

Committee on Banking and Currency: Subcommittee on Financial Institutions continued its hearings on H.R. 7371, S. 2353, and S. 2418, bills to amend in several regards the Bank Holding Company Act, having as its witnesses George Olmsted, James Bancroft, and Arthur J. Morris, all of the Financial General Corp.; Joseph Birnie, the National Bank of Georgia; E. Guy Ridgely, Alexandria National Bank; Homer Derick, First National Bank of Lexington, Va.; Robert Culver, Valley Fidelity Bank & Trust Co., Knoxville; and Harold Brown, Valley National Bank, Winchester, Va.

Hearings were recessed subject to call.

ELECTRIC POWERLINES

Committee on Commerce: Committee began hearings on S. 2507, authorizing a program of research regarding the effects of overhead powerlines on citizen, property values, and the country's natural beauty, and S. 2508, authorizing a program of research to encourage use of underground powerlines, with testimony from Representatives Ottinger and Widnall; Robert Roe, Department of Conservation and Economic Development, State of New Jersey; Lee C. White, Chairman, Federal Power Commission; Kenneth Holum, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Water and Power; Cliff Walker, Flight Standards Service, Federal Aviation Administration; Mayor James Kelly, East Orange, N.J., on behalf of the National League of Cities; and Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., special counsel, Woodside, Calif.

Hearings continue tomorrow.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Committee on Government Operations: Committee continued its hearings on S. 3010, to create at the Cabinet level a Department of Transportation, receiving testimony from Senator Monroney; J. W. Hershey, Common Carrier Conference of Domestic Water Carriers; F. A. Mechling, American Waterways Operators, Inc.; James B. Hartranft, Jr., Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association; Stuart G. Tipton, Air Transport Association; Charles H. Wager, National Industrial Traffic League; Gen. John P. Doyle, USA (retired), college of engineering, Texas A. & M. University; A. B. McMullen,

Appendix

Capt. Robert E. Watkins, of Joplin, Mo., To Be Awarded 1965 Koren Kolligian, Jr., Trophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Robert E. Watkins, of Joplin, Mo., will be presented with the 1965 Koren Kolligian, Jr., Trophy at ceremonies at the Pentagon tomorrow.

This trophy was established in 1958 by Mr. and Mrs. Koren Kolligian, of Cambridge, Mass., in memory of their son, the late Koren Kolligian, Jr., who was declared missing on an Air Force T-33 flight off the California coast in 1955. The trophy has become one of the Air Force's most respected awards for safety of flight and is presented annually to the aircrew member who responded most successfully to an emergency situation in flight during the year.

Captain Watkins was selected from 19 worthy nominees to receive the trophy for the year 1965. I had the high honor and privilege of meeting Captain Watkins in my office yesterday. This young Air Force pilot typifies the men who serve our Nation in the Air Force. I am indeed proud that his remarkable performance under extremely hazardous conditions, while on an Air Force mission in southeast Asia, is being recognized by his selection as the 1965 recipient of the Kolligian Trophy.

I include, at this point in the RECORD, a copy of his biography and the Air Force citation.

BIOGRAPHY

Capt. Robert E. Watkins (34), is a native of Joplin, Mo. He attended Westminster College and graduated (B.A.) in 1954. He entered the Air Force in 1954 and completed flying training as an aviation cadet in 1955. After completing advanced flying school (F-86), he served with the 87th Fighter Interceptor Squadron, Lockbourne AFB, Ohio, until return to civilian life in 1958. He entered the College of Law, University of Toledo, completing 3 years there before being recalled, during the Berlin crisis in 1961, to active duty with the 112th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Ohio Air National Guard (F-84), which he had joined in 1958.

Upon deactivation of his Air Guard unit, he remained on active duty with the 559th Tactical Fighter Squadron, 12th Tactical Fighter Wing, MacDill Air Force Base, Fla.

In 1964, he went to Vietnam as a forward air controller stationed at Bien Hoa Air Base. Returning to the United States in 1965, he was assigned to his present duty, an F-104 pilot with the 435th Tactical Fighter Squadron, 479th Tactical Fighter Wing, George Air Force Base, Calif., and has just returned from his second tour in Vietnam.

Captain Watkins has been awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with 12 oak leaf clusters for his 445 combat missions as a forward air controller and tactical fighter pilot in the Republic of Vietnam. Captain Watkins is married and has five children.

SUMMARY

Captain Watkins was No. 6 in the first cell of six F-104 aircraft on a deployment to southeast Asia. The launch and first three refuelings were smooth, precise and uneventful.

During the fourth refueling, at 29,500 feet, a normal hookup was accomplished; however, during fuel transfer, due to materiel failure, the basket assembly separated from the drogue and slid all the way down the receiver aircraft's probe, causing serious damage to the probe head. Because of the position of the basket, a highly pronounced left yaw was experienced. At the same time, the airflow into the left duct was disturbed causing the engine to operate continuously in a near-stall condition, which was further aggravated by foreign object damage that was ingested by the engine when the basket separated. The airflow over the left wing was also disturbed, causing a continual airframe buffet.

Because of these conditions, full military power was unable to keep the aicraft from losing 10,000 feet during the initial turn to the nearest emergency airfield which was 1,200 miles away and reporting 200 feet ceiling and 1-mile visibility.

Accompanied by his wingman at the maximum obtainable airspeed of 280 to 290 knots, and computing flight distance versus the abnormally high fuelflow necessary to keep the aircraft in level flight, Captain Watkins realized that the aircraft would flame out 1 hour from landfall.

An emergency was declared and a tanker was diverted from the second call. Hampered by weather conditions, a rendezvous was finally accomplished approximately 800 miles from landfall with 1,600 pounds of fuel remaining. Upon hooking up and attempting to transfer fuel, Captain Watkins learned that because of the damaged probe head, he could only offload approximately 20 pounds per hookup, which meant he was only draining the boom and could not receive fuel under pressure from the tanker. Throughout some 20-odd hookups, made in rapid enough succession that he was able to stay almost even with fuel consumption, all conceivable emergency procedures, various airspeeds (260 to 290 knots), aircraft positioning, tanker transfer pump manipulations, and boom angles were tried.

By this time, the aircraft was down to 900 pounds of fuel remaining, which Captain Watkins intended to use to descend, locate, and bail out over the ocean station vessel, which was, by that time, 6 minutes ahead. He backed off the tanker and cleaned up the cockpit in preparation for ejection. Looking up and seeing the tanker ahead, and determined to save the aircraft, he decided to attempt another hookup in the remaining time before he reached the rescue ship. As he hooked up this time, Captain Watkins tried a position far to the left of any tried before; and the boom operator said that, on that hookup, the aircraft took 100 pounds of fuel. He backed off, the tanker recycled the boom, and Captain Watkins hooked up again and placed his aircraft completely on the opposite (left) side of the boom than normal, with the hose coming over the canopy from right to left. This time, the boom operator said that the aircraft was receiving fuel which Captain Watkins confirmed. The tanker offloaded approximately 10,000 to 12,000 pounds of fuel, of which the aircraft received a full load of 5,800 pounds, the tip tanks having been previously jettisoned as they went dry. The remaining fuel was lost at the probe head during transfer, most of which entered the left engine duct and entered the cockpit through the air conditioning and pressurization system. Captain Watkins had to use 100 percent oxygen because of the fumes.

The fuel transfer, although taking much longer than normal, ended before his vision was materially affected. The remainder of the flight was uneventful, and a VFR "take-off flap" landing was made at home station.

"Sing Out '66" in Indianapolis, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the recent appearance of "Sing Out '66" in Indianapolis, sponsored by Moral Re-Armament was a welcome reminder that there does exist among the youth of America a feeling of patriotism, a sense of duty and a deep dedication to the highest ideals of our country. It was a refreshing contrast to the dreary, depressing parade of beatniks and self-appointed "rebels" who receive attention out of all proportion to their importance as representatives of our young people.

I commend the following editorials and stories from the Indianapolis Star and the Indianapolis News to the attention of my colleagues.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.), Star]

"SING OUT '66"

In recent weeks we have seen, here in Indiana, some youth demonstrations that have made many of us wonder about the patriotism, the sense of duty and the courage of American youth.

But next Friday we will see a different kind of youth demonstration. It will lift the hearts of young and old. It will inspire renewed faith in America's young men and women, and at the same time show everybody who sees it a real good time.

We're talking about "Sing Out '66" which will be put on in the coliseum here in Indianapolis by a group of the toughest, cleanest, finest looking group of young men and women we have ever seen in one place.

"Sing Out '66" is a musical production filled with songs, strong with an infectious beat, loaded with talent and produced with professional skill. But it is more than that. It is a call to patriotic love of country, it is an expression of decent, honest, and high minded emotion, it is an enthusiastic demonstration that there are hundreds, thousands, even millions of American youth who honor and believe in the very best traditions of our free land.

This show has been sweeping through this Nation, and foreign countries too, filling stadiums and concert halls and college auditoriums with cheering, stamping, laughing, approving American boys, girls, and adults. It was conceived and produced by a team of Moral Re-Armament youngsters whose purpose is not only to entertain, but also to revive and strengthen the moral and spiritual values that Americans for generations have held dear. These young people are dedicated, sincere, and filled with a sense of mission. But it is an infectious dedication, a joyous sincerity, and a happy mission. Through their spirited music they bring us a message of hope in the future. As you tap your feet to the driving beat of the drums and clap your hands in unison with the performers' rhythm, you get caught up in something too long missing on the American scene. Through love of music you find again love of country. Through the impact of the rhythm of the songs, you feel again those finest of emotions—hope, honor, duty, and joy in helping to serve your country and your fellow man.

When we first saw this show we were expecting something quite different—something amateur, sentimental, perhaps juvenile. We got the biggest surprise of our lives. It is professional, realistic, mature—and a whale of a lot of fun.

Put Friday, April 29, down as an important and exhilarating date to keep with "Sing Out '66." Admission is free. Everybody will love it, kids, college students, adults—everybody. It is one of the best things that has happened to Indianapolis, and to America, for a long, long time.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News, Apr. 28, 1966]

SING OUT '66

Hoosier citizens who have asked themselves "What's happening to our young people?" can take a firsthand look tomorrow night.

That's when "Sing Out '66," an aggregation of patriotic youngsters who set their sentiments to music, will appear in a 2-hour show at the Fairgrounds Coliseum. And the caliber of American youth on display there will be a good deal different from some of the specimens recently in the headlines.

The young people who make up the "Sing Out" troupe represent all races and creeds, all sections of the country, and several other nations as well. They have a story to tell in song—a story about such old-fashioned things as belief in God, patriotism, individual responsibility, and moral conduct.

Sponsored by Moral Re-Armament, the "Sing Out" show is militantly anti-Communist. "We don't want our generation to be represented either by antipatriotic minorities or a silent apathetic majority," says group leader Rusty Wailes, a former Olympic gold medalist.

That is a refreshing statement, a key to the refreshing nature of the "Sing Out" show. The 2-hour review is in no sense a sermon, but a highly entertaining and enjoyable program. Those who have seen previous shows and a filmed version of the performance testify that the singing is of high professional caliber. It is noteworthy that the youngsters recently taped a TV show with singing star Pat Boone, who enthusiastically endorses their work.

Of special interest to Hoosiers is the additional fact that the show features the Colwells, a singing family which got its start in Indianapolis. Ted Colwell heads one quartet called the Colwell Four, while his brothers Steve, Paul, and Ralph make up another singing aggregation called the Colwell Brothers. All are topflight professional singers.

Sponsoring the Indianapolis "Sing Out" is a committee of Hoosier citizens including Mr. and Mrs. John Burkhart, Mr. and Mrs. William A. Dyer Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Edward F. Gallahue, Mr. and Mrs. Kurt F. Pantzer, Dr. and Mrs. William N. Wishard Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. Donald Jameson.

The committee has done a service to the community by bringing the show to the coliseum, and all Hoosier citizens may take advantage of the occasion by turning out at the coliseum tomorrow night. Admission is without charge.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News, Apr. 30, 1966]

"SING" OUT '66 STIRS WAVES OF PATRIOTISM

The supermusical salesmen of "Sing Out '66" last night sold 10,000 Hoosiers a priceless bill of goods concerning the morals and ideals upon which America was founded.

It looked like family night at the State fairgrounds coliseum where Indianans were given a fresh, reaffirmed dose of patriotism in a talented, stirring 1½-hour show.

Moms and dads with small children, teenagers hand in hand, and a good representation of the clergy was aroused to clapping and singing at times throughout the show.

But the stirring plea of "Which Way, America?" was the song near the end of the show that brought the crowd to its feet. And they again rose, cheering and whistling, when "Up, Up With People" was resung in the finale. They kept applauding while standing for the entire 10-minute finale.

Richard (Rusty) Wailes, a three-time Olympic gold medal rowing winner who directs the group, then socked home with, "We believe that free men and women should be the most revolutionary men and women on earth."

The applause crescendoed when he added, "We are determined to demonstrate a concept of society that all 200 million of our fellow Americans can take part in, and one which the whole world will follow."

Wailes said the sing-out program will be renewed June 4 at Estes Park, Colo., where a monthlong meeting will be held for all the world's young people interested in Moral Re-Armament.

The show had to be delayed for 15 minutes because a 38th Street traffic jam slowed attendants' progress to the colliseum. But a Japanese quintet's version of "Oh Susanna, Don't You Cry for Me" brought a more relaxed atmosphere and the first clapping in unison.

The Sun Tones, a trio of blond girls, nearly had everyone discarding their popcorn with their song "Water for a Thirsty Land."

The cast provoked laughter when two girls, dressed as beatniks, pined in song for a boy friend named Willie who was drafted into battle. They didn't want freedom if they have to fight. The cast interrupted the lament with a crashing rendition of "Freedom Isn't Free," which went, "You have to pay the price, you have to sacrifice, freedom isn't free."

"Sing Out '66" next Hoosier stop will be at 2 p.m. tomorrow at Culver Military Academy at Culver.

As a result of the Sing Out's tour in the United States since November, 44 cities have started their own singouts, Wailes said.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Apr. 29, 1966]

PATRIOTISM "IN" AS "SING OUT '66" TROUPE TOURS THE TOWN

"Sing Out '66" youths on a whirlwind tour of midwestern cities spun into Indianapolis yesterday and generated great excitement for patriotism among high school pupils and college students.

The 120 musical "demonstrators," who come from 52 high school and college campuses and 17 countries, danced and sang at George Washington High School, Northwest High School, and Butler University.

The climax to their 2-day visit will be a performance at 8 o'clock tonight in the State fairgrounds coliseum. The public is invited and admission is free.

Butler University junior, Miss Mary Ann Rambo, 20 years old, Richmond, who attended the singout in Clowes Hall, said, "I really enjoyed it. It makes people think and show their true emotions, which isn't done on the Butler campus very often."

"It's out of this world," exclaimed Chris Booz, 20, Bourbon, a junior at Butler. He said all young people should see the show.

"It swings and there's a lot of depth in it about our country and the world situation. You really feel like they're right," Booz said.

Miss Pat Strahle, 21, Flint, Mich., also a Butler junior, agreed and added, "I was quite surprised by the amount of talent they have."

More than 1,100 students attended the performance in Clowes and gave the singers a standing ovation.

The group has received a 27-minute standing ovation from 2,500 cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy and a 23-minute ovation at West Point.

The troupe, fresh from a smash hit Wednesday night in the Cincinnati (Ohio) Gardens, will perform at 9:30 a.m. today at Emmerich Manual High School and then rest up for the big show tonight.

They will journey to Culver Sunday for a 2 p.m. performance on the Riding Hall Terrace at Culver Military Academy.

Students, pupils, and Marshall County residents are invited. The singout is to climax Loyalty Day celebrations there.

The Youths believe that character and not race, color, and creed should be the determining factor in the American society.

They sing out their beliefs to a rock-and-roll beat and dare their audiences to disbelieve them.

Starring in the show are the Colwell Four made up of Fred Morgan, Dan Broadhurst, David Allen, and Ted Colwell, the latter a former Indianapolis resident.

Allen has written 130 songs in the last 2 years for the show and the chorus has sung them in 17 different languages.

The youths took a break from their college studies to go on tour and some even gave up scholarships. The high school pupils in the singout study on the road. None of them receives money for taking part in the program.

The idea to build a new image of young America through song and dance began last summer at a demonstration for modernizing America at the Moral Re-Armament headquarters on Mackinac Island, Mich.

Since then the troupe has performed at nearly every major city and large college campus in the United States and in Korea and Japan.

Disquieting Signs in Our Economy and the HEW Appropriation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, last night President Johnson spoke of what he called the disquieting signs in our economy. Mr. McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board spoke of a "moderate across-the-board tax increase".

We just had an opportunity to do something about these "disquieting signs" in our economy with the vote on the motion to recommit to cut back 5 percent in Labor-HEW funds. Since 1960, this appropriation has grown from $3.9 billion to over $10.5 billion, a 267 percent increase. And this, mind you, is only 75 percent of what ultimately will have to be appropriated for the balance of fiscal 1967 to fully fund programs expected to be, but yet unauthorized, by the appropriate legislative committees.

Several of us pointed out in our minority views on this appropriation bill yesterday the additional price tag will be at least another $4 billion.

The proposed 5 percent cut would simply have pared some of the fat off HEW, would probably increase its efficiency, and if passed may have made it easier for President Johnson to sleep a little sounder tonight.

Fino Introduces Bill To Nullify Effect of Union Busting Unfair Practices in Union Representation Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the bill I am introducing today is aimed at letting unions organize and represent for purposes of collective bargaining workers in plants where the union in question has been defeated in a collective bargaining representation election by unfair practices on the part of the employer. Under these circumstances, my bill would oblige the National Labor Relations Board to order the employer to bargain with the union as if it had won the election.

I do not believe my bill would be opening up a Pandora's box because I am confident that the National Labor Relations Board would only order the employer to bargain with a defeated union where the facts showing unfair labor practices as being responsible for the unions defeat were extremely clear.

I believe that giving the NLRB power to order employers to bargain with unions under these circumstances is necessary if unionization is to have a fair chance in some of our more rural and undeveloped States. If unions cannot enjoy the benefits my bill would give them, then in many of these States we will continue to see unions unfairly deprived of victory in representation elections, with employers accepting the inexpensive and innocuous penalties imposed upon them for their unfair labor practices. Certainly these employers will pay to avoid unionization.

My bill will make certain that labor's rights cannot be violated and then paid for like a parking ticket. Under the Fino bill, fines and penalties will no longer, in situations which warrant tough measures, suffice to buy off unionization.

I am hopeful that the Congress will give this legislation its most favorable consideration, but if the callous disregard of the majority for labor legislation to date is repeated, this Congress is more likely to see punitive labor legislation passed than to favorably consider a bill like mine.

The Only Vietnamese in Vietnam Who Want a Communist Government Are the Vietnamese Who Are Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in the following column from the April 20, 1966, edition of the New York Herald Tribune, Joseph Alsop elucidates a little known interview with the Buddhist leader, Thich Tri Quang.

Mr. Alsop's conclusion that the South Vietnamese do not want the Communists to be a part of any future government is a sound one and I commend his column to the attention of our colleagues.

The article follows:

TRI QUANG SPEAKS OUT

(By Joseph Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—Instead of Senator MANSFIELD calling for negotiations, the headlines yesterday ought to have gone to Thich Tri Quang, calling for "victory over the Communists." In one surprising stroke, the ground has been cut out from under people like the Senator.

The basic assumptions of all Americans who take the Mansfield position are that the United States is somehow forcing the South Vietnamese people to continue their resistance to the Communists; and that there are great though inarticulate numbers of South Vietnamese who long for a negotiated peace with the Vietcong.

If these assumptions had any foundation whatever, that foundation would certainly have to be provided by Thich Tri Quang. This enigmatic Buddhist leader is a passionate Vietnamese nationalist, who has also been suspected, by a great many Americans, of being a strong neutralist. By any list, you would have to name Tri Quang as MANSFIELD's unique best bet in Vietnam. With just that rather obviously in mind, a correspondent of Newsweek has just got Tri Quang to give him an interview, to which far too little attention has been paid. Tri Quang was asked, to begin with, whether a new government of South Vietnam should begin to negotiate an end to the war. He replied roundly:

"If negotiations can really achieve peace in Vietnam, that peace should be the result of a victory over the Communists. * * * It would be illogical to have peace resulting from negotiations that are to the advantage of the Communists."

He was then asked about the proposal so strangely made by Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, to allow members of the Vietcong to join a future government after a negotiated peace. To this, Thrich Tri Quang replied more roundly still:

"No Communist Party can be a real political party. No Communist Party can live in harmony with other political parties. Furthermore, the nationalist parties in Vietnam are still weak and could not cope with the Communist Party if it were allowed to join."

There you have it. If Tri Quang means what he says, as he appears to, he not only rejects absolutely the positions taken by Senators MANSFIELD and KENNEDY; he is also considerable more intransigent than President Johnson. For the President, after all, is ready for "unconditional negotiations." Tri Quang only favors negotiations resulting from a victory over the Communists."

All of which suggests that it is a little silly for people in this country to be so nerve wracked" by the recurrent bouts of political ferment in South Vietnam. To begin with, those are most "nerve wracked" are also those who called most loudly for the repudiation of President Ngo Dinh Diem. Since they got their way on that occasion, one is inclined to ask, "What on earth did you expect?"

On the one hand, although poor Diem had real virtues, the Vietnamese got their bellies full of authoritarian government during the Diem regime. On the other hand, this immensely talented, courageous, and in industrious people had no practice in self-government for close on a hundred years before Diem. And their leaders are, therefore, inexperienced, while the masses still lack political consciousness.

Hence a long period of cut and try is going to have to be tolerated, while the Vietnamese work out a political balance and political modes that suit their own habits, traditions, and outlook. In this connection, too, the Tri Quang interview is of great significance. It indicates that most people (including this reporter) have been overrating the chances of the Vietnamese inadvertently stabbing themselves in the back while cutting and trying.

Militarily, the process of cut and try is certainly inconvenient though far from fatal. Politically, substantial progress has already been made. The ephemeral alternatives have been eliminated. The army, the Buddhists, and the Catholics have emerged as the true nationwide power groups. It remains to find a workable balance between the power groups.

There will be more cutting and trying before the balance is reached; and this will upset respectable Americans. Although few people here at home understand this, the South Vietnamese have much to look forward to. Theirs is a very rich country. Their people, long kept in backward ignorance by the French, have learned a hundred modern lessons from the cruel war.

If they win and there is peace, in fact, South Vietnam should be a very good country to live in—even if its government still "nerve racks" those Americans who think Vietnam can only be led by the bloodboltered old murderer, Ho Chi Minh.

Building North-South Understanding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it often seems these days that ill feeling and misunderstanding play a part in our national life beyond what is either logical or realistic.

The actual facts of good feeling and constructive relationships between citizens deserve to be better known. With that in mind, I recommend the following letter writen by an Illinois citizen and printed in a recent edition of the Press-Register newspaper of Mobile, Ala. I hope all Members will read it.

Hospitality

The Editor.

Dear Sir: If Mobile gives an award to any of her citizens for a "good-neighbor policy," then I would like to nominate Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kreitner of 272 Siena Vista, for that honor.

My wife and I visited Mobile a few weeks ago and after stopping at the J.C. offices for information on the Azalea Trail we were standing on a street corner photographing some of the most beautiful yards we have ever seen, when the following incident occurred.

I had been told that the large trees were oaks, but being from Illinois I was comparing the leaves and they were so different I found it hard to believe that they were oaks. A car was slowly approaching me and I asked the couple if they were natives. They replied that they had lived in Mobile for 28 years, so I felt they could answer my question.

I was assured that the trees were live oaks and with the hospitality that is well known of the South, Mr. and Mrs. Kreitner introduced themselves and suggested many other locations that we should visit if we were interested in color photography. My wife and I followed their suggestion and soon we had a tap on the shoulder and your gracious Mobilians were inviting us to park our car and offering to give us a personalized tour of your beautiful city.

For over 3 hours Mr. and Mrs. Kreitner drove us about Mobile, and before the afternoon was over we were the guests in their home. Here again we experienced southern hospitality, for we toured their home and garden and as a parting gift were presented with a sack of freshly roasted pecans.

This generous couple took their time to show two total strangers Mobile. I feel that I know Mobile and its citizens more closely than any other city I have ever visited, and I shall never forget the wonderful afternoon we spent with two of Mobile's most gracious hosts. I only hope that some day I can repay an Alabamian expressly a Mobilian for the courtesy and friendship they gave us.

M. O. Huor.

Kankakee, Ill.

Hawaii Extends Franchise to Servicemen and Their Dependents Who Satisfy Residence Requirement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, another milestone has been reached in the long and happy association between Hawaii and its military community. On April 21, 1966, Hawaii's Gov. John A. Burns signed into law a bill which extends to service personnel and their dependents living on military bases in Hawaii the privilege to vote in Hawaii's elections.

Military personnel and dependents who live off military bases and who have fulfilled the 1-year residence requirement have had the privilege since the 1964 elections.

The new law demonstrates the degree to which the mutually interdependent civilian and military communities have merged into a single harmonious Hawaiian citizenry. And in broadening the electoral base of our State, we have added to our electorate a group of voters who have proved their patriotism and their devotion to this country's ideals. Hawaii should profit immeasurably from the voices of these select citizens from our Nation's Armed Forces.

Present at the signing of the bill into law were Maj. Gen. Carl Darnell, Jr., of the U.S. Army, Hawaii, representing CincPac Commander, Adm. U. S. G. Sharp; Mrs. Eileen Lota, city-county clerk; Council Chairman Herman Lemke; members of Hawaii's House and Senate; and M. Sgt. Peter DiMaggio, who had previously filed suit for military voting rights and earned the privilege of being the first person to register under the new law.

I submit for inclusion in the Congressional Record an article by Reporter Charles Turner on Hawaii's new military vote law. The article, which appeared in the Wednesday, April 13, 1966, issue of the Honolulu Advertiser, follows:

Burns Signs Military Vote Law

(By Charles Turner)

Service personnel and their dependents living on military bases became eligible to vote in Hawaii's elections yesterday for the first time in the island's history.

However, it was pointed out that 47,861 other servicemen and their dependents voted in the 1964 elections. They were eligible because they were living off the military reservations.

There was no estimate on how many newly franchised voters are affected by the new law, which was signed by Gov. John A. Burns in a special ceremony at Iolani Palace.

There were 57,919 members of the Armed Forces and their dependents who couldn't vote in 1964 because they were under 20 years of age. Another 27,629 couldn't vote because they hadn't fulfilled the 1-year residency requirement.

If they are still around—and obviously many of them have gone elsewhere in the 2-year interval—they would qualify if they've reached the required age.

Among those on hand for the signing were Maj. Gen. Carl Darnell, Jr., of the U.S. Army, Hawaii, representing CincPac Commander Adm. U. S. G. Sharp; Mrs. Eileen Lota, city-county clerk; Council Chairman Herman Lemke; M. Sgt. Peter Di Maggio, and members of the house and senate.

Di Maggio, a serviceman who had filed suit over military voting rights prior to passage of the new law, became the first to register under it.

Governor Burns said Hawaii has had a "long and warm association with the armed services, and it is only fitting that we extend voting privileges to our military citizens who call Hawaii their home."

General Darnell said he was pleased that the State had given service personnel living on bases the right to vote and added:

"I am certain that servicemen who are qualified to vote will now exercise in a responsible manner this franchise in the interest of good government."

A military spokesman quickly gave assurances that local politicians need not fear bloc voting from the newly franchised group.

"The American mind—and that holds true for a person in uniform as well as one in civilian clothes—just doesn't work that way," the spokesman said.

He noted that the new law gives service personnel a "tremendous psychological lift," particularly those who had tried unsuccessfully to register to vote in Hawaii elections in the past.

"It also gives him a feeling that he has a responsibility—not just a right—to vote," he said.

Although the new law permits military personnel and dependents living on Federal property to vote for the first time, it is not expected to result in a flood of new voters at the polls.

The reason: Many of these voters already are qualified to cast ballots in their home States, where they maintain their residences. As long as they are permitted to use absentee ballots, they probably will continue to do so.

This is particularly so with the unmarried servicemen.

Married military personnel with dependents are another thing. Those with children in school probably will want to take part in local elections, if for no other reason than the school board controversy, according to some observers.

But military personnel won't be allowed to participate actively in the political campaigns or conventions, or post signs on Federal military reservations supporting their favorite candidates.

In commenting on the new military voting bill, Burns noted that there were many thousands of island citizens not in uniform who didn't take advantage of their voting privileges in the last election.

He said only 67.4 percent of those eligible to register, including the military population, took the trouble to sign the voter registration books.

Real Estate Transfer Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, of which I have the honor of being a member together with the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. Dwyer], and the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Fountain], has recommended to the States that they consider adopting a real estate transfer tax.

We repealed the Federal tax on real estate transfers as of January 1, 1968, to give the States time to adopt similar taxes of their own. The Advisory Commission urged this action as one small step in the direction of helping the State and local governments with their fiscal plight. The revenue potential of such a tax is attractive particularly to rapidly growing urban communities where property values are rising and a relatively large number of properties change hands.

It is interesting to note that the Society of Real Estate Appraisers have endorsed a model real estate transfer tax proposed by the Advisory Commission for consideration and adoption by the States. The reasons given by the Society for urging the States to enter their tax field are similar to those advanced by the Advisory Commission:

First. A real estate transfer tax has an important byproduct value—it can provide valuable information for State and local property tax administrators and others concerned with real estate values.

Second. From an enforcement standpoint, local governments in particular are in a better position to administer this tax than is the Federal Government. Most real estate transactions are recorded by county officials and since the States have it within their means to require local officials to enforce their laws, the administrative support that local recorders can give the tax is available for enforcement of either the State or local real estate transfer tax.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the item from the March 9 issue of Appraisal Briefs, the weekly newsletter of the Society of Real Estate Appraisers:

MODEL REAL ESTATE TRANSFER TAX BILL GAINS IN STATES; HAS SWORN STATEMENT OF VALUE

The real estate transfer tax, repealed at the Federal level effective January 1, 1968, has been introduced in a number of State legislatures, and already has been enacted in the past year by three States.

Wide support has been given to a model bill proposed by the bipartisan Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, including endorsement by the Council of State Governments, the Governors' Conference, and other organizations.

The model bill goes one important step beyond the Federal documentary stamp tax. It requires that the value of the property transferred be sworn to by parties to the transaction, and suggests a fine or imprisonment for any person who shall be convicted of willfully falsifying the value indicated.

Sixteen States now have real estate transfer taxes, including Delaware, Iowa, and Nebraska, where legislation was passed last year. (The Nebraska law does not become effective until the date of the Federal repeal.) Other States in which active efforts are underway to pass such legislation are California, North Dakota, North Carolina, Georgia, and Michigan.

As proposed by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the model bill reads as follows:

"(Title should conform to State requirements. The following is a suggestion: An act imposing a real estate transfer tax")

"SECTION 1. DEFINITIONS.—As used in this act—

"(1) 'Deed' means (insert the definition applied in the State's law pertaining to real estate).

"(2) 'Registrar' means (insert title of local official responsible for recording deeds).

"(3) 'Value' means (i) in the case of any deed not a gift, the amount of the full actual consideration therefor, paid or to be paid, including the amount of any lien or liens thereon; and (ii) in the case of a gift, or any deed with nominal consideration or without State consideration, the estimated price the property would bring in an open market and under the then prevailing market conditions in a sale between a willing seller and a willing buyer, both conversant with the property and with prevailing general price levels."

SEC. 2. IMPOSITION OF TAX.—A tax is imposed at the rate of ($—— for each $—— of value or fraction thereof) (per centum of the value), which value is declared in the affidavit required by section 4, upon the privilege of transferring title to real property.

SEC. 3. COLLECTION OF TAX.—(a) If any deed evidencing a transfer of title subject to the tax herein imposed is offered for recordation, the (Registrar) shall ascertain and compute the amount of the tax due thereon and shall collect such amount as prerequisite to acceptance of the deed for recordation.

"(b) The amount of tax shall be computed on the basis of the value of the transferred property as set forth in the affidavit required by section 4 of this Act."

SEC. 4. DECLARATION OF VALUE.—(a) Each deed evidencing a transfer of title subject to the tax as herein provided shall have appended thereto an affidavit of the parties to the transaction or their legal representatives declaring the value of the property transferred. If the transfer is not subject to the tax as herein provided, the affidavit shall specify the reasons for the exemption.

"(b) The form of affidavit shall be prescribed by the State tax agency, which shall provide an adequate supply of such forms to each registrar in the State.

"(c) The registrar shall transmit two true copies of the affidavit to the assessor, who shall insert the most recent assessed value of each parcel of the transferred property on both copies and shall transmit one copy to the State tax agency.

"SEC. 5. DISPOSITION OF PROCEEDS.—(Insert appropriate language as to the disposition of proceeds, a matter for State policy determination.)

"SEC. 6. POWERS AND DUTIES OF STATE TAX AGENCY.—(a) The State tax agency may prescribe such rules and regulations as reasonably necessary to facilitate and expedite the imposition, collection, and administration of the tax imposed pursuant to this Act.

"(b) (If not already provided by applicable statutes insert additional subsections conferring such powers and imposing such duties as the State tax agency may need to compel the production of taxpayer records, to extend the time for the filing of the declaration of value, and to provide for refunding erroneous payments.)

"SEC. 7. PENALTY FOR RECORDING WITHOUT TAX.—Any registrar who willfully shall record any deed upon which a tax is imposed by this Act without collecting the proper amount of tax required by this Act based on the declared value indicated in the affidavit appended to such deed shall, upon conviction, be fined $50 for each offense.

"SEC. 8. PENALTY FOR FALSIFYING VALUE.—Any person who shall willfully falsify the value of transferred real estate on the affidavit required by section 4 of this Act shall, upon conviction, be subject to a fine of not more than $1,000 or to imprisonment of not more than 1 year, or to both such fine and imprisonment for each offense.

"SEC. 9. EXEMPTION.—The tax imposed by this Act shall not apply to a transfer of title—

"(1) recorded prior to the effective date of this act;

"(2) to the United States of America, this State, or any instrumentality, agency or subdivision thereof;

"(3) solely in order to provide or release security for a debt or obligation;

"(4) which confirms or corrects a deed previously recorded;

"(5) between husband and wife, or parent and child with only nominal actual consideration therefor;

"(6) on sale for delinquent taxes or assessments;

"(7) on partition;

"(8) pursuant to mergers of corporations;

"(9) by a subsidiary corporation to its parent corporation for no consideration, nominal consideration, or in sole consideration of the cancellation or surrender of the subsidiary's stock.

"SEC. 10. EFFECTIVE DATE.—(Insert effective date)."

When You Believe Underground Nuclear Test Cheating Can Be Spotted Either You Have Not Got the Word, You Are in a State of Euphoria or Both Conditions Apply and You Are Working for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on April 13 I wrote a letter to the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency complaining about erroneous and misleading talk at the 18-nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva by the acting U.S. negotiator, Adrian S. Fisher, who doubles in brass as ACDA's Deputy Director. The letter is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for April 19 at page 8065.

Mr. Fisher wrote a letter in reply to mine. It is reproduced below along with my response:

U.S. ARMS CONTROL
AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY,
Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966.

Hon. CRAIG HOSMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOSMER: Since Mr. Foster has returned to Geneva and I am presently the Acting Director of the Agency, I am taking the liberty of replying to your letter of April 13 commenting on my April 4 statement at the 18-nation Disarmament Conference.

The main complaint in your letter is that my statement might be misunderstood to place higher confidence than is justified in the fission-product, gas-analysis technique for use in on-site inspections carried out under a comprehensive test ban treaty.

My statement was a further elucidation of President Johnson's representation to the Conference when it began this year that "the United States will require only that number and kind of inspections which modern science shows to be necessary to assure that the treaty is being faithfully observed." My primary purpose was to justify the U.S. requirement for onsite inspections to verify a comprehensive test ban. As you know, the Soviet Union and its allies say that no such inspections are required. Some non-Communist members of the Conference have questioned whether onsite inspections would even be useful in providing evidence of treaty violation.

The main point of my speech was to show that such inspections could be useful, thereby supporting the United States position against Soviet attack and nonalined questioning. I used the gas-sampling technique as one aspect of the inspection process to demonstrate that inspectors might indeed find specific evidence of a test if one had occurred.

I expressly refrained from saying that these gases would always be found after an underground test. I pointed out, however, that if, and only if, there were onsite inspections would detection of gases be possible. A potential violator would have to consider the risk of detection, for if the gases were found, that would be unambiguous evidence that a nuclear test had occurred (assuming, of course, as the inspectors would be able to find out, that there was no reactor in the inspection area).

Also, when I said that there would be "no question of 'unclear' or 'suspicious' events," I was not speaking in a context limited solely to gas-sampling techniques. I was referring to the improved position with regard to identification that would result from onsite inspections and the reassurance that would follow inspections for which totally negative results were obtained. In short, my statement means that if onsite inspections were carried out and no evidence of a test were forthcoming, other parties would be assured. Given a good overall probability of finding a violation, which probability would include the utilization of demonstrated technical capabilities, if the Soviet Union let us in to make inspections and no evidence of a test were found, assurance would be achieved.

The factual information for my conclusions was derived from the cable which you quote. The conclusions were drawn naturally from that factual information and from general knowledge of the problem. I do not believe analysis of my statement supports your concern that it lends itself to an overrating of the fission-product, gas-sampling technique. To my knowledge, no statement by any other delegation reveals such a misunderstanding. Interventions by Swedish and Soviet bloc representatives which followed my statement showed awareness that the United States continued to insist upon onsite inspections to verify a comprehensive test ban.

You state that the weakness of the gas-sampling technique "is demonstrable by trying to imagine just how many air, water and ground samples onsite inspectors would be required to take over an area ranging from 350 to 1,000 square miles—which is that area to which the closest possible pinpointing of a suspicious underground event could be made from long-range seismic signals traveling at uncalibrated speeds from the event to detectors in a multicontinental network."

Present technology provides a good probability of locating seismic events within an area of about 250 square miles unless unknown anomalies exist in the times for seismic signals to travel through the earth in particular areas. Insofar as our ability to locate seismic events is concerned, the "Longshot" experiment in Alaska is of considerable significance. While normal travel time analyses failed to locate the event within 15 miles, refined analyses removed a considerable fraction of the travel time anomalies which accounted for this error. With the quantity of seismic data available, Longshot was located by this means to within 6 miles of its true origin.

Furthermore, in accordance with a basic purpose of Longshot, its results have given us a calibration point for this area, so that events there could be routinely located within an approximately 250 square mile area. Calibration data also exists for many other locations of interest throughout the world and techniques are available for extending this calibration to other areas as desired.

Moreover, not all points within such an area are going to be considered suspicious. A nuclear test requires considerable human activity, the evidence of which cannot be completely concealed. An inspection team might not be able to tell that any particular sign of human activity was or was not associated with a test.

But it would be able to tell that some sort of activity had occurred and therefore that this was a site from which a gas sample should be collected. ARPA research indicates the number of possible sites in typical hypothesized inspection areas could be covered by an inspection team taking gas samples within the time contemplated for an inspection.

Finally, you suggested that the term "comprehensive test ban" is a misnomer since testing at levels below a few kilotons could still be carried out and stand no chance whatever of detection.

We now have the capability to construct a system of monitoring stations outside the Soviet Union having good probability of detecting events in the Soviet Union equivalent to an explosion of a kiloton and higher in the geological formations likely to be used by a wouldbe violator. This is similar to the detection estimate for the system with control posts in the Soviet Union which was agreed to in 1958 at the time President Eisenhower first authorized U.S. negotiators to seek a comprehensive test ban treaty. (See Report of the Conference of Experts, Aug. 21, 1958, "Documents on Disarmament," 1945–59, pp. 1090, 1109.)

The United States has believed since 1958 that a comprehensive test ban treaty would be in the national interest. As the 1958 estimates indicate, we have always recognized that no detection system could detect all violations. We believe, however, that violations which would have a significant impact on the strategic balance could not be carried out without our becoming aware of them. For this reason, we have no hesitation in using the expression "comprehensive test ban," as President Johnson did in a 1964 letter to Chairman Kosygin.

While you may disagree, we have always concluded that the advantages of an adequately verified comprehensive test ban outweighed the risks involved. The main advantage, as President Johnson described it in his 1966 message to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, is that "the perils of proliferation would be materially reduced by an extension of the limited test ban treaty to cover underground tests."

Since you have inserted your letter to Mr. Foster in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I respectfully request that you do the same with my reply.

Sincerely yours,

ADRIAN S. FISHER,
Acting Director.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 5, 1966.

Mr. ADRIAN S. FISHER,
Deputy Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FISHER: On April 27 I received your April 22 reply to my letter to Mr. Foster regarding your April 4 speech to the 18-nation Disarmament Conference at Geneva. It seems the Washington mail service is a little slow.

You are correct in assuming that my main purpose in writing to Mr. Foster was to point out that your statement regarding the gas-analysis technique in the on-site inspection process was an overstatement of what the facts justified and thus could be misunderstood by other delegations to the ENDC and by newsmen. Indeed, much of the reporting of your speech shows that it was, as you would now indicate, misunderstood. I will quote again the Associated Press dispatch of April 4 from Geneva:

"GENEVA, April 4.—The United States made public today details of a plan said to guarantee that onsite inspections could catch any violation of a treaty banning underground nuclear tests.

"Chief U.S. Delegate Adrian S. Fisher told the 18-nation disarmament conference the system involves analysis of fission-product gases which slowly leak to the surface after such an explosion. Fisher claimed such gases could only result from a nuclear explosion and analysis of the surface would soon show whether the country concerned had cheated.

"'This would make it impossible for a country to get away with secret tests by thoroughly cleaning up the surface of the explosion area to deceive on-site inspectors, he said.'"

Clearly the impression the newsmen received in Geneva is contrary to what you state was your intent. I am happy, therefore, to have your present elucidating remarks pointing out that your major purpose was to demonstrate the need for onsite inspections in connection with a treaty to ban underground nuclear explosions. I must say, however, that in reading the Swedish delegate's speech of April 14 which is, at least in part, a response to your April 4 speech, I see no evidence of your having convinced that delegate of the necessity for onsite inspections.

In fact, Mrs. Myrdal's insistence on the "verification by challenge" would seem to indicate a lack of appreciation as to the effect of delays in making an onsite inspection. Perhaps a greater degree of candor on the part of the United States with regard to steps that can be taken to cover up evidence of a nuclear explosion would have been more convincing.

Returning now to your current letter, you state that "Present Technology provides a good probability of locating seismic events within an area of about 250 square miles unless unknown anomalies exist in the times for seismic signals to travel through the earth in particular areas." I do not know how to quantify "good," but I can assure you that a 50 percent probability is not my idea or most people's idea of what is "good" when our national security may be at stake. You also speak of unknown travel time anomalies, as if these are rare. I recall that every time we detonated an underground nuclear explosion in a new location—New Mexico, Mississippi, and most recently, Alaska—we have found anomalities in the seismic travel times that were unknown before. In the vast area of more than 12 million square miles that are under the control of the Soviet Union and Communist China, there are undoubtedly many areas that give rise to anomalous travel times. The Soviet Union alone has 8,660,000 square miles.

You speak of the considerable importance of the "Longshot" event in our ability to locate seismic events and, in particular, how initial analysis failed to locate this event within 15 miles (an area of 707 square miles, by the way), but that analysis of the anomalies removed the error. This means, of course, that we knew exactly where we shot the event, and when we used this information to establish what the seismic travel time anomalies were, we brought down the circle of location to 113 square miles. Knowing where we shot Long Shot, I'm surprised we couldn't have done even better.

I would like to call your attention to some technical facts regarding the seismic location of the Long Shot event, of which apparently you are not aware. The unclassified report on Long Range Seismic Measurements on Long Shot dated January 5, 1966 and prepared for the Nuclear Test Detection Office of the DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency shows the following: When the seismic data were limited to long range seismic stations and the Vela observatories (the best we know how to build and this includes the 500 element array in Montana), the location of Long Shot was off by 63 kilometers (40 miles). This is an area of more than 5,000 square miles. When all stations were used—including some very close in—the location made was down to 26 kilometers (16.3 miles, an area of 830 square miles).

Interestingly enough, however, considering the seismic data of "all stations," the analysis shows Long Shot to have been at a depth of 76.2 kilometers (this is more than

47 miles deep). Now everyone knows you can't fire a nuclear explosion that deep, and so Long Shot would have been interpreted as a natural seismic event, not even being suspected of being nuclear, on the basis or "all stations." I am certainly concerned with such data having to be used as a basis for deciding on a violation of an underground test ban treaty.

A similar story with regard to seismic data location is true for the Salmon event, detonated in Mississippi. It had been estimated for that event that even with travel time corrections, the 90 percent confidence ellipse turns out to be 950 km.^{2} (371 square miles).

In contrast to the technical facts known about our capabilities to detect and locate seismic events (not even mentioning identification) in areas for which we obviously do not have good seismic data, the views you present are clearly unwarranted overstatements of our abilities.

I do, as you indicate, disagree with you with regard to a comprehensive test ban treaty. The reasons are simple. We cannot adequately verify such a treaty on the basis of an unwarranted amount of optimism and a handful of on-site inspections. To go into such a treaty without a better capability than we now have is a danger to our Nation's security.

You have asked that your letter be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am inserting your letter and this reply.

Sincerely yours,

CRAIG HOSMER,
Member of Congress.

A Plea for One World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the public and the news media are normally preoccupied with problems on the international and domestic fronts, editorial comment, as a general rule, revolves around these current issues. It is not often that we encounter an editorial on a broad philosophic subject written on a completely lofty plane.

However, the South Suburban News, a publication serving residents of South Cook County, Ill., contained a most notable and lofty editorial in its issue of last Thursday, and with leave I insert it in the RECORD as part of my remarks:

A PLEA FOR ONE WORLD

Some two decades or more ago one presidential candidate became widely well known for his timely coining of the phrase "one world." His name was Wendell Willkie. Mr. Willkie is dead, but his concept, one world, is still the most important accomplishment for maintaining peace.

The other day the highest potentate of the Church of England and the highest potentate of the Roman Catholic Church had a summit meeting on religious differences.

This high-level meeting was long overdue.

The world is topsy-turvy, and mainly because the great potentates of religion cannot agree on some very basic ideas: that all men are equal in God's sight and that each man has the right to approach God in his own way.

History has proven, and this quite some time ago, that there are no chosen people; we know of no supermen outside the comic strip.

Several revolutions have proven beyond a doubt that governmental heads are just like other heads. They are round, long, or a combination of these two—and because of this and the other things we mentioned above they are not favored before the common people. What has been said of kings applies equally as well to nations and races.

It behooves us then to reevaluate our thinking about religions—that they are equal. This would prepare the way for the next steps that we must take in the space age: the existence of rational human beings on other planets.

What God has done for the land, water, air, and mountains and life we call our world. He is able to do or has done for other pieces of real estate which no doubt are located on other planets.

Men it seems, at some later date through scientific discovery will fashion other human beings with extra sensory perception, longer age spans, et al., or bump into them as we explore these planets.

In evaluation of what science knows today we learn that once upon a time Europe and North America were one, the North Pole's location was where part of South America is now; that we have never traveled more than several hundreds of miles from our little world, and that the majority of us—runs into the millions—have never traveled outside of our own State or outside the United States.

With these data, we learn that we are very provincial or neighborhood centered. And since we are so little traveled, and little versed about great matters we find ourselves unprepared to meet people from other worlds or planets who may have been flying all around and over us for some time, and doing it all peaceably.

Until we can solve some of the problems which beset us, then we remain in a state of social limbo being squeezed into social upheaval after social upheaval. It is encouraging to learn that the religious potentates are attempting to narrow the differences which beset us in religion, and that the concept of universal togetherness is taking place.

Mr. Willkie's reawakening us about one world was a noble deed. It is time that we speed up the proces with renewed vigor on all fronts.

A Declaration of Rights for Soviet Jewry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on April 18 in Congress Hall, Philadelphia, the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry issued "A Declaration of Rights for Soviet Jewry" summarizing in eloquent terms the violation of the human rights of 3 million Jews in the U.S.S.R. and calling upon the Government of the Soviet Union to take certain steps to correct this outrageous situation.

I commend to my colleagues and to readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this historic document:

A DECLARATION OF RIGHTS FOR SOVIET JEWRY

(A call issued by the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, Congress Hall, Philadelphia, April 18, 1966)

We, the representatives of American Jewry, are met today in a hall hallowed in history, echoing with the voices of men who made the age-old dream of liberty the law of these United States of America. Here was adopted the Bill of Rights, a lasting legacy of America's founders to all the generations of their countrymen, a light of hope to those in all parts of the world yet waiting to walk in dignity, to live in freedom. The year was 1791. Nearly two centuries later countless millions throughout the world still wait. Among them are 3 million of our fellow Jews in the U.S.S.R.

In 1917 the Soviet Government came into power in Russia. One of its first acts was to write the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia. This and subsequent declarations promised all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. cultural freedom. Today, nearly 50 years later, these rights, granted to all other nationalities within the U.S.S.R., are denied only to Jews.

In 1945 in the name of "We the people of the United Nations" the charter of the United Nations reaffirmed "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women of all nations large and small." This is a universal bill of rights. The U.S.S.R. is a signatory. In 1966 Soviet Jews are still denied these rights.

It is a tragedy of history that whereas the laws of enlightened nations assume the self-evident truth that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable human rights, the practices of governments and societies often lag far behind. No people has suffered more from this tragedy than the Jewish people.

Throughout the generations of Jewish faith and suffering, we have learned in our blood and in our bones that until all men everywhere are free, no man's freedom is secure. Discrimination and oppression has taught us the terrible price of silence.

We protest the violation of the human rights of the 3 million of our brethren, citizens of the U.S.S.R. They are victims of a policy calculated to weaken the fabric of their lives as Jews by systematically destroying its unique threads. The doors of hundreds of Jewish synagogues are closed. Rabbis and teachers are growing old and there are no functioning institutions for training replacements. Jewish printing presses are virtually at a standstill. Jewish children are cut off from their heritage and Jewish youth is denied its birthright—the pride and dignity of belonging to the Jewish people. Jews of the U.S.S.R. are denied the fundamental human rights to live their lives in accordance with the precepts and practices of Judaism, without fear and without hindrance.

We, the representatives of American Jewry, assembled here today, call upon the Government of the U.S.S.R.—

1. To restore its Jewish citizens to a position of equality with its citizens of all other nationalities.

2. To permit its Jewish citizens freely to practice, enhance, and perpetuate their culture and religion by removing all discriminatory measures designed to restrict this freedom.

3. To make available the institutions, schools, textbooks, and materials necessary to teach Jewish children the languages, the history, the beliefs, the practices and the aspirations of the Jewish people.

4. To permit the Jews of the U.S.S.R. freely to develop Jewish communal life and to associate and work with Jewish communities and groups inside and outside the Soviet Union.

5. To use all the means at its disposal to eradicate anti-Semitism.

6. To permit Soviet Jewish families, separated as a result of the Nazi holocaust, to be reunited with their relatives abroad.

We, the undersigned, presidents of 25 national Jewish organizations, comprising the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, on this the 18th day of April 1966, corresponding to the 28th day of Nisan in the year 5726 according to the Jewish calendar, do hereby solemnly pledge that so long as Soviet Jews are cut off from the Jewish people, proscribed from living their lives as Jews, so long will our voices be lifted in protest and indignation. We voice our hope that the Government of the U.S.S.R. will respond to this call in the name of humanity and of justice.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, American-Israel Public Affairs Committee.

Morris B. Abram, American Jewish Committee.

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, American Jewish Congress.

Dr. Max Nussbaum, American Zionist Council.

Moe Falikman, American Trade Union Council for Histadrut.

Dr. William A. Wexler, B'nai B'rith—B'nai B'rith Women.

Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Mrs. Mortimer Jacobson, Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America.

Mrs. Rose L. Halprin, the Jewish Agency, American section.

Adolph Held, Jewish Labor Committee.

Milton A. Waldor, Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

Jacob Katzman, Labor Zionist Movement—Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women.

Rabbi Herschel Schacter, Religious Zionists of America—Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi, the Mizrachi Women's Organization of America, and the Women's Organization of Hapoel Hamizrachi.

Aaron Goldman, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

Mrs. Joseph Willen, National Council of Jewish Women.

Nathan Saperstein, National Council of Young Israel.

Louis Stern, National Jewish Welfare Board.

Rabbi Max Routtenberg, Rabbinical Assembly.

Rabbi Israel Miller, Rabbinical Council of America.

Rabbi Seymour Cohen, Synagogue Council of America.

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Moses I. Feuerstein, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

Henry N. Rapaport, United Synagogue of America.

Jacques Torczyner, Zionist Organization of America.

State Bungling and Federal Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, a Special Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce was created by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, more than 5 years ago, to study the problem of the effect on interstate business of State and local taxation.

After receiving thousands of pages of testimony and hearing scores of witnesses on the subject, Mr. Willis, chairman of the subcommittee, introduced on the 22d day of October 1965, H.R. 11798 to regulate and foster commerce among the States by providing a system for the taxation of interstate commerce.

In view of the fact that many witnesses suggested that the subcommittee delay action to give the States time to solve the problem, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues, to Governors, State legislators, and State tax administrators, the lead editorial from the Wall Street Journal of May 4, 1966.

The editorial follows:

STATE BUNGLING AND FEDERAL FORCE

State governments now are deeply concerned because Congress is considering a measure to take away some of their taxing powers. The States have every reason to be bothered, but they certainly can't blame all their trouble on Washington's omnipresent eagerness to expand its authority.

As happened when many States for years failed to fairly reapportion their own legislatures, the Federal Government now is moving toward clearing up a mess the States created with regard to taxing interstate corporations. The States have bungled the job.

Sales and income taxes are imposed in a bewildering variety of ways; many activities are taxed by some States but not by others, so that it may be difficult if not impossible for a firm to determine what tax it owes where. The confusion has been compounded over the years as more and more corporations, modest sized as well as large, have spread their operations into more areas of the Nation.

If every company carefully complied with the income tax laws of all States, many would wind up paying tax on more than 100 percent of their income. The fact that this unjust outcome is generally avoided by the simple process of ignoring some of the laws scarcely makes the States' "system" praiseworthy.

To give credit where some is due, the States in recent years have made a little progress toward more uniformity. By the end of last year 11 legislatures had adopted a model statute, endorsed by the American Bar Association, providing rules for apportioning corporate income for State tax purposes. But 11 States is a far cry from 50, and thus it's not surprising to find impatience in Congress.

The product of the impatience is the proposed Interstate Taxation Act, which is based on the findings of a 4-year study by a special House subcommittee. The consequences of measure, if it's enacted, could be pretty drastic.

To begin with, it would forbid any State to tax the income of most corporations unless they had a business location in the State. State officials argue, and we think with some justice, that a company can reap large profits from a State without having anything or anyone permanently located there—by sending in salesmen, for example. Exempting such a company, State tax men contend, would be unfair to its competitors which are more firmly based in the State and pay taxes there.

In determining the portion of a company's income that's subject to tax in any State, moreover, the State could consider only the portion of the firm's property and payroll within its boundaries. This differs from the model law adopted by the 11 States, which apportions income not only on the basis of property and payroll but on the share of a firm's sales that are made within a given State.

To take a hypothetical example, suppose a company has its factory and most of its employees in Kentucky and yet makes most of its sales in neighboring Tennessee. Under the pending bill Kentucky could tax all or almost all of the company's income while Tennessee could touch little or none of it. Though the hypothesis is exaggerated, it seems clear that the formula could produce results that would be unfair to some States.

While concerned about such a possibility, what worries the States more is the heavy hand the Federal Government would have in their taxes affairs. Tax disputes between States and companies would go to a new Board in the Treasury Department. The Treasury also would run a "cooperative" Federal-State system for collecting sales taxes on interstate transactions. States which did not cooperate would have their right to collect the taxes sharply curtailed.

Whatever the shortcomings of the pending measure or the extent of Federal encroachment, however, nothing can justify the present confusion. Barring swift moves by the States toward more tax uniformity, which appear unlikely, the current bill or something like it may well wend its way into law.

In that event, there's sure to be angry talk of yet another diminution of the rights of States. It's tempting to forget a major reason those rights are shrinking: Too often the States neglect their own responsibilities.

H.R. 8282

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am still receiving a considerable amount of mail in opposition to H.R. 8282.

The people are greatly concerned over the possibility of the enactment of this legislation, as they feel that unemployment compensation is not an area for Federal control.

An editorial in regard to this bill has appeared in the Newport Plain Talk, Newport, Tenn., and I would like to bring these comments on this subject to the attention of my colleagues and the readers of the Record:

ERODING A MAN'S INCENTIVE TO WORK

The charge is made that the proposed new Federal unemployment compensation bill would erode a man's incentive to work, and it seems likely. H.R. 8282 would replace the present unemployment compensation programs now operated by the 50 States with a single Federal program which would:

Double the Federal unemployment tax cost and more than double State unemployment taxes for many employers by 1971.

Extend coverage to 4.6 million more workers, primarily farm and agricultural processing workers, employees of hospitals and other nonprofit and charitable organizations, certain commission agents such as bakery truckdrivers and employees of small firms now exempt in 31 States because they have fewer than 4 employees.

Establish Federal standards for State unemployment compensation programs on benefit amounts, benefit duration, and eligibility.

It appears that H.R. 8282 would move unemployment compensation well down the road toward the idea of a regular wage income whether a man is working or not. The bill would compel every State to pay benefits for at least 26 weeks for no more than 20 weeks of employment. And, in addition, the Federal Government would pay benefits for another 26 weeks—or a total of 52 weeks for benefits.

The original purpose of unemployment compensation was to help sustain the employee who lost his job through no fault of his own until he could get another job. But under 8282 an individual would draw benefits even if he quit voluntarily without good cause: was fired for willful misconduct; or if he refuses to take a suitable job while drawing unemployment comenpsation benefits. Such liberal benefits will cost employers many additional millions and will encourage the indolent while subtracting from unemployment compensation resources the benefits which should go to the conscientious majority of workers when they need it.

—Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel.

Disenchanted With Great Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from one of my constituents, whose thinking and point of view are representative of a large number of my correspondents, but because he has a gift for expressing his sentiments uniquely, and with clarity and conciseness, I think it is worthy of calling to your attention.

Mr. Charles W. Bear has expressed in an interesting manner the thoughts that many of us share. His letter follows:

Mount Orab, Ohio.

Dear Congressman Hahsha: This is the very first time that I ever have written and I hope that it will serve in some small way to ease the injustice that is being done to this whole country.

The reasons for writing are numerous, like soldiers walking up and over a hill and out of sight, some hurt and destroy like an infectious cancer.

I am of course writing about the Great Society. If it were to be documented in detail it would read like a great fairy story, read to a child just before bedtime.

Every time I pick up a newspaper I read how a man is so much better off because of this or that program, or how that a new program is being initiated at a modest increase of the already obese and monstrous Federal budget.

I cannot understand how a nation can always raise their national debt and still cliam that they love their children. This seems to be a cruel joke played on our youth who will some day bend their backs in arduous toil to pay for it.

I read how we are to help our poor and less fortunate, but at what price?

Welfare programs are to be increased on all levels. Well, sir, the men in this community who are on welfare seem to be doing better than I.

They are healthy young men who would be humiliated to work and turn down work often because our great white father will provide.

When will our leaders learn that welfare breeds welfare? Are we to learn the harsh lesson that Sweden has learned from super welfare?

I work in the city as an IBM operator and live in the country on a small farm with my parents who are retired, and also farm for my father, so working in this dual position I try to keep tuned to the soundings of both environments.

The voices that I hear are loud in both places. They are filled with contempt, disgust, and anger all at the way our Government is leading us.

I am sick of rent subsidy, farm subsidy, massive foreign aid, of a huge national debt, of new programs being started before old ones are done away with; in short, by spending without the money to pay for it.

I feel that every day I am being made a fool of and deceived by our Government.

My outlook of social responsibility is vastly impaired and confused by the Great Society.

I feel that we are just buying time instead of a sound program to help these people to help themselves, for some day they will sincerely believe that we do indeed owe them a living and then what?

Sincerely,

Charles W. Bear.

Law Day U.S.A.: Address of Judge William Kapelman, Civil Court, New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues in the House to the very excellent address of the Honorable William Kapelman, justice of the civil court of the city of New York. Judge Kapelman's address was delivered in commemoration of "Law Day U.S.A.," sponsored by the Lions Club of the Bronx, the Bronx County Bar Association, and the Bronx Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, on May 2, 1966. I am sure it will be of interest to Members of the U.S. Congress.

Judge Kapelman's address follows:

Respect the Law—It Respects You

Each year, man, in the sunshine of the world's new spring, is jarred out of his dreams of conquering the highest mountain—of breaking 90—of meeting the year's new challenges by the ominous roar of tramping feet passing in military review, by the clanking of massive tanks in Red Square, and the whistling scream of jet bombers overhead. It is the day for the unveiling of weapons, new and old, and we unveil our greatest weapon:

In dedication to right and not to might, each May Day that the Communist world displays and boast of its military strength, we here in the United States, since its first proclamation on May 1, 1958, by President Eisenhower and then by the 87th Congress, in 1961 do celebrate Law Day U.S.A. To paraphrase the congressional resolution we do so in appreciation of our liberties, in reaffirmation of our loyalties to our Nation's great principles, in rededication to the ideals of equality and justice under law in relation with all other citizens and nations as well as for the cultivation of that respect for law that is so vital to the democratic way of life.

Our theme this year is "Respect the Law—It Respects You."

The Psalmist thousands of years ago said "Put not your trust in princes nor in the son of man."

This has particular application in our times. It teaches that where justice does not rule, people must win the favor of men of influence to secure their protection. This is the way of life in a society other than a democratic one. No allowance is made for individual liberty or for human dignity. The state is all powerful. The basis of their doctrine is force exercised by the party over all the functions of government, the party being controlled by a hierarchy which in turn is dominated by one overbearing dictator.

Government of laws—not of men, has been the watchword of democracy. However, we cannot have a government of laws unless we are devoted to its principles and exercise our rights under and our responsibilities to them.

The basic principles of our government is that it is a government of, by and for the people. The government is—we, the people. Whether it is a good government is solely dependent upon the interest and the support we give it.

The totalitarian society is distinguished from ours by the fundamental difference of "liberty and law"—liberty under law. This was recognized by our Founding Fathers in formulating the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Liberty is never absolute but rather it is tempered by the rights of others. It cannot be permitted to become license. Thus we enact our laws as rules of conduct so that men may live together in freedom and in peace. The newspaper is a symbol of the free press; the church and synagogue, a monument to freedom of religion; the school evidence of freedom to learn; the protest meeting and the protest march, an expression of free speech and the courthouse in the width and breadth of our land, a symbol of equal justice.

In calling upon our citizens to respect the law we must emphasize our individual responsibilities as citizens of this democracy: To obey the law. To respect the rights of others. To inform ourselves on issues of government and community welfare. To vote in elections. To serve on juries when called. To serve and defend our county. To assist the law enforcement agencies. To practice and teach the principles of good citizenship in our homes.

In short, we do and must rely upon the law as much as the air we breathe.

Our system of law has been called the worst system ever used, but the best yet known to man. The law is not static. It evolves, it grows, it changes, it moves endlessly as a river into the ocean. But at all times it is founded deeply and firmly in the bedrock of democracy's recognition of the dignity of man expressed in the 10 Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, in Magna Charta, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

So it is in the area of the administration of criminal justice that *Escobedo* v. *Illinois* enunciates the principle that a criminal suspect is entitled to legal representation in a police station as well as in a court, that *Gideon* v. *Wainwright* announced that indigent defendants were entitled to free counsel in State criminal trials, that *Mapp* v. *Ohio* decreed that evidence of crime illegally obtained could not be used against a defendant in the State courts, and as we are met today, the Supreme Court of the United States meets to consider the extension or modification of Escobedo in five stated circumstances.

So it is that in the Roosevelt era and in our war on poverty, we have reversed the Taftian philosophy of government's economic obligation to our people expressed by President Taft in response to the inquiry made to him during the 1907 economic crisis. "What is a man to do who must feed his family and has no job or means?" "Only God knows," responded Mr. Taft. Now we know: government must provide every man and woman willing to work with an opportunity to work and to provide decently for his family.

So it is that heeding the words of Father Hesburgh of Notre Dame in beginning the civil rights revolution of this decade when he said "Americans might well wonder how we can legitimately combat communism when we practice so widely its central folly: utter disregard for the God-given spiritual rights, freedom and dignity of every human person," that after sleeping five times longer than did Rip Van Winkle, we the people have said that every man regardless of race or of color or of creed is entitled to equal opportunity for education, for a job, for a decent place to live, to vote in short, for equality before the law, in the marketplace, in the place of play, in the school, in employment, in the place he lives, in every waking moment of the day and in the hours he sleeps. Witness the civil rights laws of 1963, 1964, 1965, and that which is before us in 1966.

Our posture before the world must reflect no less respect for the inhabitants of other nations than that which we promise and guarantee to our own citizens. As free men dedicated to the ideals of the dignity of man we cannot countenance or accept less than complete freedom for all men whether they be in the Dominican Republic, in Cuba, in Hungary, in South America or in Vietnam. Nor can we demand or expect as the price for our championship of men's basic rights anywhere their adoption of our own economic system.

President John F. Kennedy said it, as it has never been spoken before by any President, in 1961 in founding the Alliance for Progress. He said, "We live in a hemisphere whose own revolution has given birth to the most powerful forces of the modern age—the search for freedom and self fulfillment of man. We meet to carry on that revolution to shape the future." This meant "full recognition of the right of all the people to share fully in our progress. For there is no place in democratic life for institutions which benefit the few while denying the needs of the many, even though the elimination of such institutions may require far reaching and difficult changes such as land reform and tax reform and a vastly increased emphasis on education and health and housing."

What we must demand, what we must offer to all of God's children is their right to choose that system of government best suited to them after their free untrammeled democratic choice has been registered. Remember communism, on the eve of its 50th anniversary, has yet to win its first unrestricted, unfettered free election.

Israel Zangwill coined the phrase for America calling it the great "melting pot." Is this the fact, and is this what we wish? No. Rather than surrender and submerge whatever national characteristics our forebears brought to this country, whatever racial talents or skills we possess, whatever religious ethics principles and ideals that we hold sacred, let us rather contribute them all—from the Englishman, the Irishman, the Puerto Rican, the German, Italian, Russian, Pole, the Chinaman, the Japanese, the Indian, the Caucasian, the Negro, the yellow, the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jew—to participate in one orchestra in rendering to the world the greatest symphony based upon the inmortal words:

"What does the Lord ask of you? To do justice, to love mercy, to walk humbly with thy God."

Acheson on NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, referring to President de Gaulle's action regarding NATO, the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin thinks that the empty chair of France must be kept ready.

The newspaper quotes former Secretary of State Acheson as having said that the immediate danger is a fragmented West Europe, "a number of small, medium-sized and weak states" which might be eaten up a piece at a time.

Since the editorial illuminates the NATO issue which concerns us at this time, I will have it reprinted in the RECORD.

DEAN ACHESON ON NATO

The voice of America is not merely a propaganda radio program. It is basically a clear and consistent policy, much less devoid of partisanship than our opponents might wish.

Currently, this voice comes from Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under President Truman, and a consistent supporter of American policy under subsequent Presidents whenever he thought the policy correct—which was most of the time.

Mr. Acheson has warned Congress that the French default in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization cannot be taken calmly, because the aims of the Soviet Union have not changed materially since 1949 when he was a leading signatory to the NATO treaty.

The immediate danger is a frangmented West Europe * * * "a number of small, medium-sized and weak states," as Mr. Acheson describes the prospect. And next, a heightened Soviet offensive against a West Europe which has grown prosperous (and perhaps too complacent) under the NATO shield.

The former Secretary of State deserves attention, for what he is saying is almost identical with what his successors have said and still say. There is no use talking to De Gaulle; yet the empty chair of France must be kept ready. Meanwhile, the rest of the defensive shield has to be held together. Othrwise, we shall have the "salami tactic" which the Reds so well understand. West Europe will be eaten up a piece at a time.

For America, such a consummation would be disaster. For West Europe, Franch included, horror would be a more appropriate word.

The Danger of Overestimating Pacifism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence, in the following column from the April 20, 1966, edition of the New York Herald Tribune, expresses the fear that some of our colleagues may be overestimating the extent of the criticism leveled at the administration's Vietnam policy.

I commend Mr. Lawrence's column to the attention of our colleagues:

CONGRESS WARNED ON OVERESTIMATING PACIFISM

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Some of the Republican and Democrats in Congress, returning from their visits with the folks back home during the Easter recess, may be misjudging the sentiment of the Nation. These Senators and Representatives believe the people want to get American military forces out of Vietnam by any means possible, stop foreign aid everywhere, and let the rest of the world get along as best it can. A small minority may feel that way in all sincerity, but it is inconceivable that any majority would concur.

There are voters, to be sure, who often don't realize that for a nation to pull out and become detached in a critical situation is, according to the record of history, likely to be interpreted as a weakness and can lead to a major war. This could be forced on the American people when they least prepared for it.

The late Winston Churchill in his book "The Gathering Storm," published in 1948, gave a penetrating review of the errors made in the appeasement of 1938 which encouraged the Nazi dictatorship to start World War II in the mistaken belief that the other countries would not fight. Mr. Churchill wrote:

"If you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival. There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

The conflict in Vietnam has, of course, had its bloodshed, but the casualties have been relatively infinitesimal compared to what they would be in a world war. It is no answer merely to call for peace conferences or to grow impatient with the South Vietnamese because they are quarreling among themselves. The current war is not with the North Vietnamese alone. It is with the Governments of Red China and the Soviet Union, which are supplying munitions and airplanes to help kill American boys in Vietnam. Few critics are keeping their eyes on the real enemies.

Today the United States is moving cautiously on some fronts and boldly on others. Bombardment of enemy supply lines in Vietnam is growing in intensity. But nothing is being done to restrain either the Soviet Union or the Red Chinese from carrying on their war against American forces.

As long as there is such immunity, the American military effort can be agonizingly long. Yet trade between Red China and the United States in nonstrategic goods is being openly advocated by some Members of Congress. Relations with Russia are regarded by many people, in and out of Congress, as friendly and as requiring more and more concessions in trade.

This trend is getting cursory criticism when Congress as a whole should be demanding drastic steps, including embargoes, against Red China and the Soviet Union. Also, the military chiefs in Washington should be given a free hand to fight the Vietnam war.

There are factors that could be pressed now with relatively little bloodshed which would avoid for the American people a major war and countless casualties. The policy pursued in Asia could, moreover, be a significant influence in bringing about a more realistic view among the Western allies in Europe. For a cringing attitude in Vietnam could multiply the difficulties of the United States in trying to establish military solidarity in Western Europe.

Members of Congress today may think they can win election by demanding that the United States get out of Vietnam and accept peace at any price. Certainly there are some voters who think only of the immediate future and not of the dangerous years that can follow. The vast majority of the people, however, will not accept the devices of appeasement and surrender when they realize fully the consequences that can result.

As far as congressional elections are concerned, the Senators and Representatives who think they might safely advocate a withdrawal from Vietnam could run up against a countervailing sentiment in the coming campaign. This would include arguments that it would be dangerous for the administration to be placed before the world in the position of losing the confidence of the American people.

Why Go Into Space?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent statement by Mr. James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The article could properly be entitled "Why Go Into Space?" and is one of the most articulate of its kind I have read. So that many others may benefit by Mr. Webb's dissertation, I will have it printed herein:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, May 1, 1966]

WORLD LEADERSHIP ON LINE, EXPERT SAYS: RIVALS IN SPACE RACE PLAY FOR HIGH STAKES

(By James E. Webb)

WASHINGTON.—"Why go into space? Why challenge the unknown? Why spend so much on this venture into the void, when so much remains to be done on earth?"

Most Americans believe in our interest in space exploration and our development of space power, yet these questions persist. Let me try to explain how history and a nation's vigor demand our involvement in this frontier of human effort.

First, there is the element of national power that is generated when a nation moves up to accept an important challenge, to face it, and to meet it, and to gather up all the benefits.

In space, we face a radically new and different situation than the world has ever confronted. When the human race decided it wanted to go out on the surface of the sea, it developed a ship. The ship represented ocean technology and developed the kind of power that Portugal held for a while, that Spain finally took away, and that England ultimately mastered.

OPEN NEW AREAS

It was English sea power that in a sense stabilized the world for a little more than 400 years. But it was basically a mastery of the technology of the oceans that became the base of the power position for those who held it. And the same masterly required that those who did not have the same capability adjust to the power position of those that did.

It gave the nations with sea power the capability to open up new areas, like the United States, and new territories, and enabled them to bring back resources and incorporate them in the home civilization

Airpower was somewhat different. The dominance of air power that came from the mastery of air technology lasted perhaps 60 years, or even a little less. It didn't permit you to incorporate within your system of use and control the resources of a new area, a new continent, nor to bring resources back to your own borders. A ship could remain in port, or off the coast as a floating base of operations, its power inherent in its presence. But an airplane has to land, eventually, and its staying power is limited. Yet, for some time, it gave nations power, and it contributed to the development of many areas of technology as well.

ROCKETS DEVELOPED

Now both ships and planes were limited. The ship couldn't leave the water—and the airplane was a slave to the air, and the use of the air was limited by the boundaries of other nations. Both were limited by the fuel they could carry, and by the elements in which they operated.

Yet both contributed to technologies that extended beyond their limitations. To the nations that mastered those technologies, it lent a power to extend themselves beyond the oceans, beyond the air, beyond the earth.

Man began to use his knowledge of the air to develop a new kind of engine, a rocket engine that could deliver its power in a vacuum as well as in the air. No longer did he have to rely on a machine that would drag him through a medium like air, or over a medium like the sea.

Now he has giant rockets, like the Saturn V, with its 5 first-stage engines consuming 15 tons of fuel per second, 900 tons a minute. It expends its energy for a very short period of time under very accurately controlled conditions, and then you are in orbit.

Then you are no longer limited by the boundaries of other nations, for those boundaries don't extend into space. You are now not limited by the running of an engine, or a fuel supply for it once you are in space.

DANGER CLEAR

For the first time you are dealing with something very different when you master this environment.

Yet this fundamental difference has to be related to the previous history of the ship and the plane, of the oceans and the air.

The question that arises is this: In terms of national power, is there going to be a real contest for the control of this new environment? Is there going to be a shared mastery or an effort at domination?

The danger is clear in having such a very great power available to only one nation, and especially to the Communist nations who have a strong, determined drive to dominate the world, to enforce their views on others.

That question becomes even deeper in significance when you consider just what the space program is, beyond the sending up of a rocket, besides merely being there.

The U.S. space program gives us a mastery of the space environment. It gives us the knowledge which permits us to judge what is in our own interest. It gives us the assurance that we are going to be at the decision table when the big decisions of the future are made. It also gives us the image of a "can do" nation, the image of a nation that is not going to focus on pure commercialism or fail to respond to a great challenge. It gives us also the power to exploit space.

CHAIN REACTION

With one communications satellite, it gives us the power to broadcast to one-third of the earth's surface. And that power in itself raises new challenges. It demands that we develop our intellects to the point where we know how to use this power. It is a chain reaction of greater and greater challenge.

We all know how we got into this chain reaction. We started by not getting into it at all. Think about how you felt when you suddenly realized that Russia was going to be able to deliver ballistic missiles anywhere in the world. Go even further back to Sputnik and see our image in the world. I remember very well one diplomat saying to me that he was in Iran and an official of the Government pointed his finger and said: "You've let us down. We expected you to stay out in front for the free world, and now Russia's ahead, and we don't know what's going to happen."

There was a feeling at the time of sputnik that somehow the future of this nation was in jeopardy if Russia was going to exploit space and move ahead with it. And while we were developing Vanguard and were trying to do a number of things in space, by and large we hadn't put the emphasis on it, and our machines were failing in public, and we had a sense of chagrin, and for the first time, in a way, the world began to ask questions. You had a basic questioning of the capability and the role of the United States that you never had before.

PRESTIGE AT STAKE

Now you have in rather clear terms the matter of prestige, which is always difficult and sometimes painful to define. We have the Russians saying, "We are going into space" and proving they could do it. And by doing so they were dragging their whole economy up behind this penetrating wedge of advanced technology. To get work done in space, you must learn to use every element that pertains to economic, social and political growth.

We must master the most efficient use of energy, of new materials, of modern electronics, and of highly trained men and women. We must work within the structure of our universities and other scientific organizations, provide a means for large industrial participation in research and development as well as production. Then Congress must make the decisions as to the missions to be carried out, and the money to be spent.

We must use energy in very large amounts, and in very small amounts, and under very close control. You can use and control energy, and energy is the basis of economic growth—on earth, in space, wherever you want to put it—even in the home. I mean, when men can get energy and machines to do their work, you get great power—and civilization advances.

UNITED STATES CLOSING .GAP

Interest here and abroad is very, very high. When astronaut Gordon Cooper visited New York, I asked Mayor Robert Wagner why 4½ million people turned out to line the way from the airport to the city. He said: "This is one of the most important events of the year in New York in motivating our young people to make more of their lives, and to show them what one man can do when he puts himself in a position of having the knowledge and dedication to do something unique."

I think that is true abroad, as well as it is here. I think the feeling abroad is that the United States is moving up from behind the Russians, that we have made tremendous progress. And in some ways the openness of our program makes people believe that we have achieved more than we have in relation to the Russians. They actually think we have moved closer to closing the gap than we actually have in respect to manned space flights.

People around the world are fired up over the possibilities of understanding the universe, of moving outward from the earth, of understanding how the environment that the earth moves through affects the earth. Our astronauts have had very great receptions abroad, from Burma to Europe.

I do not believe that people think of the exploration of space as the ultimate deflation of the human ego. I believe there is a growing realization that man is not just the center of his own little universe.

EXCITING CONCEPTS

The ego is very strong to learn, and understand, and know, and participate, even vicariously, in activity that expands human understanding.

We are already able to compare the Earth with Mars and Venus on the basis of two Mariner shots. And we know a lot more about the earth because we can now compare some of the characteristics of the three planets. Shortly, when we get samples of the material of Mars, and if we find any kind of life there, we will in this way in a very short time double the grist for the intellectual mill. This concept is very exciting to many human beings. Somehow man's intellect is going to come to grips with a reality he never could touch or reach, or work with before.

You know, you can see it in young people. You bring an astronaut to a high school auditorium and you can simply feel the place vibrate with their understanding, of the exciting new opportunities which are opening up and their strong feeling of desire to participate.

Basically, the human mind wants to understand the reality, rather than to be married to old ideas that came out of less than full knowledge.

Perhaps when it does we will have a full measure of the power of knowledge, and the glory of answering its challenge.

Acting Wisely

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the automobile industry is right, the Denver Post states editorially, in calling forcefully for mandatory Federal safety standards for all new motor vehicles.

The Post is of the opinion that the revised industry position will find favor in Congress and should remove all major roadblocks to enactment of a comprehensive traffic safety bill. The paper adds:

> In human and economic terms, this Nation simply cannot afford to allow the death-and-injury rate to mount year after year.

Knowing that this editorial endorsing a strong safety stand, represents the attitude of many, I offer it for inclusion in the RECORD.

INDUSTRY WISELY CHANGES SAFETY STAND

The auto industry has acted wisely in reversing its previous stand and calling forcefully for prompt establishment of mandatory Federal safety standards for all new motor vehicles.

Three weeks ago industry leaders completely misgaged the extent of public concern over car safety when they told the Senate Commerce Committee that they favored a voluntary safety program with the Government "looking over our shoulders."

Objections to this voluntary approach were registered strongly and immediately inside Congress. At that time, we expressed our skepticism over the industry's willingness to act on car safety design without Government prodding.

Automotive Spokesman John S. Bugas acknowledged Tuesday after another congressional hearing that some of the objections appeared to be valid. And he emphasized that the industry was making a serious effort to meet these objections.

Commendably now the industry has indeed taken steps—well beyond its original perfunctory endorsement of President Johnson's traffic safety bill—to assure the public that it intends to give high priority to auto safety design.

First, it has removed the leading objection to its past position by strongly urging the Federal Government to set minimum motor vehicle safety standards which, in turn, would also be adopted and enforced by the States.

Second, the industry, with its vast research resources, has promised to take the initiative in cooperating with the Government on safety standards for new automotive products.

Third, the industry has completely reversed an earlier request—rejected by the Justice Department—for exemption from antitrust laws, and now has agreed to work within the framework of these laws in cooperating on safety advances.

The revised industry position is bound to find favor in Congress, and should remove all major roadblocks to enactment of a comprehensive traffic safety bill. Such a measure—one that will deal with driver licensing, road improvements, stricter vehicle inspection, and the like, as well as auto design—has long been needed.

In human and economic terms, this Nation simply cannot afford to allow the death-and-injury rate to mount year after year.

Hopefully, now that the auto industry has decided to put its full energy behind the campaign, vital progress can be made to reduce fatal and maiming accidents on the Nation's highways.

Mao Tse-tung Slaps His Belly and Cries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. S. T. Tung, former president of colleges at Peking and Kiangsi, China, addressed the Commonwealth Club of California on April 22 of this year, and in my opinion made some very worthwhile contributions to the problems of our relationship with Red China. As reported in the Commonweath, his address entitled "Mao Tse-tung Slaps His Belly and Cries: 'A Bunch of Fools,' in Reaction to American Peace Proposals" follows:

MAO TSE-TUNG SLAPS HIS BELLY AND CRIES: "A BUNCH OF FOOLS," IN REACTION TO AMERICAN PEACE PROPOSALS

(From address by Dr. S. T. Tung, former president of colleges at Peking and Kiangsi, China)

I have been forced to the conclusion that the great majority of American China experts are wrong. You cannot really know a country with its complexity of problems by merely looking at it; that is to say, by visiting it, or by just reading about it.

These scholars and their disciples have given us some new theories which have as much appeal to those who are unacquainted with Chinese affairs as the agrarian reformer fiction of the past.

One such theory is that Red China is more Confucian than Communist. "Communist China, like China for a thousand years under the emperors in Peking," one leading China scholar declared, "is still governed by a great Confucian political fiction, the myth of rule by virtue."

This is the most astonishing representation of the Communist regime I have ever heard.

REDS FRANKLY RULE BY FORCE

If Confucius were alive and understood English, he would abandon his sagely manners, jump up and shout in protest; he might even take off his slippers and bang them on the table.

Even the Communists themselves do not pretend to rule by virtue. They frankly rule by brute force, massacre, jail, concentration camps.

Confucius' basic teaching consists of filial piety and benevolence. The Communists have all along regarded these virtues as obstacles to their revolution, and have been assiduously engaged in destroying them. The stories of their inducing and encouraging the children to betray and denounce their parents and elders are too many and too well known to be denied.

"WE ARE NOT COMPASSIONATE"—MAO

As for benevolence, in People's democratic dictatorship, Mao Tse-tung had the following to say: "The army, police and courts are all instruments of class oppression. * * * They are force, not benevolence. * * * Yes, sir, you are right, we are not compassionate. * * * It is like dealing with the tiger—you must either kill him or he will devour you."

Nothing can be more opposed to each other than Confucian teaching and the ways of the Communists.

A similar theory says that Red China's behavior is in the old traditional Chinese way, instead of the Marxist-Leninist way. Mao Tse-tung must have slapped his big belly, laughed and cried, "A bunch of fools. Silly talk of lunatics," as he has often done in reacting to American peace proposals.

Most Chinese people are puzzled by the behavior of the Communists because it is so foreign, so fantastic and so unhuman. The Communists had a unique chance to win the support of the Chinese people, but they threw it away by alienating the people at home and by arrogance and aggression abroad.

CHINA'S PEOPLE WOULD LIKE FREEDOM

A very popular misunderstanding for which the China experts are responsible is that the Chinese masses, especially the peasants, do not care for freedom, because they have never had any. This is not true.

The Chinese people used to have a maximum amount of freedom. They could choose any occupation, live and work in any place they liked, follow any religion or belief, organize any society and assemble for any purpose (except, of course, for rebellion and criminal action), buy and own anything and as much of it as they could afford, and so on. In fact, they were more free in many ways than the people of modern Western democracies.

MUCH FREEDOM UNDER EMPERORS

Although the government system was called an autocracy, the emperor, as the popular saying goes, was as far away as the sky is high.

The Government never bothered about the private life of the people.

Some China scholars seem to think that if the war is escalated to a certain point—say for instance, when Hanoi and Haiphong are bombed or when American and South Vietnamese troops cross the 17th parallel—Red China will intervene with troops or volunteers. This implies that we must not try to win the war, for if we do, we would be confronted with a major war with Red China. To avoid such a war, the China experts propose deescalation.

NO SANCTUARY

Yet, paradoxically, they are opposed to withdrawal from Vietnam. Several questions have to be answered:

1. How far are we going to deescalate?
2. Where will the deescalation lead? Shall we pull out half of our men from Vietnam or two-thirds? Shall we stop bombing North Vietnam?

I am afraid that, if we pull out two-thirds of our men, the remaining one-third would eventually be either driven out of Vietnam or annihilated by the Vietcong. If we stop bombing, we would only make it easier for

North Vietnam to replenish men and supply the south. It might be better to withdraw right away than to deescalate.

Fundamentally the trouble is that China scholars have misjudged the reason why Red China has not intervened with troops in Vietnam. It is not that the war has not been escalated enough but because the leaders in Peking know that they cannot get away with it if they intervene. The true deterrent is the pronouncement of the United States that she will not recognize any sanctuary as in Korea.

What the Communists dread most is that the United States will unleash Chinese troops from Taiwan if Red China intervenes in Vietnam.

CHIANG MIGHT SUCCEED

It is hard for Americans to understand why Red China with 700 million people and a 2,500,000-man army should be afraid of Taiwan with only 12 million people and a 600,000-man army. The answer is that the Communists know that they cannot trust their army and people once a war breaks out in their homeland.

In the days of Korea, the remnants of the Nationalists' army were thoroughly demoralized, but they now number 600,000 and are well equipped and trained by the Americans.

OPEN YOUR DOOR TO THE BANDITS

In the days of Korea, the Chinese people still had illusions as to the Communists. Since then, they not only have been thoroughly disillusioned but have long been anxious to throw off the Communist yoke.

What, you will ask, if Red China does intervene? My answer is: unleash Chiang Kai-shek's troops, and pull up the root of all the troubles in Asia.

Some China experts will cry out, "Oh, no." But it can and should be done. Chiang has declared countless times that he is able to liberate the mainland without a single American soldier, but with only American moral support and logistic supply. Why do we always turn a deaf ear to him, but jump at every nonsense the Communists may emit?

The policy of containment but not isolation, recommended by some scholars, means that we should continue to resist Red China's aggressive actions but also should recognize that regime and allow it to join the United Nations.

TWO-CHINA POLICY WON'T WORK

Actually this is nothing more than the old two-China policy formulated in different words. It is entirely impracticable because both the Nationalists and the Communists are opposed to it.

To follow this policy would be, as the Chinese proverbs say, to "open your door to usher in the bandits."

Chinese communism is like a plague. It is less dangerous to isolate it than to associate with it. The experiences of Russia, India, Indonesia, should teach us a lesson.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. Do oveseas Chinese support Communist China?

Answer. Most are opposed.

Question (W. K. Potts). Does Communist China really want to get into the U.N.?

Answer. Only on their own terms. They fear their delegates will defect.

Question (M. L. Ulrich). Any direct evidence Red Chinese Government fears disloyalty?

Answer. Can't take poll but can judge from evidence, experiences, background—put yourselves in their position. There's no freedom, constant famine, etc.

Question (J. C. Russell). Should Nationalist Chinese Army on Formosa be used in Vietnam?

Answer. Yes—but not in Vietnam—in China. Would fight better at home.

Question (W. H. Keplinger). Will Nationalist China agree to U.N. membership of two Chinas?

Answer. Definitely not.

Question. How would U.N. admission of Red China affect Nationalist China?

Answer. Would withdraw from U.N. and Red China would capture Taiwan. Then 12 million people would be either killed or sent to forced labor.

Question (Ray Walters). Chinese leaders interested in communism or power?

Answer. Depends on what you mean by "communism." It's not as Senator FULBRIGHT believes it is. They're interested in power—they can kill anybody, they're supreme—why shouldn't they like that?

Question. Would Red China, as part of U.N. abide by resolutions?

Answer. No—they'd use it as a tool for struggle.

Question (R. Cathcart). If Red Chinese troops entered North Vietnam might not North Vietnamese turn against them?

Answer. In past, Vietnam was a tributory to Chinese Emperor—but not a colony. It's so much baloney that they'd fight.

Question (Martin Mackey). Hundreds of millions killed in China? Famine? War casualties?

Answer. Tens of millions of executions. In 1952 there were an estimated 15 million executions—not casualties of war. In the cities—Hankow, Shanghai, Nanking—there were many days when 200, 300, 1,000 a day were executed—this from smuggled Communist documents. But the real killing was in the countryside—and there are no records.

Question (Roy P. Newell). What country will be first to achieve a "Great Society"?

Answer. Not China. The United States—it's a great country and I have deep faith in it.

Hawaii Extends Helping Hand to the Vietnamese Through 25th Infantry Division

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinctive characteristics of the war in which we are engaged, and there are many features which perhaps make it different from the other wars waged in our history, is the great emphasis placed on the importance of not only winning the military battles, but also of winning the friendship of the people of South Vietnam.

This genuine interest in the welfare of the Vietnamese populace has been reiterated by President Johnson on numerous occasions, and all available assistance programs are being utilized to reach this objective. The favorable results of these various programs notwithstanding, one of our most important sources for communicating to the South Vietnamese people our sincere intentions is the American GI.

For thousands of Vietnamese, the GI is the only American he will ever encounter. What our 250,000 fighting men say and do is therefore of vital importance in our efforts to win the confidence of the Vietnamese people.

Thus, it is with great pride that I share with my colleagues War Correspondent Bob Jones' heartwarming account of how Hawaii's tough 25th Infantry Division is helping to win the battles on this second front.

The Tropic Lightning Division is supervising the distribution of $800,000 worth of goods to the South Vietnamese village of Chu Chi, located 30 miles northwest of Saigon. This fantastically large supply of goods, including $5,500 in cash and 21 sewing machines, was donated by the patriotic citizens of Hawaii in "Operation Helping Hand."

Led by capable Lt. Col. Robert R. Hicks, the GI's intend to uphold the trust of the generous island donors by making sure that every item is distributed only to the needy and that it is put to maximum use. Under construction is a central warehouse which will store the goods with a full accounting and control system. Maj. Gen. Fred C. Weyand, commander of the 25th Division, said that the men are determined to keep the goods from falling into the hands of blackmarketeers or the Vietcong.

Hence, the unit assigned to rebuild each specific hamlet will be responsible for determining the needs of its hamlet and for withdrawing the needed items from the warehouse. The actual distribution of the goods to the people will be handled by the South Vietnamese officials.

I congratulate General Weyand, who is well known by Members of Congress and am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Reporter Bob Jones' interesting report of the 25th Division's major role in waging the bloodless battle to win the friendship and trust of the Vietnamese people. The article appeared in the April 18, 1966, issue of the Honolulu Advertiser:

CHU CHI GETS HAWAII AID

(By Bob Jones)

CHU CHI, VIETNAM.—Hawaii's "Operation Helping Hand" is reaching out to this needy village 30 miles northwest of Saigon.

Already some 270 tons of goods donated in the late February campaign have arrived in Vietnam. Four hundred boxes weighing 450 pounds apiece have reached the 25th Division headquarters, and another 800 boxes are on the docks at this writing.

About 300 boxes are underway by ship.

Far from the riots and anti-American demonstrations of Saigon, Chu Chi is more concerned about building a complete medical center for the district, finding an instructor to give dressmaking classes to villagers and virtually building Chu Chi into a model village.

It will all be done, villagers hope, with what Hawaii citizens and civic groups donated under "Operation Helping Hand" when the 25th Division left the islands.

"It's been the greatest exhibit of help to anyone I've ever witnessed," said Lt. Col. Robert R. Hicks, the man in charge of seeing that the goods are distributed where they will do the most good.

"The folks in Hawaii really took this to their hearts, right down to the little kid with 17 cents who said, 'This is all I have to offer.' "

"Helping Hand" won't be as spectacular as some people may expect.

"We aren't just going to dump the whole amount in the villages in one big splash," said Maj. Gen. Fred C. Weyand, 25th Division commander.

Instead, the goods will be doled out strictly on the basis of need, with a full accounting and control system to make sure none of the goods find their way into the black market or the hands of the Vietcong.

Donations by individual communities in Hawaii won't be going to specific villages here and at the 3rd Brigade's operating site near Pleiku.

This is how it will work:

A guarded warehouse is going up at Cu Chi where all the goods (worth about $800,000) are being categorized and stored.

Each unit within the 25th Division has been given a hamlet to build up.

As an item is shown to be needed in the hamlet (paint, clothes, shoes, etc.), the unit will draw the goods from the central storage place and allow Vietnamese authorities to distribute it to the people.

They don't just hand out clothes wholesale. It must be on a basis of need.

For example, one of the contributions here recently was to 10 families of Vietnamese Army soldiers killed along with two American advisers near Phuoc My in a Vietcong ambush.

Clothes have been distributed in the Catholic refugee village of Bac Ha here, and to Montagnards in the 3rd Brigade's area in the Central Vietnam highlands.

There was $5,500 in cash donated by people in Hawaii, and that has gone into a special fund for village projects.

"For instance, the 3rd Brigade builds a spillway for people to utilize a stream to wash and get their water," Colonel Hicks explained. "We authorize use of funds for that type of project."

Hawaii's contribution probably will be spilling out throughout Vietnam for the coming year wherever units of the 25th Division operate.

An operating table and anesthesia machine donated by the Wahiawa General Hospital will be the nucleus of the planned medical center at Cu Chi.

All the rubber sandals collected are finding their way to villagers' feet.

Above all, the division is trying to avoid the kind of wholesale distribution of gifts which all too often has only a brief effect in the village or is mistaken as a case of Americans showing off their wealth.

The 21 sewing machines the division got before leaving will be used for that dressmaking class here as soon as an instructor can be found.

Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1967

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14745) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, yesterday when the Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill was being debated on the floor of the House, I made reference to two tables in addition to the three included with my remarks on page 9343, but which were excluded from the printed record.

I therefore have unanimous consent that the tables, entitled "Health, Education, and Welfare Expenditures for the Nation" and "Per Capita Health, Education, and Welfare Expenditures in Actual Prices," be printed at this point in the RECORD and that the permanent RECORD on page 9343 of May 4, 1966, be so corrected as to include these two tables immediately preceding the table entitled, "Health, Education, and Welfare Expenditures as Percent of Gross National Product."

Health, education, and welfare expenditures for the Nation

[Dollar amounts in millions]

Fiscal year	Expenditures from Federal funds	Expenditures from State and local funds	Total expenditures from public funds	Expenditures from private funds	Total health education and welfare expenditures	Federal expenditures as percent of total expenditures from public funds	State and local expenditures as percent of total expenditures from public funds	Public expenditures as percent of total health, education, and welfare expenditures	Private expenditures as percent of total health, education, and welfare expenditures
1950	$9,985	$13,008	$22,993	$12,443	$35,436	43.4	56.6	64.7	35.3
1955	14,158	18,069	32,227	18,861	51,088	43.9	56.1	63.1	36.9
1960	24,583	27,620	52,203	29,308	81,511	47.1	52.9	63.9	36.1
1961	27,076	30,788	57,864	31,498	89,362	46.8	53.2	64.8	35.2
1962	30,447	31,857	62,304	33,930	96,234	48.8	51.2	64.8	35.2
1963	32,742	33,800	66,542	36,634	103,176	49.2	50.8	64.4	35.6
1964	35,334	35,823	71,157	39,455	110,612	49.6	50.4	64.4	35.6
1965	39,726	37,691	77,417	42,528	119,945	51.3	48.7	64.5	35.5

Source of Data: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Bulletin, October 1965.

NOTE.—Table does not include housing expenditures.

Per capita health, education, and welfare expenditures in actual prices

Fiscal year	Population (in millions) [1]	Per capita health, education, and welfare expenditures in actual prices					Per capita national defense expenditures in actual prices
		Total	Federal funds	State and local funds	Total public funds	Private funds	
1950	151.7	$234.00	$65.80	$85.80	$151.60	$82.40	$85.50
1955	165.3	308.80	85.40	109.60	195.00	113.80	247.00
1960	180.7	452.00	135.80	153.20	289.00	163.00	252.50
1961	183.8	486.00	147.00	167.50	314.50	171.50	258.50
1962	186.7	515.50	163.20	170.80	334.00	181.50	273.50
1963	189.4	543.00	172.60	178.40	351.00	192.00	278.80
1964	192.1	574.00	183.80	187.20	371.00	203.00	282.00
1965	195.5	612.00	203.50	192.50	396.00	216.00	256.50

[1] Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Wisconsin Representative Is Bright Spot in Federal Circles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. RACE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin has long had a tradition of electing men of great prestige, integrity, and ability to high public office. Although my State has earned a reputation for its good leadership, a few men such as the La Follettes stand out as particularly noteworthy statesmen.

Mr. Speaker, we are fortunate to have such a Wisconsin leader and statesmen as a Member of this body. The Honorable CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, Congressman from the Fourth District of Wisconsin, has earned an enviable record over the years as a respected statesman in national and international affairs. His name is well known not only in his own State, but also in the capital cities throughout the world.

Recently, Mr. John Wyngaard, a noted Wisconsin journalist, wrote of Congressman ZABLOCKI's outstanding work as a Member of the House. I commend that article to the attention of this body and include it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Appleton (Wis.) Post-Crescent, May 1, 1966]

WISCONSIN REPRESENTATIVE IS BRIGHT SPOT IN FEDERAL CIRCLES—CLEMENT ZABLOCKI CONSIDERED UNDERESTIMATED POLITICIAN

(By John Wyngaard)

WASHINGTON.—A rising figure in the Congress of the United States and in the evolution of the Nation's world policy is one of the most underestimated politicians of his own State of Wisconsin.

Representative CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, of Milwaukee, dean of the Wisconsin Democrats in the National Capital and second ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, is commonly described here as the best informed man in the Congress on the problems of southeast Asia, site of the country's most critical current military commitment.

CHATS EASILY

In Wisconsin politics ZABLOCKI is typically regarded as an unassuming representative of a "safe" district, anchored solidly in the ethnic group loyalties of his constituency. Here he is a recognized and prestigious insider in the most important government of the free world and chairman of the Subcommittee on Southeast Asia of the House of Representatives which guides congressional policy on Vietnam and the other danger spots across the broad Pacific.

ZABLOCKI chats easily but somberly about the Vietnam war and other problem areas of the National Government, as he sits in his handsome suite in the vast new Rayburn Office Building.

The 18-year veteran of congressional service is a loyal supporter of the administration in Vietnam policy, but he concedes that the Nation made grievous errors years ago that contribute to its difficulties in southeast Asia today. But how the United States got into Vietnam and whether it should have become involved are now academic questions, he observes.

"We'll be there a long time," he remarks soberly.

"We'll probably be there as long as we have been in Korea," he added, after a pause.

The Wisconsin lawmaker has visited Vietnam and other southeast Asia countries repeatedly in the last dozen years, and has visited there during the losing war waged by the French in their former Vietnam colony. Today he describes his views as cautiously optimistic.

WINNING MILITARILY

This country is winning militarily in Vietnam, he asserts. The more difficult problem ultimately will be to restore political stability and a viable democratic government. Even if the United States should triumph militarily now, or soon, an American presence will be required there for years to establish a reliable political structure, he believes.

ZABLOCKI in Wisconsin politics to stand aside from the liberal-intellectual leadership that dominates his party, but he has established a position of wide respect in the Congress.

"He has grown in stature to a remarkable extent," commented a colleague who is a Republican. "He is one of the best informed men in the House on foreign affairs, and one of the hardest working Representatives here." A Zablocki aid relates with pride the enormous demand from academicians and private citizens throughout the country for copies of the hearing reports that have flowed from the work of his subcommittee while it has labored without the enormous television publicity accorded to Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT's Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

POLITICAL ENVY

In Wisconsin politics ZABLOCKI is the envy of the professional politicians of both parties because of the phenomenal success he has shown at the polls since he came to the State senate as an obscure and timid freshman 24 years ago. The average Congressman is content to win with a 55-to-44 margin, for example. ZABLOCKI begins to wonder about his home precinct relations when his percentage of the votes won in his Milwaukee South Side district falls below 70 percent. His best campaign scored a margin of more than 74 percent, which ranks it with some of the party constituencies of the Deep South in ratio of electoral support.

The Congressman was one of the earliest Wisconsin backers of the late President John F. Kennedy, and maintains a close relationship with Senator ROBERT KENNEDY as the heir-apparent of the Kennedy family political forces. ZABLOCKI was a man to be reckoned with when the late President ruled in the White House and ROBERT KENNEDY was the chief patronage officer.

Today his position is somewhat less sure in that regard. A forthcoming test of his influence may be offered in the selection of a new Federal district judge for the newly authorized third branch of the eastern Wisconsin district. ZABLOCKI is supporting the candidacy of an old Milwaukee friend. Senators NELSON and PROXMIRE, according to the prevailing impression here, may have other ideas on that selection, expected to be made soon by President Johnson.

HAD DREAMS

Like other politicians in their younger years, ZABLOCKI once dreamed of higher place. In the 1957 special election to choose a successor for the seat of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, ZABLOCKI sought the Democratic Party nomination, but lost decisively to PROXMIRE, who benefitted from his three previous statewide campaigns for the governorship. Since that time ZABLOCKI has concentrated upon carving the kind of career in the House of Representatives that can be made with long tenure assured by a safe district. The Congressman does not mention it, but colleagues and associates know that he has looked forward to winning the chairmanship of the House committee. Recently it appeared that it was within his grasp, when Representative THOMAS MORGAN, of Pennsylvania, the chairman, scouted the possibilities of running for Governor in his State. But MORGAN changed his mind and apparently will run for reelection to the House in the fall.

The chunky, affable, 53-year-old political veteran has already served longer as a Wisconsin Representative than any other Wisconsin man ever elected on the Democratic ticket, and in a higher ranking capacity than any Wisconsin Democrat has had in modern times.

LONG TENURE

Given his age and the electoral history of his district, he can probably look forward to tenure exceeding that of the most successful Representatives his State has sent to the Congress in the past.

After a half hour of pleasant chatting with the Wisconsin statehouse hand who knew him long ago in Madison, the Congressman politely suggested that it was time for him to be stirring.

The bell has signaled for a quorum call, he explained, and besides he was heading for home in the evening to make a couple of speeches.

The way to keep a district safe, he seemed to be saying, is to continue to cultivate it with love and attention.

Rt. Rev. Theodore E. McCarrick Installed as Fifth President of Catholic University of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SANTIAGO POLANCO-ABREU

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. POLANCO-ABREU. Mr. Speaker, on February 2, 1966, the Right Reverend Theodore E. McCarrick was installed as the fifth president of Catholic University of Puerto Rico, Ponce, P.R. Catholic University is indeed honored to follow the direction of such a brilliant scholar, able teacher, and religous leader as Monsignor McCarrick. His inauguration was regarded as an outstanding educational event in Puerto Rico.

I am sure that Monsignor McCarrick will prove to be a skilled architect in maintaining and strengthening Catholic University of Puerto Rico, which, as he describes it, is a bridge over which information, understanding and culture will flow in two directions in the context of communication of an inter-American civilization.

The inaugural ceremony was attended by: the apostolio-delegate; bishops from the United States and Puerto Rico; the board of trustees; priests and sisters from various communities; representatives of the Government of Puerto Rico; representatives of colleges and universities from the United States and Puerto Rico; faculty, administration, and students of Catholic University of Puerto Rico; many other distinguished guests, and friends and family of the new president.

Monsignor McCarrick's address follows:

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT REVEREND THEODORE E. MCCARRICK

Since so many of our guests here today would be more comfortable if I were to speak in English, I shall at least begin in that language, so that I may bid them a most cordial welcome. It is of course always dangerous to single out any group or groups for special mention on an occasion such as this, but I feel bound to express a personal gratitude to some of those who have honored the university and its president by their presence here today. In the first place our gratitude goes to the representative of His Holiness, Pope Paul, His Excellency Archibishop Clarizio. The ties that bind this university to the Holy Father are innumerable and they are ties of love and deep filial respect and admiration. I know that Archbishop Clarizio will convey to His Holiness to this new missionary Paul who guides the barque of Peter in these critical days, the homage of our fidelity and the promise of our prayers.

May I next single out the many representatives of the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico who are with us today led by the very distinguished secretary of education himself who comes as personal representative of the Governor of Puerto Rico, our own board of trustees, of course who are in a very real sense, "in their own house" have honored us by their presence and by their unfailing interest in the future of the university. My colleagues the presidents of institutions of higher education and many delegates from universities all over North America who are here in such amazing number, even in view of the weather in the north, and our distinguished guests from all parts of Puerto Rico and the States, by their presence among us offer a gracious compliment to the accomplishments of my predecessors here, and a much valued encouragement to him who must follow in the giant steps that they have traced.

For I see myself as the heir of giants. The four rectors who have guided this university in her 18 years of history have each left the imprint of their generous service, the brilliant scholarship of Monsignor Murga, the amazing vision of Father Ferree, the organizational ability of Father Stanley, the painstaking devotion of Father Mueller, these have planted well in the past. But the time of planting is never over.

I have great faith in this university which is to say that I have great faith in my colleagues, the members of the faculty and in the student body. We, all of us together are the university, and together as we have said so often, with the help of God's grace shall strive to do great things here in this much loved Puerto Rico. Let me add just one word of personal gratitude to the faculty. The graciousness with which you have received me, your enthusiasm and your devotion to this alma mater, and your wholehearted encouragement has been a source of great joy to this newcomer and has made him very much at home, as together we try to build for tomorrow while we meet the challenges of today.

In a world whose greatest preoccupation is the need for understanding every university becomes at once the hope of the present and the key to the future. In this context the University becomes a bridge, a connection point, not only for the transmission of the information which man needs to live, but also for the development in him of the understanding which man needs to live with his neighbor. This is the essential function of the school, at whatever level it may exist; that it serve to promote and foster in its students the ability to understand each other: to enter into a meaningful communication with those whose lives they touch.

The school must transmit knowledge, of course, but it must never cease to be the seed-ground of that understanding which is communication's eldest child: understanding of himself, through which the man comes to know himself for what he is and what he can be, understanding of his fellows through which he develops the relationships which make him truly human, and understanding of his creator, through which he is exalted in a mystery of Godliness to become truly a dwelling place of the divine.

This communication, the fostering and development of which is the task of the University, is not merely in words and symbols, but more importantly in ideas and values and through it each university assumes the nature of a bridge between peoples, between cultures and between generations. If this bridge is strong, it will carry the wisdom of the past to the commitment of the future. If it is flexible and can adapt itself to the needs of its burden, neither buckling under the weight of tradition, nor snapping in the winds of change, then it can be admired for its relevance as well as respected for its stability. And if it facilitates the movement of the pioneer to still not completely charted banks, then it fulfills its mission with distinction and makes a contribution to both shores of the sea of time.

Our university is a bridge in an even deeper sense. Here at the crossroads of two cultures and at the cradle of a third, reaping the harvest of Hispanic humanism and North American enterprise, and basking in the sunlight of an ever-developing Puerto Rico culture which is the heir and the artisan of the two, the Catholic University of Puerto Rico is dedicated in a profound manner to the advancement of understanding and the fostering of communication in the context of an inter-American civilization.

Three threads weave through the tapestry of this center of learning, each of them adding a special excellence to the harmony of the pattern of the whole: The deep spirituality and profound humanism of Spain, the openness and sympathetic warmth of our enchanting fellow citizens, the drive and generous purpose of the North American. On these we count for today and for tomorrow. On these, as president and rector of this university, I am content to keep the bridge and to work on toward an even further shore.

Let me, on the day of taking formal possession of my new responsibilities, choose my heroes for this encounter. For every man has the right to his heroes. For the first, I choose a Spaniard, a man little remembered but worthy of great renown, a man of adventure and of singular apostolic zeal, the first bishop, the first successor of the apostles to come to the New World—Don Alonso Manso—who established the church in Puerto Rico in 1511, and ruled it with prudent wisdom for a quarter-century. He shall be my first hero and I shall pray for a double portion of this dynamic spirit. For the second, I choose a man of Puerto Rico, and to him also, the years have not given the judgment of greatness which he deserves.

The first native Puerto Rican to be raised to the episcopate, a man of infinite charity, whose pastoral care for the poor was the moving focus of his life, I shall choose the saintly Juan Alejo de Arizmendi as my hero and pray for his charity and the deep understanding of people that was his gift. For the third in time of my heroes I shall choose the man whose vision and whose endless courage transformed a canefield into a great university, whose devotion to Puerto Rico and to its people yields to no man, and who this very afternoon received from this rejoicing alma mater, to him a grateful alma filia the salute of a new foundation in stone which bears his name. I shall choose as my third hero James Edward McManus and I shall pray for vision and courage like his.

So may I commend to your good prayers, the hopes of this fifth president of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico. May the Lord give to this administration, to me and my colleagues on whom I count so heavily, a growth in wisdom and grace and strength that we may indeed, continue to build this bridge between the cultures of north an south, that we may promote to an ever-more fruitful degree the communication necessary for the full development of man and of states, and that our devotion to the service of God, of his church and of Puerto Rico may ever grow in the years He gives us, that we may promise on this day of the Candelaria, the feast of light, to work in the light, as men who love the light.

"Old Realities and New Myths" Gives Us Excellent Reasons Why the United States Is in South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of my colleagues in Congress a very fine, perceptive article on America's actions and policies in South Vietnam and our Nation's goal of world peace for all time. The article was written for Impact Magazine of Vanderbilt University by my distinguished colleague and good friend from Louisiana—the Honorable Hale Boggs, majority whip of the House of Representatives.

Representative Hale Boggs has done a splendid job of separating myth from reality in our policy toward southeast Asia and Communist China. I commend him for this incisive article, and I recommend it to all my fellow colleagues.

His article was a contribution to the discussions on national issues and problems held at the annual impact symposium on the Vanderbilt University campus. The symposium was held on April 1–2, 1966, and prominent figures from throughout the Nation and the world came to Vanderbilt's campus in Nashville, Tenn., to participate in the weekend seminar.

Congressman Boggs' article, "Old Realities and New Myths," follows:

OLD REALITIES AND NEW MYTHS

(By Hale Boggs)

(Note.—The author, U.S. Representative from the Second District of Louisiana (New Orleans), is majority whip of the House and chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy.)

On February 22 of this year, I was on the floor of the House, listening to my lovely colleague from Hawaii, Congresswoman Patsy Mink, recite President George Washington's famed Farewell Address of September 17, 1796, to the citizens of our young Republic. It is tradition in both the House and the Senate that Washington's Farewell Address be delivered each year on his birthday (February 22) and that no regular business be conducted on that day.

As Mrs. Mink read this famous address, I pondered on the words, wondering how best to make them applicable to today's world. One theme was emphasized in the speech: that of maintaining strict neutrality in the affairs of the Old World (Europe)—of avoiding any alliances with one country or group of countries in opposition to others. European nations were laways engaged in bitter intrigue, quarrels and warfare. Besides, the 16 States of the new United States of America were far removed from Europe, protected by a vast Atlantic Ocean, Washington had noted.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon a foreign ground?" Washington had said.

When Mrs. Mink read those words, "Why quit our own to stand upon a foreign ground?" I thought of our country's direct invlovement in the war in Vietnam. For a moment, I wondered how these words—this admonition of President Washington—could apply to the world we live in today. Washington had addressed his advice and counsel to his fellow countrymen almost 170 years ago—and he had spoken wisely for the young America of that day—but his recommendations probably would be far different in the latter half of the 20th century.

Washington undoubtedly would have taken a different view now, I thought.

Of myself, I asked: What is America's new global challenge? What course must we pursue today and in the decades ahead to safeguard that liberty and freedom we hold so dear?

The answer should begin with a recitation of why the United States once again has chosen to "quite our own to stand upon a foreign ground?"—specifically, to stand in South Vietnam. For Vietnam represents our immediate global challenge. Our success or failure there will determine whether we shall maintain or abdicate our role as leader of the free world and maybe ultimately whether we shall survive as a nation.

The United States has not sought to assume the arduous and heavy mantle of world leadership—and we seek no material gain for doing so. But destiny and circumstances have thrust it upon us, and meet it we must, meet it we will.

The righteousness of our course and our goals for the people of South Vietnam are made all the more emphatic and vivid by a personal visit to that stricken land. Such a visit it was my pleasure to make last December. What I heard and saw there—from both the officials of our Government and those of South Vietnam—has imbued me with a firm conviction in our cause.

If we could put aside the humanitarian and moral aspects of our involvement in South Vietnam (which we can't do)—if we would dare to lay aside our firm belief in the right of the people of any nation to choose freely and without fear their own form of government and their own leaders (which we won't do)—the fact still remains that it is in the best interests of our own country to remain in South Vietnam until a just and honorable peace is attained for the people of South Vietnam.

Thus, we are not at all in disagreement with the Father of our Country in his Farewell Address. For Washington offered specific admonitions and suggestions for policy and courses of action for the young Republic, and he did so in the best interests of the United States at the time. But his recommendations were designed for a far different world, I thought.

Then, why are we in Vietnam? Why are Americans fighting and dying there?

In summation, we are there not only because it is right, but also because we wish to avoid the inevitable horrors of world war III. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk noted recently on a television program with me, "we must hold on to the lessons we learned from before World War II because we're not going to have the chance to draw many lessons from world war III—there won't be enough left to do so." In short, we must act with firmness and purpose now, and this we are doing in Vietnam in order to prevent world war III .

You have read recently that much of American foreign policy should be changed to meet what were termed "old myths and new realities." In truth, I believe that our foreign policy is best served by following the old realities and discarding the new myths.

The first new myth is that communism is now quiescent and has lost its militant and aggressive character. But the old reality—the truth—is that the Communist world, particularly Red China, is still predatory. Communist States, particularly Red China, plan to move into and conquer their less powerful neighbors. It is Communist China today, more than the Soviet Union, which casts covetous eyes around her, particularly at the small nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia. The method now employed is called a "war of national liberation," but this is merely a transparent cloak to disguise infiltration, subversion, espionage and sometimes outright overthrow of the existing government.

The second new myth is that resistance to aggression is an outmoded policy no longer necessary or useful in the world of the late 1960's. The old reality—the truth—is that the United States and the free world must continue to defend freedom around the globe, and to assist States, like South Vietnam, that wish to be free, but lack the power to combat their aggressive Communist neighbors.

The other hard reality is that if we fail in the task we have so boldly performed so well for 20 years, the inevitable result will be the same as with Prime Minister Chamberlain's ill-fated appeasement of the late 1930's.

So by resisting aggression now, we are providing the only possible path to achievement of a lasting peace for all mankind.

Finally, there is the new myth that the United States is a "paper tiger," that this great country will prove unwilling to bear the burden of world leadership. The old reality—the truth—is that we have demonstrated our resolve to bear this burden for over a quarter of a century. Today, President Johnson and the majority of the Congress and of the American people are showing their determination to continue to pay the necessary price "to assure the survival and the success of liberty," as President Kennedy stated in his inaugural address.

Therefore, I submit that America's immediate challenge is to obtain for the people of South Vietnam a just and honorable peace so that they may freely choose their own form of government. Secretary Rusk said on our television show that "people in the Communist world (in Eastern Europe to be exact) have told me themselves that the No. 1 question in the world today is how to move Peiping to peaceful coexistence."

Nothing points up this challenge more decisively than the worlds of President Kennedy after Premier Khrushchev agreed to withdraw the Soviet missiles from Cuba. I recall this experience as vividly as any of my life. You remember that Congress had just adjourned (October, 1962) and most of us had gone home. Then President Kennedy, after learning of this very grave threat to our country and the whole world, summoned back to Washington all the Congressional leaders. For one terrible week our Nation looked down the nuclear gun barrel. Then on the Monday after the Sunday in which Khrushchev wrote his letter to President Kennedy, indicating his capitulation and his readiness to withdraw the missiles from Cuba, President Kennedy said to us:

"We have resolved one of the great crises of mankind. The military threat of Russia is now receding. The threat now will come from Communist China when she develops the hydrogen bomb."

Two years later, almost to the day, gathered in the same room were almost the same people, including the leaders of the Congress. This time we were there to hear President Johnson and the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff brief us on the explosion of the first nuclear device by Communist China. Many questions were directed at Secretary Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. One prevailed above all the others.

What threat does this pose to the free world? The answer came back, sharp and clear: Very little as of now, because of the Chinese lack of a delivery system for nuclear weapons; but a very major and dangerous one 10 years or more from now, baring no change in the aggressive and militant leadership now dominant in Red China.

Throughout this briefing my mind kept going back to President Kennedy's statement: that the world would be relatively safe until such time as Communist China develops the hydrogen bomb and a delivery system for it.

So the immediate task is to secure for the people of South Vietnam a just and honorable peace, under freedom and justice.

But the ultimate challenge—the ultimate goal—is to secure for all mankind a genuine, lasting peace. Man is making great strides in conquering space, combating and reducing disease, prolonging life, providing more education for more people, and realizing other advances in many spheres of human activity.

I think that President Kennedy best summed up what we mean about world peace, when he said, in one of his greatest speeches, given at American University, in Washington, D.C., on June 10, 1963:

"What kind of peace do I mean? What kind of peace do we seek? Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men and women; not merely peace in our time, but peace for all time."

Unilateral Disarmament Opposed by Women's Group

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, from the noisy clamor of the Women Strike for Peace movement and like groups one might think American women have gone on a mass disarmament binge or, at least, are tagging hypnotically as a group behind the administration's freewheeling disarmament Pied Pipers. Such is not the case.

The following resolution passed passed unanimously on April 13 by the 32d Congressional District Republican Women Federated of California is evidence thereof:

Resolution on Disarmament

Whereas the Arms Control and Disarma ment Act, Public Law 87–2497 of the 87th Congress, enacted September 26, 1961, is now the law of our land and is binding on our public officials, and has committed the United States to a policy of complete disarmament and internationalist control under a United Nations Peace Force; and

Whereas steps already taken by our administration, including the closing of military facilities at home and abroad, the abandonment of the F–105, Typhan RB–70, Skybolt, Dynasoar and nuclear aircraft propulsion programs, and curtailment of enriched uranium production indicate a rapid trend in the direction of unilateral disarmament; and

Whereas no effective means are under preparation to defend this country from airborne attack from a foreign country, the citizens having been disarmed under this act leaves every home open to attack; and

Whereas there is no provision in the U.S. Constitution to authorize the surrender of our Armed Forces to any power or any force at any time; and

Whereas our national officials are required to take an oath to support and defend the U.S. Constitution against all its enemies, at home and abroad: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the California Federation of Republican Women, Southern Division, call upon our two U.S. Senators to immediately request hearings by the Senate Armed Services Committee and/or any other committee having jurisdiction over our Defense Department in regard to our lack of adequate national defense planning for the purpose of analyzing the effects of the disarmament treaty on our national defense and of preparing whatever legislation is necessary to halt the rate of unilateral disarmament now in effect under orders of Secretary Robert McNamara and President Johnson; and be it

Resolved, That the 32d District Republican Women Federated vigorously support this resolution; and be it further

Resolved, That letters and copies of this resolution be sent to Senator George Murphy, Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, Mrs. Grace Thackery, president of the California Federated Republican, Southern Division, Assemblyman Frank Lanterman, chairman of the resolution committee of the Republican State Central Committee of California, and to Congressman Craig Hosmer, with the request that he insert this resolution in the Congressional Record.

Voter's Pledge for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, at Suite 503, 17 East 45th Street, New York City, 10017, there is the office of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, of which Dr. Benjamin Spock and Prof. H. Stuart Hughes are cochairmen.

The group is conducting a campaign which they call the voter's pledge for peace, and their circular is hereinafter set forth so that my colleagues, who will naturally be concerned with the forthcoming election may be fully informed as to the progress of this movement:

Voter's Pledge for Peace

Millions of Americans voted in 1964 for the presidential candidate they thought would keep us out of war.

They believed his words. But 3 months after the elections they were dismayed to see the same candidate order the bombing of North Vietnam and soon dispatch 175,000 more Americans to South Vietnam. They were dismayed to learn that the United States had twice refused during 1964 to meet in Rangoon with the North Vietnamese when Hanoi was ready to talk—reported in Eric Sevareid's last interview with Adlai Stevenson.

They were dismayed to find that the U.S. offer of unconditional negotiations excluded direct talks with the Vietcong (NLF) as a separate party. And they were dismayed by the reluctance of Congress to act or even to discuss the drift toward a land war in Asia.

The American people have been losing their influence over events which determine whether their sons will go to war or go to school, whether their govenment will wipe out villages abroad or slums at home, 1966 is the year for the American people to regain control over these events. The place to do so is at the polls. Sign the voters' pledge now.

Voter's Pledge Campaign Sponsors

Norman Thomas and Rev. William Sloane Coffin, cochairmen.

Julian Bond, Dr. Harold Bosley, Ray Bradbury, Louis Braun, Stuart Chase, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, Dr. William Davidon, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Dr. Morton Deutsch, Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, Prof. Joseph M. Duffy, Jr., Eugene Exman, Jules Feiffer, W. H. Ferry, Prof. D. F. Flemming, Jerome D. Frank, M.D.

Dr. Erich Fromm, William Gibson, Rabbi Roland B. Gittlesohn, Nathan Glazer, Bishop Charles F. Golden, Patrick E. Gorman, Dr. Donald S. Harrington, Michael Harrington, Prof. Robert S. Hartman, Dr. Robert J. Havighurst, Clarence Heller, Nat Hentoff, John Hersey, Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, Dr. Hudson Hoagland, Laura Z. Hobson, Rabbi Isidor B. Hoffman, Prof. Richard Hofstadter, Prof. H. Stuart Hughes, Dr. Homer Jack.

Prof. Herbert C. Kelman, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rabbi Edward E. Klein, Dr. Robert J. Lifton, M.D., Bishop John Wesley Lord, Dr. Robert MacIver, Lenore G. Marshall, Dr. Rollo May, Stewart Meacham, Prof. Semour Melman, Thomas Merton, William H. Meyer, Rabbi Uri Miller, Prof. Ashley Montagu, Rt. Rev. C. Kilmer Myers, Dr. Charles E. Osgood, Josephine W. Pomerance.

Dr. Darrell Randall, Tony Randall, Anatol Rapoport, Dr. David Reisman, Albert B. Sabin, M.D., Prof. Mario Salvadori, Dr. Paul A. Schilpp, Dr. Jack Schubert, Dr. J. David Singer, Dr. Ralph Sockman, Dr. Pitirim Sorokin, Benjamin Spock, M.D., Dr. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, Prof. George F. Thomas, Louis Untermeyer, Prof. Paul Weiss, Dagmar Wilson, Prof. Quincy Wright, Dr. Gordon C. Zahn.

I pledge to support and vote for candidates who agree to work vigorously—

1. For U.S. steps to end the war; for U.S. initiatives to encourage negotiations with all concerned parties including the Vietcong (NLF); and for a settlement which permits the Vietnamese people freely to work out their own future;

2. For the use of international agencies to settle disputes among nations; and for the avoidance of military intervention in the affairs of other nations;

3. For the increasing use of our resources in constructive economic and social programs at home and abroad.

Because the Vietnam war is exacting a cruel toll in lives and resources, detracting from constructive domestic programs, and threatening to lead to a third world war.

Two Columns by Eliot Janeway, Consulting Economist of Chicago Tribune

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the economic consequences of the war in Vietnam should be recognized by all of us. With the hope of emphasizing the proper consideration this subject should receive and its vast implications, I insert in the Record two columns by Eliot Janeway, consulting economist of the Chicago Tribune, the first appearing this morning, May 5, and the second having appeared on Thursday, March 10, but still retaining its pertinence.

Viet's a Dollar War as Well as Shooting

(By Eliot Janeway)

New York, May 4.—The normal rule of war is that it suspends business as usual. But now, it is all too clear that the normal rules of war don't apply to Vietnam. Militarily, it's too small a war to get in the way of business as usual. But, financially, it's too costly a war to be allowed to get it in the way of business as usual. In fact, the rising cost of the war is putting America under pressure to beat the earning norms of business as usual. To finance the shooting war in Vietnam, we need to keep our lead in the economic competition everywhere.

Napoleon sneered at England as "a nation of shopkeepers." But she beat him in the markets of the world—where we are on the defensive now. Money alone can't win a war, but lack of it can lose one. We are learning the hard way what the Chinese war lords meant over the years by "silver bullets."

The dollar bullets we are fighting with today are made of paper, and they do the job in the world power struggle that "silver bullets" used to do in the world of Fu Manchu—with immeasurably greater impact. To assess how we are doing as a nation of shopkeepers in a world of sharp traders, this column interviewed Ray Eppert, head of the worldwide Burroughs Corp., a pioneering veteran of the international economic competition.

PUNTING ON FIRST DOWN

Janeway. Do you agree with present recommendations aimed at pulling back our investment operations—by limitations on investment, not only overseas but here at home, and by tax increases?

Eppert. I do not. I don't think that there is much difference between athletic competition and economic competition. No football team ever wins by punting on first down. No country ever scores in the marketplace by trying to earn less. I hope that we will try to earn more from our exports and foreign operations. The only way we can do this is to invest more in overseas markets, not less.

Janeway. How do you explain the failure of intelligent men to agree on such a sound and simple American objective?

Eppert. We have had things so easy in this country that we have failed either to recognize or to implement the rule that is standard operating practice in every other country doing well—that every country has two economies, one for domestic operations and the other for international competition. The "two-economy" rule requires two monetary policies, one for our domestic economy and the other to maximize world trade. We are in trouble because we are trying to make the same policy fit both sets of problems. Actually, if we were earning more abrod, we would be under less pressure to cut back at home.

TWO PRIORITY ACTIONS

Janeway. What is your prescription for curing our overseas earnings complaints?

Eppert. There are quite a number of actions which are urgently needed, and I think that there are two which should be given high priority.

Janeway. What are they?

Eppert. The first is action to recognize that our external economy must have special and consistent treatment, and not be subjected to or affected by every domestic breeze or whim. Secondly, the way to achieve our objective of international equilibrium is by selling our way to proper balance.

Janeway. Are you saying that we must not only continue to invest overseas, but also increase direct exports from this country?

Eppert. Right. And this requires us to do as well by our exporters as other governments are doing by their. Our banking system needs a new arm—for extending credit on export orders at an export prime interest rate. Businesses can't tie up their working capital by financing exports to the detriment of their domestic credit, and the average businessman will not get involved in exports if he has to negotiate individual loan projects in Washington. Export financing needs to be routed through the commercial banks, and the banks should be able to rediscount this paper in Washington at a discount rate established for exports. This would be similar to the banking discount privilege with the Federal Reserve on domestic paper, except that the time periods would be considerably longer. Such a simple procedure would create and promote incentive to export, and would help greatly to solve the problem of selling America into a proper international monetary balance.

Janeway. In essence, you are saying that the time is overdue for America to get off the defensive by taking the initiatives which its position justifies and requires.

Military Out of Step With Financial Goals

(By Eliot Janeway)

New York, March 9.—Of all the arguments the Johnson administration is making in behalf of whatever it is or isn't doing in Vietnam, the one on which it depends most is not about Vietnam at all. It is an argument about the rest of the world, mainly Western Europe (where politicians and voters alike are betting against us in Vietnam and have no intention of helping us).

The argument itself is simple. If we don't make good on our commitment to Vietnam, it goes, how can we expect our allies elsewhere to have confidence in our commitments to them? Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, is the strategist responsible for this debating team play, and its public relations allure has helped Rusk win his new primacy in the Johnson Cabinet.

But there is another reason why the Secretary of State has been doing so well in the White House. It is that the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Treasury have been doing so poorly with the Western European powers. America's stock has been falling in the European power market, and our policy aspirations have been frustrated there.

Over the years, we have lost bargaining leverage with Europe because of Washington's failure to coordinate our military objectives with our financial operations. Eisenhower didn't, and neither did Kennedy. Therefore, President Johnson feels no need to try.

Johnson's formula for playing consensus politics is to use Eisenhower precedents as an umbrella protecting him from storms on the right, and Kennedy precedents as an umbrella against storms on the left. This is a shrewd technique for manipulating the reactions of public opinion to old cliches, but it is scarcely the way to come to grips with new problems.

KEEPS PUBLIC CONTENTED

Consensus politics looks more impressive than it is, for it concentrates on quieting criticism, not on getting results. Before we retreated into appeasement on the European money front, we were dealing from strength across the Atlantic, on financial as well as on military issues. But the moment we fell for the idea that the dollar is weak and started to deal from weakness financially, we neutralized our stance of strength militarily.

Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense, was quick to enlist in Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler's drive to satisfy the critics of our dollar outflows. He ran up a big score in brownie points with President Johnson by dumping military hardware abroad. The idea was to make our spending on military aid seem less than it really is.

To subsidize this government dumping drive, McNamara undercut the normal export efforts of our own aircraft and other defense manufacturers. Aside from raising domestic defense costs and losing tax revenues, the result of this essay in opportunism was to blur analysis of Europe's real defense needs, which her governments will pay their own money to meet.

BUYING BACK WEAPONS

The New York Times has just disclosed that the surplus weapons which McNamara dumped in Europe to make us look good in the phony war in the dollar market are not surplus after all. They're needed to make up for our shortages in the real war in Vietnam.

So, while bristling with his accustomed indignation at Senator JOHN STENNIS' charges of supply shortages and planning failures, McNamara is now buying back from Europe our military hand-me-downs and give-aways—and at prices reflecting our distress and their advantage.

The episode is even more unsettling than the Time's story suggests. For West Germany, it seems, has been solemnly accepting our military aid in the form of bombs. But it has been dismantling the bombs in order to convert their TNT into nitrogen for free fertilizer; and it has been stockpilings the empty casings against a rainy day. Now we are buying these old empty casings of ours back from her—for our new dollars—and reloading them with high explosives for Vietnam.

Perhaps it is time to put Rusk's question about foreign confidence in American commitments right back to him. How can a power, not able to demonstrate the continuity of its operations or its ability to deal from strength in its own interest, command confidence?

Riley County, Kans.: Proof of Intergovernmental Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER L. MIZE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the high degree of cooperation between county, city and school board in Manhattan, Kans., to give that community a 100-acre facility for education and recreation which it probably could not have had otherwise is worthy of recognition.

This achievement is the subject of a fine article by Dr. Robert W. Newsome, Riley County, Kans., agricultural agent. Dr. Newsome wrote the article for the April issue of the magazine, American County Government, the official publication of the National Association of Counties.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place Dr. Newsome's article in the Appendix of the RECORD with the thought that other communities can profit equally well by pooling their resources in the same way. The article follows:

RILEY COUNTY, KANS.: PROOF OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION

(By Dr. Robert W. Newsome)

From a 4–H fair in a rural schoolyard to a 100-acre plant with parking space for 2,500 cars is the progress made in Riley County, Kans.

When the first fair was held, the exhibits consisted of canned food products which were sponsored by local schoolteachers. The next year, a swine exhibit was included. From this beginning, 4–H club work gained recognition from the rural and urban leaders throughout the county.

The Riley County Fair was held in the streets, empty lots and any other space available until 1948. The county agricultural agent secured the support of the American Legion and business firms to build a fairground that year. Firms and individuals purchased $35,000 in stock to construct three buildings on a city block.

The fairgrounds provided facilities for the 4–H club members to exhibit their projects at the completion of the club year. The grounds created an atmosphere for the members to demonstrate the value of private ownership and receive awards for superior achievement in a competitive manner. It was the belief of the leaders and parents that this type of private ownership and competition would stimulate the growth of our democratic society.

In less than 10 years 4–H membership had grown so large that the facilities would no longer permit the youth to exhibit their projects. The fair board decided to expand the facilities but adjoining land was too high to purchase.

When the present agent was hired in 1960, the Agricultural Extension Council informed him that the greatest need of the informal education field within the county was new fairground facilities. The stockholders of the fairgrounds were in full agreement with the Agricultural Extension Council. Upon the agreement of these two bodies, the extension agents and president of the fair board made personal visits to the leaders of the Farm Bureau, Farmers Union, 4–H leaders, Home Demonstration Leaders, County Bankers Association, Agricultural Representatives and local civic leaders to explain the needs for additional facilities and to secure their support for a taxation program to finance the construction.

After securing support from the rural leaders, the program was explained to members of the Chamber of Commerce, newspaper editors, civic groups within the city of Manhattan.

In October 1960, the county commissioners gave the fair board permission to put a proposal on the ballot to ask the citizens of the county to permit the county commissioners to levy 1 mill for a period of 2 years for the purpose of purchasing land and constructing facilities for a new fairground.

At this time, many months of planning went into action. The newspapers and radio gave complete coverage on the needs of the 4–H Clubs within the county. Older 4–H members were selected to talk to civic clubs about the values of 4–H Club work. The 4–H leaders and extension agents organized club members to knock on each door in Manhattan the night before the election. The 4–H member handed the person a one-page brochure explaining the program and asked them to vote for the proposal. The proposal was approved at the polls by a large majority.

The high school used the fairgrounds for parking cars during football games. Since the fair board had approved the sale of the old fair facilities, the parking area would no longer be available for use by the board of education. The school board recognized that football facilities were not adequate to meet their future needs. At the same time, the city recognized that more baseball playing areas were needed to meet the demands of the summer baseball program in the community.

In March 1962, the County Commission, Manhattan City Commission, and the Manhattan Board of Education approved a joint resolution to purchase 100 acres for the purpose of developing educational and recreational facilities which would meet the needs of all three bodies.

Ownership of the site's 100 acres, which was sold to the three governmental units at a price of $600 per acre, was divided into three abuting parts, with Riley County Fair Association owning 60 acres, and the city and school district owning 20 acres each. Together, the three parts of land make up a solid rectangular tract.

The county, city, and school agreed to share in the cost of the joint site improvements such as grading, drainage, roads, and parking for an estimated 2,500 cars—effecting a considerable cut in what these improvements would have cost if undertaken by the governmental units separately. A side plan was drawn by the extension architect from Kansas State University. The three governmental units hired an engineering firm to make detailed cost studies of the original site plan.

In 1963, the county commission and county engineer improved and surfaced the road leading to the site. The county engineer supervised and used the county highway equipment for site grading and road improvement so the fair board could construct a 12,000 square foot exhibit building and a 9,000 square foot livestock building in 1963.

At this point, the three government units had no funds to continue the project. The county extension agents and fair board officers organized leaders in each area of the county to carry a petition which would permit the county commissioners to approve a resolution that would provide a 0.5 mill levy annually for the continuous development of the fairgrounds. The county commissioners passed the resolution in early

1965. In the spring the city commission called a special election for the approval of $100,000 bonds which was approved for the development of the city's area. In September the citizens approved a $200,000 bond issue for the development of the football stadium.

A joint contract was let in December 1965, to complete the grading project. When completed, the area will consist of complete fairground facilities, four baseball diamonds, football stadium, picnic facilities, swimming pool and parking for 2,500 cars.

Instrumental in bringing about the project through intergovernmental cooperation was a group made up of the following county, city, and school officials: Ivan Sand, county commission; Bob Ulrich, fair board; Clifford Palmquist, county engineer; Bob Newsome, county extension agent; Forest Campbell, city commission; D.C. Wesche, city manager; Walter Matthews, city engineer; Jule Thompson, school board; W. C. Robinson, school superintendent. Over 10,000 citizens have been involved.

East Orange, N.J., Veterans' Administration Restoration Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the full Committee on Veterans' Affairs has done me the honor of again chairing the Subcommittee on Intermediate Care, which in the 88th Congress was responsible for the enactment of Public Law 88-450, the nursing care law. Serving with me on this subcommittee are the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ROBERTS], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SECREST], the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ELLSWORTH], and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. DUNCAN].

The subcommittee is concluding a most informative series of hearings in which we have had an appraisal of the operation of this important public law.

On May 3, the subcommittee was privileged to hear Dr. James C. Hart, the director of the East Orange VA Restoration Center. He presented an outstanding report on this center and cited as one example of what he and his associates have been able to do in the case of a veteran who had been in a neuropsychiatric hospital for a number of years and who had been declared incompetent.

Shortly after being placed in the East Orange Restoration Center he had improved sufficiently to be declared competent. He now has a full-time job and he is performing in a most satisfactory fashion, and is maintaining himself as an independent person. Another veteran had been out of the work force for 22 years, and he too has been successful in obtaining a position and maintaining his independent status. Many examples of this type could be cited as to what the Restoration Center has accomplished in a brief period.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the testimony of Dr. Hart before our subcommittee on May 3:

The restoration center, East Orange, N.J., was constructed, staffed, and activated in the interest of exploration and development of an approach to total rehabilitation. Designers of this concept, unique in the Veterans' Administration's spectrum of medical care, believed in its potential role in providing continuity to extended medical care. The historical existence of the gap between hospitalization and return to nonhospital independence in the community, as viewed in its broadest sense, was felt to play a significant role in cyclic readmissions, undesirable necessity to obligate acute hospital facilities for sufficient time to allow exploration, planning, trial, and followup of the composite, medical, social, vocational, educational economical, and residential needs that must be met if a stable and appropriate discharge plan is to be attained.

Dedication of the restoration center was accomplished May 17, 1964. The first veteran was admitted June 17, 1964.

The director, together with a basic cadre of staff representing medical, nursing, social work, psychology, physical medicine and rehabilitation, and dietary services immediately began, as a combined staff effort to develop—

1. Administrative policy;
2. Professional therapeutic philosophy;
3. Admission, discharge, and followup policy and procedures;
4. System to insure a stable source of referrals;
5. A projected plan for the recruitment of staff and development of planned ADRL of 180 which has been maintained for the past 11 months; and
6. Provision for a system of fiscal management and obligation of funds justified by workload.

The personnel ceiling currently assigned is 54. The staffing pattern includes: director and assistant director; secretarial staff, 2; registered nurses, 8; licensed professional nurse, 1; nursing assistants, 14; psychologists, 2; social workers, 4; dietitians, 2; food serviceworkers, 12; P.M. & R. therapists, 6, and director of program evaluation.

In addition, units of registrar, 4, and housekeeping, 5, divisions are assigned to the center.

The director of the restoration center has depended upon, and receives the uncompromised support of the hospital director. In addition, the offices of assistant hospital director and the chief of staff have willingly provided the cooperative assistance necessary to the development and functioning of the center. The director of the restoration center and selected center staff in turn participate in station administrative and educational responsibilities.

DATA PRESENTATION

A. Per diem: The calculated per diem for fiscal year 1966:

	1st quarter	2d quarter
Total medical care	6.384	5.726
Total administrative support	1.735	1.839
Total engineering and housekeeping	2.096	2.058
Total	10.215	9.623

B. Admissions: Total for a period from activation through March 31, 1966:

	VAHEO	Others	Total
Applications	398	283	681
Admitted [1]	324	206	541
Rejected	57	69	129

[1] Variance in total figure due to: (1) Applications pending approval; (2) Applications approved for transfer, not yet admitted; (3) Readmissions from temporary hospitalizations.

C. Discharges: Total for period from activation through March 31, 1966:

MRB	163
NOP	55
Irregular	36
Deaths	5
Total	259

D. Remaining: As of March 31, 1966:

Census	181
Trial visit	45
TRH	13

E. Authorized absences from the Center for the period from activation through March 31, 1966:

Passes, wide variety, and liberal but controlled use of passes for work, school, graduated community reentry.

Trial visit (TV), was utilized in 115 instances as a part of planned therapeutic programs.

Leave of absence (LOA) was utilized in 162 instances as part of planned therapeutic programs.

Temporary return to the hospital (TRH), was utilized in 143 instances both electively and emergent medical crises for necessary medical treatment required to accomplish the discharge goal as well as providing medical care for acute medical problems and deterioration of presenting medical problems.

APPLICATIONS RECEIVED: GEOGRAPHIC SOURCES

Alabama: VAH, Tuscaloosa.

California: VAH, San Francisco.

Delaware: VAH, Wilmington.

Indiana: VAH, Fort Wayne.

Louisiana: VAC, Shreveport.

Maryland: VAH, Baltimore; VARO, Baltimore; VAH, Fort Howard; VAH, Perry Point.

Massachusetts: VAH, Rutland Heights; VAH, West Roxbury.

Mississippi: VAH, Jackson.

New Jersey: VAH, Lyons; VAH, East Orange; VARO, Newark.

New York: VAC, Bath; VAH, Bronx; VAH, Brooklyn, VAH, Canandaigua; VAH, Castle Point; VAH, New York City; VARO, New York; VAH, Sunmount; VAH, Syracuse.

Pennsylvania: VAH, Altoona; VAH, Butler; VAH, Coatesville; VAH, Erie; OPC, Philadelphia; VAH, Philadelphia; VARO, Pittsburgh; VAH, Wilkes-Barre.

Rhode Island: VAH, Providence.

Texas: VAC, Bonham; VAH, Kerrville.

Virginia: VAC, Kecoughtan; VAH, Richmond; VAH Salem.

Washington, D.C.

West Virginia: VAH, Huntington; VAC, Martinsburg.

Statistical data

Average figures 1st, 2d, 3d quarters, fiscal year (July 1, 1965 through March 31, 1966):

ADRL cumulative	181
Acceptance rate cumulative (percent)	84.5
Total turnover rate cumulative (percent)	11.1
MRB turnover rate, monthly (percent)	6.6
Bed occupancy percentage, monthly (percent)	91.0
Days of care, monthly	5,512
Average length of stay, total discharges (less TRH)	148
Average length of stay, 160, MRB discharges	157
Ratio FTE/ADRL	.26:1
Total veterans treated	418
Average Census Profile (monthly census 182):	
Peacetime (percent)	4.2
Spanish American War (percent)	1.2
World War I (percent)	15.7
World War II (percent)	65.6
Korean (percent)	13.3
Disability benefits:	
Service-connected (percent)	33.33
Non-service-connected (percent)	66.66

Statistical data—Continued

Age range	19–93
Average age	50

For purpose of followup assessment, data analysis of all individuals discharged MRB is presented. There have been, during the first 3 quarters of fiscal year 1966, 163 MRB discharges which represent 160 individual veterans, 3 of whom were readmitted and then discharged the second time when the initial discharge plan deteriorated. The analysis then refers to the 160 individual veterans.

I. Total MRB discharges, 160; 50.6 percent (81) were discharged to independent community living; 23.8 percent (38) were discharged to full-time employment; 25.6 percent (41) were discharged to institutional care, State, Federal, or private, including 8 to Veterans' Administration domiciliaries.

II. Analysis of stability following discharge is presented in 3-month intervals. There were 6 deaths in the group discharged MRB reducing the total figure for purposes of analysis to 154.

A. 1. Of 22.1 percent (34) discharged 0–3 months, 91.2 percent remain stable.

2. Of 31.8 percent (49) discharged 3–6 months, 91.8 percent remain stable.

3. Of 15.8 percent (24) discharged 6–9 months, 83.3 percent remain stable.

4. Of 18 percent (28) discharged 9–12 months, 75 percent remain stable.

5. Of 9.7 percent (15) discharged 12–15 months, 73.3 percent remain stable.

6. Of 2.6 percent (4) discharged 15–21 months (6-month figure used because of the small sample) 75 percent remain stable.

B. Considering stability of discharge related to types of discharge (community living, employment and institutional):

1. Of 77 discharged to independent community living, 65 or 84.4 percent remain stable.

2. Of 37 discharged to full-time employment, 29 or 78.4 percent remain stable.

3. Of 40 discharged to instiutional care, 37 or 92.5 percent remain stable.

C. Of the 23 categorized as unstable or failure, approximately half resulted in readmission to hospitals while the remainder were due to voluntary abandonment of the discharge plan and/or loss to all followup efforts.

III. Analysis of the total MRB discharges (160) related to admission source:

Installation type:	*Veterans*	*Percent*
General medical hospitals	127	79.4
Psychiatric hospitals	12	7.5
Domiciliaries	13	7.5
Regional office outpatient clinics	8	5.6

Comparison of admissions from parent hospital (VAH, East Orange) and all other admission sources:

	Veterans	*Percent*
VA hospital, East Orange	98	61.25
All others	62	38.75

IV. Analysis of the total MRB discharges (160) related to primary disabling diagnostic category:

	Veterans	*Percent*
General medical disease	37	23.0
Pulmonary disease (including tuberculosis)	24	15.6
Neurological disease	57	35.6
Psychiatric disorders	22	13.8
Surgical disease	20	12.6

TRIAL VISIT ANALYSIS

There are 45 veterans remaining on trial visit as of March 31, 1966. Of these, 12 are in full-time employment. A significant segment represent veterans with particularly difficult problems or extremely long periods of hospitalization. The veterans on trial visit are considered discharges but who require extended liaison with the center until a sufficient period of experience in the community which may require modification of the discharge plan has elapsed and the continued continuity with the center no longer provides a therapeutic advantage.

A more detailed analytical and far-reaching followup program is inherent in the formal program evaluation established as an integral part of the restoration center staff and policy.

Restoration center approach

The approach as we interpret restoration involves an interrelating hexagonal structure composed of—

1. Staff;
2. Physical facility;
3. Administrative principles and prerogatives;
4. Time;
5. Community; and
6. The veteran.

Staff: The staff selection was designed to include flexibility, inventiveness, community orientation and a proportion of nongovernment professional experience. Every effort was made to provide a complete spectrum of professional talent. The staff functions as a consolidated and integrated force. Traditional exclusive spheres of authority are minimized without loss of professional integrity. Nonprofessional staff participate fully with the professional staff in all programs. The staff has shared in formulation and implementation of all admission, treatment, discharge and followup activities.

Physical facility: The architectural design of the four building complex with its own identity provides both a therapeutic and a prosthetic environment.

Therapeutically, the interior and exterior design and decor provide the desired noninstitutional atmosphere. Courtyards, lounges, separation of living quarters from administrative functions fosters independence and provides for privacy.

The prosthetic function is demonstrated by the handrails, absence of steps, self-help adaptive devices in bathrooms and modifiable beds. These prosthetic factors are used while the disabled veteran resides in the center and allows for evaluation and provision of necessary prosthetic assistance required upon discharge.

Time: The element of time has deliberately been included in the therapeutic system. This is fully utilized in a 24-hour, 7-day week approach. This is also concentrated with the absence of the dilution necessarily occurring in hospitals by acute emergencies and the dying; the domiciliaries without special programs, by the large nonselected populations; and the infrequency and short duration of contact in outpatient clinics. The specified year's treatment time provides sufficient time for evaluation, treatment and discharge. In addition, the time limitation is used to advantage when mobilizing the unmotivated veteran.

Administrative principles and prerogatives: Administrative flexibility within the Center and freedom of movement into the community by both staff and veteran is a basic principle. The staff moves in the community to establish vocational and residential potentials. The staff continues to function both in the Center and community through treatment into the followup phases of treatment.

The veteran benefits from the broad use of passes, leaves of absence and trial visits before final discharge as a means of reintroduction into the community.

The privilege of administrative discharge, MRB, provides critical advantage in the administrative control of the therapeutic program.

Principles are appropriately modified, approaches varied and effects continually evaluated.

The community: The community in its broad sense is deliberately involved in restorative efforts. By personalized communication the community is involved in depth. The effort at East Orange has resulted in collaboration with 60 major community categories, from the private individual to State and Federal agencies, necessary to allow discharge and to provide appropriate post-discharge support.

The appropriation community has been provided. The urban community of the greater Newark area provides the wide variety of vocational opportunities for work trial and placement as well as all types of individual living quarters necessary for the individualized restorative approach. While the major need is easily accessible reurbanization, suburban and rural areas are convenient to the Center with minimal travel inconvenience.

The veteran: The privilege of selection allows for the formation of a veteran population that shares a common denominator; namely, a rehabilitative need, together with apparent physical and mental capability for participation in a treatment program. The major criteria for admission of this veteran population thus is a combination of this common denominator of need and the staff's capability to meet the need. Categorization based on age or pathological diagnosis has neither proved significant nor desirable. Direct admission of veterans from psychiatric hospitals, even after prolonged hospitalization, has not proved to be counter to the restorative approach and are readily integrated with nonpsychiatric veterans.

THERAPEUTIC PRINCIPLES AND FUNCTIONS

The experience during the first 21 months has resulted in definition of recognizable principles and functions utilized in the approach of this restoration center. These principles and functions are believed applicable to the approach of total rehabilitation termed restoration in both hospital associated restoration centers and specialized restoration programs within domiciliaries.

1. Applied preventive medicine through education supplemented by reality testing and providing community support services necessary to the discharge plan prior to severance of professional authority. Utilization of the clinic and consultative services of the present hospital provides appropriate modified and supplemental treatment necessary to finalization of discharge plans.

2. Concentrated, uninterrupted, integrated therapeutic effort by all staff members approaches the reality of the 24-hour day, 7-day week therapeutic impact.

3. Participation in the role of a "cycle breaker." Interposition of the restoraiton center defines the existing undesirable cycle—institution to institution, community to institution. The deficiency responsible for "cycling" is explored and if possible defined. A substitute support is provided, designed to redirect the veterans course into a more desirable positive pattern.

4. Preview followup refers to followup as a positive therapeutic factor initiated in advance of discharge, beginning during passes, leaves of absence, and trial visits. This followup, which extends in the conventional post discharge period, involves the combined obligation of the veteran, family, staff, and community support agencies.

5. Conceptual rigidity of traditional approaches to treatment are not obligated. By eliminating required historically conventional barrier, the staff can perform as a composite group rather than be a collection of isolated professional groups whose approach is only superficially alined. Invention, ingenuity, and adventure are thereby fostered and encouraged.

6. The split stress concept is utilized in accomplishing a staged reentry into the community. Hospital discharge plans conventionally require the patient to assume simultaneously the responsibilities for medical, social, vocational, and economic necessities instantaneously upon discharge. The over-

whelming complexity of this demand too frequently leads to disintegration of the discharge plan, deterioration of medical control, and rehospitalization. The segmental introduction of stresses allows the veteran to cope with stress of independence and responsibility as his ability to cope stress increases. Approaching medical, then vocational, and finally residential stresses in a gradual staged fashion, the discharge plan is reinforced by appropriate adjustment and stability.

THERAPEUTIC PRINCIPLES AND FUNCTIONS

7. Involvement has become the hallmark of the restoration program approach. The staff becomes involved with itself which leads to an encouraged constructive conflict vitalizing and intensifying the group therapeutic effect. The physical facility is dynamically involved with continuity to obligated community involvement. Finally and perhaps most unconventionally, the veteran becomes involved in the specific approach designed to fulfill his need. The veteran is required to assume a positive role demonstrating his own motivation and binding him as an equal partner with the staff in the responsibility for his treatment program. The veteran therefore shares responsibility for success or failure in the fulfillment of his treatment program rather than assuming the passive nonparticipating role characteristic of the hospital patient.

Research and evaluation: Recognizing the necessity for evaluation of the effect of the Restoration Center approach on not only the individual veteran but also its impact on the spectrum of total medical care, exhaustive data have been collected since activation. In addition, there now exists as a defined segment of the staff, the position of Director of Program Evaluation responsible conjointly with the Director, Domiciliaries and Restoration Centers and the Director of the Restoration Center. This position has been functional since October 4, 1965.

A preliminary protocol has been prepared from which actual research designs will be derived. The evaluation is concerned with four major categories: population, program, staff, and physical environment. Each will be investigated by separate but interrelated studies. The results will be generalizable and germane to the design, operation, and goal conceptualization of other restoration centers or restoration center-type programs. Population and program will be approached initially utilizing the large bank of data collected during the first 18 months.

Results from these two approaches are needed as a basis for early decisionmaking concerning resource requirements for an expanding concept. The veteran population and its subgroups are being identified and quantified according to variables including actuarial, demographic, biographical, medical, and social-historical.

One of the main objectives of the population study is research leading to discovery of predictor variables, design and implementation of a formal followup procedure. In the development of processing procedures, electronic data processing and computing facilities will be utilized. Resource support and assistance has been sought by personal contacts with groups and individuals experienced in appropriately similar research endeavors.

(a) Domiciliary statistical laboratory, VAC Los Angeles.

(b) Pilot automated hospital information system (AHIS) VAH, Washington, D.C.

(c) Veterans' Administration Eastern Research Center, West Haven, Conn.

(d) Research Unit on Aging, VAC, Hampton, Va.

(e) Research psychologist, Restoration Center, VAH, Hines, Ill.

(f) Chief, psychology service, domiciliary followup study, White City, Oreg.

(g) Chief, research unit, New Jersey Psychiatric Institute, Skillman, N.J.

(h) Jack Cohen, Ph. D., consultant in research psychology, East Orange, N.J.

(i) Florence Veniar, Ph. D., chief, audiology service, VARO, Newark, N.J.

The restoration center director is privileged to be appointed secretary to the RIND study group on chronic disease, sponsored by VA central office, which offers added scope to the concept of restoration as applicable to the national concern for the overwhelming problem of meeting the needs of the chronically ill.

Thus the composite staff, designed physical facility, administrative and therapeutic principles, community investment and the selected veteran population all with the common denominator of service and need, have in this experience implied a definition of "restoration."

Restoration becomes total, applied and evaluated rehabilitation, necessary to the complete spectrum of medical care in the transition from hospitalization to responsible and independent stability in the community at a level appropriate to the recognized disability.

Nonviolence and the Conduct of Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am pleased to include the following timely and scholarly article on "Nonviolence and the Conduct of Foreign Policy," by Prof. William H. Roberts, director, Institute of International Law, the Catholic University of America. Dr. Roberts' scholarship is well known throughout the United States and abroad, and he has been a frequent lecturer at high-level conferences of American defense and military personnel. The article appears in the January–March 1966 issue of World Affairs, published quarterly by the American Peace Society, which was founded in 1828.

I believe that everyone who is concerned with the American position today should read this important article.

NONVIOLENCE AND THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY

(By William H. Roberts)

"It is most meet we arm us 'against the foe:
For peace itself should not so dull a Kingdom
(Through war, nor no known quarrel, were in question)
But that defenses, musters, preparations,
Should be maintained, assembled, and collected,
As were a war in preparation."

—SHAKESPEARE.

Recently, attempts have been made to transfer the tactics of nonviolence, which were originally developed and employed for domestic policy purposes, to the field of foreign policy. Nonviolence has thus become a tactical device which is used across the entire spectrum of policymaking for bringing concerted pressure to bear upon the appropriate branches of Government. In its new dimensions, it is a novel device whose implications are far reaching; thus, every effort has to be made to uncover the roots of these tactics and the goals which they are intended to serve.

Essentially, nonviolence is the use of organized; i.e., concerted, passive resistance against policies or actions of legally constituted authorities. This resistance is intended to coerce and compel the policymaker to desist from his actions and/or to change his policies. The essential characteristic of nonviolence is, therefore, the intention to coerce and compel the policymaker by means of resistance to accept the opponent's will. However, such coercion, compulsion, and resistance to legally constituted authorities are nothing else but manifestations of violence. This is the case regardless of the term which is used to designate the tactics employed. This, then, leads us to the question of the very nature of violence.

Violence is the use of force (in its various manifestations) for the purpose of imposing one's will on another party. The character of the force employed is irrelevant: it may be, but it is not necessarily, physical force. Since times immemorial, mankind has known economic, political, and psychological warfare—all of them connoting the use of force and, therefore, of violence for the achievement of one's goals; however, these nonphysical manifestations of violence were in their initial stages rarely accompanied by the actual use of physical force.

Therefore, the use of violence in whatever form implies always an attempt to impose—against their will and consent—one's own will (or policy) upon legally or morally constituted authorities. In other words, we are confronted with violence whenever constituted authority is coerced or compelled to accept or acquiesce in the policy or the actions of the opponent. Thus we see that violence is the result of a dialectic situation in which two views are irreconcilably opposed to each other.

This is the basic reason why Marxist-Leninist ethics, which are based on an ontology of dialectic struggle, depends, of necessity, on the use of violence in any one or more of its many manifestations. Already the Sophists, antedating Socrates, knew that physical violence was of far lesser importance than the type of violence which they called spiritual, and which we may call moral. One of the great contemporary interpreters of the Sophist movement referred to this when he said: "From physical violence (bia) there occured a transition to magic violence which is spiritual and which transcends the former by its far greater importance."

In modern times, Lenin, in a speech made in 1920, put it this way: "Our morality is completely subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class struggle. We say: whatever serves the destruction of the old society and the construction of Communist society is moral. This is the foundation of the Communist educational process." As a consequence, this led him to postulate that the dictatorship of the proletariat was tantamount to unrestrained and unlimited violence which, and this has to be stated again, is not necessarily of a physical character.

It has been exactly one of the great achievements of occidental civilization, and particularly so in the period 1648–1916 (omitting the period of the French Revolution) that the use of violence was essentially limited to its physical aspects. This means that the more important and more cruel forms of psychological, moral, etc. violence had no legitimate standing in the international conflicts of our civilization. It was only in the course of the First World War, and not even at its very beginning, that the more unrestrained manifestations of violence were again readmitted into our civilization—although their intellectual and emotional foundations had been laid since the 1820's and 1830's. The great philosopher of war, Clausewitz, writing at the beginning of the 19th century, could still clearly distinguish between hostile feelings and hostile intentions. Whereas such feelings, he said, will necessarily be accompanied by hostile intentions, the latter can very well exist without the former. And this, with a few exceptions, has actually been the case in most of the international conflicts in occidental history. On the other hand, in nearly all cases of civil wars we find a combination of hostile feelings and hostile intentions. It was only in most recent times, in a period of history in which international and civil wars came to approximate each other, that even in international conflicts nonphysical forms of violence were readmitted.

With relatively few exceptions, diplomacy and war were in the course of occidental history, as the Dutch historian, Huizinga, has shown, agonal; i.e., essentially subject to rules of regulated competition. However, as he pointed out, once these rules of competition were violated, the agonal character of the contest disappeared and the limitations imposed by regulations were bound to be replaced by hostile feelings and, as a consequence, by techniques of unlimited violence. In a different connection, Huizinga then developed this point specifically in regard to war. He said: "War remains agonal only insofar as it is waged within a group in which the members concede equality to each other. If war is waged against groups which are not recognized as human beings * * * agonal rules will limit the forms of violence only insofar as the unilaterally conceived honor of one of the parties imposes restrictions on its actions. However, the theory of total war will finally dispense with the last remnants of agonal war * * * and we shall again be confronted with the original Babylonian-Assyrian conception of war." Obviously, physical violence, being externally observable, lends itself better to agonal control than any other type of violence.

It has been Communist strategy since 1917 to achieve their goals without risking or waging major international wars, if that could possibly be avoided. More recently, this general strategy has been propagated by the name of "peaceful coexistence." Soviet leaders have never hesitated to stress the point that peaceful coexistence is nothing else but a tactical gambit in a basically unchanged strategy of world revolution. One of the problems they had to solve in this connection was that of developing tactics by which non-Communist countries could effectively be kept from intervening in Communist-sponsored revolutionary situations. One of these tactics already suggested in the early 1920's and since perfected has been that of attempting to paralyze quick and effective countermobilization by interfering with the marshaling of the human, material, and moral resources of non-Communist nations. It is particularly one of these tactics which is of importance in our investigation.

Two Frenchmen, Duguit and Sorel, referred already at the beginning of this century to the ever-increasing vulnerability of modern industrialized society to actions intended to immobilize it.

Duguit, a professor of public law, was primarily concerned with the structure of a legal system appropriate to modern society. In one of his preliminary studies he sketched a theory of such a society and concluded that its most outstanding and distinguishing characteristic was its complete reliance upon the interdependent, effective, and uninterrupted functioning of all of its services. In turn, this meant society's dependence on the effective and uninterrupted cooperation of all of its active members.

Duguit's contemporary, Georges Sorel, drew nearly simultaneously several conclusions from this conception of the essential service character of the modern state. He formed the opinion that refusal of a relatively small group to perform the functions assigned to them may easily lead to a movement paralyzing the entire society. Sorel then argued that even the very idea of such general societal paralysis, as contrasted to its reality, and to which he referred as "the myth of the general strike," had sufficient force to compel the government to come to terms with their opponents.

A society threatened by this myth of the general strike, and not even necessarily with its reality, would resemble a rudderless ship on the open ocean of world politics. Needless to say, although Sorel did not specifically refer to it, the threatened or actual societal paralysis extended to the armed forces on whose readiness the credibility of the foreign policy of a nation finally depends.

However, the conduct of foreign policy of the modern state depends also on another factor to which Duguit's and Sorel's teachings have to be applied. To a certain degree, the effective conduct of American foreign policy—similar to that of other modern nontotalitarian countries—depends on the moral support of the major social groups. This support is either offered or it is denied by way of the leadership of these social groups to whose combined influence and weight we may refer as social leadership. The principal tactical goal of nonviolent protests in the field of foreign policymaking is, therefore, the paralysis or quasi-paralysis of the nation's social leadership. On the other hand, the strategic purpose of nonviolent protests is an attempt to deprive the government of the moral support of the major social groups which it needs in executing any more important political move in the field of foreign policy.

To give a practical example: the "National Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam" said in its leaflet of September 13, 1965. "The ability of peace groups in the United States to work with one another has been seriously lacking. The National Coordinating Committee was formed for the express purpose of coordinating activities by peace groups aimed at ending the war in Vietnam."

What is the function of the peace groups mentioned in the leaflet? Political Affairs, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in its issue of March 1963, offered the following explanation: "All peace organizations have a responsibility to influence the major people's organizations—and help to create those avenues for peace expression which will change American policy from cold war to peaceful coexistence." And then the document continues: "In all thinking and action for peace, there is always the relation of the present to the future task and this also means that the future goal will largely determine the present tactics." These statements prove two points; namely (1), that the peace organizations are intended to influence the major people's organizations, and (2) that it is expected that through pressure exercised by these latter organizations, American policy will finally change in the direction of peaceful coexistence.

According to Political Affairs of March 1963, the "major people's organizations," i.e., the social groups, whose leadership is to be influenced in the direction of peaceful coexistence, are in the order listed in that publication: the Catholic Church; the National Council of Churches; the Jewish congregations; the Negro people; the trade unions; the students, as well as scientists and professionals. Since the organically grown and legitimate majorities of each one of these social groups are not likely to withhold their support of major foreign policy decisions of the Government, it becomes necessary to offset these majorities, and thus *to paralyze the social leadership* by unstructured mass actions. It is in this connection that so-called peace organizations are established whose membership cuts across the legitimate social groups. These composite mass organizations are intended to bring their collective pressure to bear on the leadership of the legitimate social groups to which citizens belong qua faith, race, occupation, or profession.

We are, then, confronted with attempts to influence the policy of the major legitimate social groups by opposing to their organic majorities artificially created mass organizations composed of members of different groups. Needless to say, these artificial movements have no legitimate affiliation with, and are in no way related to, the legitimate purposes of the social groups to which its members belong.

The frequently compelling and seductive symbol used in the attempt of developing these ad hoc organizations is peace—as contrasted to war. The psychological lever used in these efforts is the expectation that the average citizen will unhesitatingly and very normally express his preferences for the former rather than for the latter. This preference is due to the fact that peace is understood to be the absence of what is generally conceived to be war, i.e., the absence of organized physical violence. It has already been shown above that war has a far wider spectrum than that of physical violence, and that other bands of the spectrum are more radically dangerous than its physical segment. Nevertheless, we in the Occident, and on the basis of our historic experience, will identify war primarily with physical violence.

However, the absence of violence, and specifically of physical violence, is only the negative side of peace. Its positive, and by far more important, aspect is the establishment and maintenance of a value-based social and political order. The great thinkers, statesmen and military leaders of our civilization have always understood that in the last resort use of organized violence derives its justifiability, its legitimacy and its limitations from the necessity to uphold and defend a value system and its international projection. Let us refer in this connection to one of the early fathers of Occidental thought. It was Plato who said in his "Alcibiades I" that "the quarrels about justice and injustice"; i.e., about the fundamental values of a political system, were the principal causes of war.

Since a value system cannot be defended in the abstract, violence is frequently employed in either acquiring or defending the material wherewithal necessary for accomplishing the final purpose. These material implements of basic political problems and of the effectiveness of the underlying value system take the forms of strategic frontiers, territory, population, raw materials, weapons, etc. It has also to be kept in mind that strategic thought has always conceived of the use of violence as serving—within the limits of the above—a double purpose: positive acquisition and use of the material implements as well as their denial to the opponent.

If peace is the issue, we have, therefore, to ask ourselves the question: whose peace? Communist leaders have assured us in the course of nearly 50 years that they understand by peace in the final resort the universal establishment of the Communist order; and by peaceful relations a set of conditions favorable to spreading this value system. Khrushchev in one of his interviews with Walter Lippmann, as reported in the latter's "The Communist World and Ours," summarized correctly and succinctly the Communist conception of peace when he communicated to the interviewer his ideas regarding the status quo.

As reported without challenge, Khrushchev developed his ideas as follows: "In his (Khrushchev's) mind, the social and economic revolution now in progress in Russia, China and elsewhere in Asia and Africa is the status quo, and he wants us to recognize it as such. In his mind, opposition to this revolution is an attempt to change the status quo. Whereas we think of the status quo as a situation as it exists at the moment, he thinks of it as the process of revolutionary change which is now in progress. He wants us to recognize the revolution not only as it is but as it is going to be."

The absence of physical violence is, and will always be, desirable—provided, however, that it is not used as a screen behind which more radical forms of violence are employed for the international projection of undesirable and hostile value systems. The Communist countries, including China, firmly believe that history is on their side and that physical violence, transcending so-called limited wars or wars of national liberation, can only interfere with or slow down their march to final victory. In another and later set of Khrushchev-Lippmann interviews, "The Coming Tests with Russia," the latter reported: "He [Khrushchev] is quite sure that he will win this cold war without military force because he is on the side of history and because he has the military power to deter us from a serious military intervention." Both quotations from Lippmann's interviews convey correctly not only Khrushchev's but the fundamental Communist conception of the state of affairs—Russian as well as Chinese—then as well as now; and this in spite of abrupt tactical changes which, as a matter of fact, are an essential and valuable part of the instrumentarium of Communist world strategy. To demonstrate for peace qua absence of war and to profess neutrality regarding the value of systems involved is, therefore, not only impolitic since it offers aid to the opponent. It is also, and at best, a morally very doubtful exercise of our freedom since it tends to undermine the very value system on which this freedom is based.

The weapon of nonviolence which has been used to interfere with the proper conduct of foreign policy is due to its psycho-political structure, a subtle and, therefore, a highly dangerous one. In order to understand the use of this weapon correctly, we have to examine its structure. The advocates of nonviolent interference with the conduct of foreign policy expect that, depending on conditions, the counter-action to their passive resistance will either be a determined effort to bring the law to bear upon them or the use of physical force. In either case, these advocates of nonviolence count on the fact that the use of superior power will, in view of their own physical passivity, engender sympathy for them.

They expect, and psychologically not incorrectly, that the average sympathizer will not be willing or that he will not be able to search out and to evaluate for himself the balance of the issues involved. They expect that he will give expression to the general human sentiment which tends to side with what ostensibly appears to be the "underdog." Thus, the original group will be joined by a much wider circle of sympathizers who will not necessarily understand or approve of the issues which agitate the nonviolent group.

These sympathizers will just be disposed to deplore the use of legal or physical force which has been brought to bear. In other words, the sympathetic group, whatever their motives may be, will share with the advocates of nonviolent protest a feeling of resentment against those who had to employ means of compulsion. These sympathizers, who have no definite policy goals, will be inclined to enter into a community, into an alliance, of feelings and of attitudes negatively disposed toward those enforcing order. They will find themselves in a gray zone, in a non-man's land, since they do not necessarily share and may not even understand the policy goals of the nonviolent units.

On the other hand, their feelings and attitudes will prevent them from giving active support to the policymakers. Being caught in the middle, these sympathizers will be wide open to any type of influence exercised upon them in favor of one or the other policy. However, since their state of feelings and their attitudes will have preconditioned them in favor of the nonviolent units, the latter have by far the better chance to gain the support of the sympathizers. The sympathizers will have become a group which in Communist terminology, has been conditioned to being manipulated; they will have joined the unstructured ranks of what this terminology calls the masses.

Thus, so-called nonviolent interference with the conduct of foreign affairs presents a clear and present danger since, wittingly and very often unwittingly, it provides the psychopolitical climate conducive to the achievement of the opponent's foreign policy goals.

Hawaii's Castle & Cooke, Inc., Embarks on Art-Buying Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, although the exotic beauty of Hawaii has been a source of inspiration for many excellent works of art, there has never been a program for acquiring these works of the magnitude planned by one of Hawaii's respected private corporations.

A $10,000 art acquisition program was announced by President Malcolm MacNaughton of Castle & Cooke, Inc., in connection with the opening of the Hawaii Printers and Sculptors League's annual exhibition. He said that the corporate art-buying program will have a threefold purpose: First, to furnish art works for Castle & Cooke's new corporate offices; second, to provide an incentive for young island artists; and third, to make gifts of art works to nonprofit organizations that cannot afford to purchase them.

The large-scale art-purchasing venture continues the Hawaii corporation's praiseworthy practice of supporting the cultural and artistic life of its community. The corporation has been instrumental in making possible the performances of the Honolulu Symphony Society's initial opera production, the Honolulu engagement of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, and the appearance of famed ballet stars Dame Margot Fonteyne and Rudolph Nureyev.

As Hawaii's Representative to Congress I take pride in calling to the attention of Congress the noteworthy contribution that Castle & Cooke, under the leadership of Mr. MacNaughton, is making toward providing needed stimulus to the artists and to the arts. If other private corporations would do likewise, in sufficient numbers, the Federal Government may not need to enter this field. Mr. MacNaughton and Castle & Cooke deserve the congratulations and commendations they must be receiving. I am pleased to add mine.

An article on Hawaii's first large-scale corporate art acquisition pogram appeared in the April 13, 1966, issue of the Honolulu Advertiser, and I submit it for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CASTLE & COOKE STARTS ART-BUYING PROJECT

A corporate art acquisition program, with an initial investment of $10,000, was announced yesterday by Castle & Cooke, Inc.

Malcolm MacNaughton, Castle & Cooke president, announced the program in conjunction with the annual exhibition of the Hawaii Painters and Sculptors League opening tonight in the Advertiser's Contemporary Arts Center in the News Building.

MacNaughton said Castle & Cooke has launched the program to purchase works by Hawaii artists.

He said the threefold art acquisition program will:

Provide a master art collection to be used in decorating new corporate offices in the Castle & Cooke portion of the financial plaza of the Pacific, scheduled to open in 1968.

Provide encouragement to island artists—particularly those who are young and not yet recognized.

Eventually provide gifts of painting and sculpture to churches, schools, youth groups and other nonprofit organizations whose budgets do not permit the purchase of art works.

Out of the first $10,000 set aside for the program, about $8,500 will be used for purchases for Castle & Cooke's master collection, with the rest going to buy the works of promising artists.

It is the works of the younger artists that will make up the bulk of the donations to nonprofit groups, MacNaughton said. He added:

"Our program is modest when compared with some similar plans on the mainland, but it is a start—and the present Castle & Cooke management intends to give sustained support to our artists, not only in Hawaii but eventually in other areas where we do business."

Procedures for selecting works of art are being developed by the company, but MacNaughton said recommendations for purchases "will come from the pros and not anybody connected with Castle & Cooke."

The company will begin its acquisition program with several purchases from the exhibition opening tonight, MacNaughton added. Murray Turnbull, assistant to the president for planning at the University of Hawaii, is adviser for purchases from this exhibition.

Castle & Cooke has been active in Honolulu musical circles, but this is its first venture into the visual arts. The company has guaranteed initial Honolulu Symphony Society opera productions, the appearance of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra here and the first Honolulu performance by ballet stars Dame Margot Fonteyn and Rudolf Nureyev.

Castle & Cooke will be the first company in Hawaii to launch a large-scale art acquisition program.

The Watumull Foundation makes a $500 acquisition each year at the All Hawaii Artists Show at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, and the Advertiser averages about $400 in purchases from each exhibition as its contemporary arts center.

Praise for Castle & Cooke's plan was expressed yesterday by James W. Foster, director of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, and Helen Gilbert, president of the Hawaii Painters and Sculptors League.

Foster said:

"This enlightened art acquisition program is indeed good news. Similar activity by mainland business interests has proved most rewarding, and it's good to see it now developing here—particularly as it directly affects the artists of Hawaii."

Miss Gilbert said:

"Sponsorship of this kind, unique in Hawaii, will provide a worthwhile and needed cultural stimulus for artists and the viewing public."

L.B.J.'s Challenge to the North: Equal Rights "But Not Next Door"?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson in his civil rights message has challenged the North, the New York Post stated in a forthright editorial on May 1, 1966.

The Post declares that President Johnson has spiritedly called for enactment of "the first effective Federal law against discrimination" on racial or religious grounds in the sale and rental of all housing.

The editorial points out:

> This historic proposal brings the issue to the doorstep—and the conscience—of millions of Americans who have heretofore been able to express their distaste of southern intolerance and primitivism without searching their own souls.

The editorial also believes the Johnson housing proposal is "a forthright challenge to the ghetto psychology still afflicting many of our most respectable communities."

I know my colleagues will be interested in these remarks which follow:

L.B.J.'s CHALLENGE TO THE NORTH: EQUAL RIGHTS "BUT NOT NEXT DOOR"?

Now the North faces its moment of truth in the battle for civil rights.

Most past legislation has been primarily addressed to the ancient inequity and oppressiveness of the southern segregation system. In his latest message to Congress, President Johnson spiritedly calls for enactment of "the first effective Federal law against discrimination" on racial or religious grounds in the sale and rental of all housing.

This historic proposal brings the issue to the doorstep—and the conscience—of millions of Americans who have heretofore been able to express their distaste for southern intolerance and primitivism without searching their own souls.

Do we in the North care about equal rights—"but not next door"? Will the scare over reduced real estate values (shown to be largely exaggerated in communities where integration has taken place) frighten northern legislators into an imitation of southern resistance to change?

The President's message contains other important proposals, including legislation to provide new safeguards for civil rights workers, to curb discrimination in the choice of juries and to broaden the Attorney General's powers in desegregation suits. It omits some vital provisions of the Douglas-Case bill, such as indemnification for victims of racist crimes and transfer to Federal courts of criminal prosecutions in areas with "segregated systems of justice." Presumably these issues will be raised in amendments to the administration program.

But in the perspective of history, the Johnson housing proposal is the most dramatic and memorable. It is a forthright challenge to the ghetto psychology still afflicting many of our most respectable communities. It will compel many Americans—inside and outside of Congress—to confront the old admonition: "Examine thyself." For "whites only"? For "Christians only"? Or at last a house with many mansions?

Let's Improve Children's Films

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, on March 29 I was privileged to address the second symposium of the First International Children's Film Festival. The festival was held in Santa Barbara, Calif., and attracted noted authorities and interested persons from around the world.

The festival was a great success, and has established patterns and direction for the future. Under the sponsorship of the Brooks Foundation, the many concerned with providing quality film material for our young people have taken a significant step forward.

I am optimistic that in the very near future this embryonic youth film industry will become a major element in our rapidly growing educational material industry. Few can deny the potential of such an industry in providing creative and challenging material designed to support and supplement the quality and depth of our educational programs.

The festival has encouraged all who participated. Significant and concrete steps are now being taken to initiate a national, and, yes, an international, dialog designed to create an imaginative, dynamic and positive youth film program.

The address I made on March 29, is part of that dialog and I commend it to the attention of all my colleagues interested in providing worthwhile and educationally challenging film productions to the youth of America, and the youth of the world.

The material presented in speech format below was included in a symposium discussion during the festival:

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BETTER FILMS FOR CHILDREN

I am particularly pleased to be participating with, and speaking to such a distinguished assemblage of concerned persons interested in the substance and quality of film material now available for viewing by our children. The work being done at this First Annual Children's Film Festival will prove significant in providing foundations for the development of a youth film industry.

I intend to discuss the subject of the role of the Government and Government's contribution to the development of films and particularly films for children. One of the prime responsibilities of the legislator is to make decisions about how to allocate resources of the society to meet its needs. This, in turn, necessitates some value judgments about the needs of the society, and of course, there is conflict every step of the way. As in any field of endeavor, it is necessary to determine what the needs are, what the priorities among them should be, what resources are available, and finally, how and where to apply the resources. There is always a lot of competition among these various needs for priority in the application of resources.

In relation to children's films, it is necessary to ask what needs the society feels in relation to children, and what resources there are for meeting these needs.

But before that happens, we run into the question, why should the Government get into the act? The touchstone for answering this question is usually the Constitution, the organic law of the land, to which we go to find out where our guideposts are. Within the Constitution, the invitation to Government to participate is found, in modern times, in the welfare clause, concerning the general welfare of the land. Behind that lies the principle, found in English common law, of the relationship of the sovereign, whether king or constitutional government, to its people. Throughout history, Government has been looked upon as a parent; we have the Latin patria, the German fatherland, the Russian motherland; the relationship of parent to child is part of the basic role of government.

Out of this has come a number of accepted techniques for the interjection of Government into problems. If you look at the Government's parental role, it is immediately apparent that there will be a special relationship of Government to the child, the real child, in society. Moreover, there will be a strong tendency for the Government to concern itself with the child who is handicapped, ill, or mentally retarded.

In relation to Government participation in children's films, it will make a big difference whether these films are looked upon as entertainment or as one of the tools of society by which it can educate or motivate children. This distinction must be made early, because the outcome in terms of Government participation will depend in large part on which of these things you say you are trying to do.

Referring again to the Constitution, there are limitations on Government, and one limitation that acts very strongly in any area of communication—and film is one area of communication—is the right of free speech. If you are looking at the film as a tool, the limiting effect of the free speech provision is not so strong as in the area of film as entertainment, where people want to have a greater feeling of freedom. Where film is used as a tool for teaching, it is considered as already circumscribed by a discipline and, therefore, already limited. When it is entertainment, there is no such limitation, and people do not want it to be limited by an agency such as Government. If we understand this distinction, we can avoid a lot of arguments and complications about Government participation.

The question could be asked, Aren't these contexts pretty much a matter of how you want to define what you are doing? Isn't it possible to assign almost any film to the instructional category, as a learning experience?

The judgment is made pragmatically. There has to be a demonstration of precise usage. You can't assign a film to the category of education on the basis that it might be so used; if all you have is the possibility of educational use, the legislator is likely to decide that the film should be classified as entertainment.

In committee work that I have done, the question has been raised: Isn't it true that you would like to teach courage, perseverance, or patience, as values? Why, then, should not a film that has these things as part of the story be acceptable as pure educational material? Not so. The fact that that is deducible in an analytical way does not get you over the threshold. The legislator assumes that almost any interesting material will have some educational fallout, but he wants to know in what specific educational program it is going to be used, and by whom.

We had a good example, where a film was introduced as appropriate for teaching preschool children about sex or about parental roles. It dealt with mouth-breeding fish and protection of the young by the parent, who carried them around in her mouth. Certainly, this film could be described as an educational film about such subjects.

If it could have been identified as an educational film about fish, it might have been quite acceptable. But you do have to specify the use you intend to make of the film and the population for whom it is intended. And then you have to test it to see whether it is an effective tool.

Of course, we mustn't be misled into trying to make a dichotomy between education and films that are entertaining. One would hope that education would not be devoid of entertainment, just as one would hope that entertainment films would not lack all educational value. One of the most difficult tasks of the legislator is to draw these lines that really do not exist. He must be flexible and pragmatic about these decisions. Sadly, however, his constituency tends to look at these things as though they were black and white. The decision has to be made according to the context. It is one of the real legislative problems. The legislator, if he is flexible and pragmatic, is likely to be accused of inconsistency, but he doesn't want consistency as much as he wants good sense.

The importance of films for children can be seen in the fact that nothing is so important for their social development as the art of communication; without it they remain isolated in society. The film industry both entertains them and helps them to become better communicators in society, but I am not satisfied, up to the present, that films are playing the right role or playing it as dynamically as possible in this second area. Too many children are attending or watching films that are completely inappropriate for them, some lurid, some violent. Many organizations are demanding that the standards be raised, but here the question of how far the government can go comes up immediately.

It is distressing that the use of the film as an instructional tool has been far more developed in the advertising field, to sell soap or cigarettes, than to develop greatly needed skills in the children. Government could undertake programs to develop the instructional use of this great tool and art form.

I think you could find some role for the film to play in teaching anything that a complete educational system could present. Conversely, I do not think that any area should be taught by film exclusively. Film has to play its part along with other methods. Now, if by intangibles you mean something like moral values, I think films would help there, as with attitudes, motivations, and social skills. But I have seen very little evidence that film is being used in any of these areas, and I was 6½ years in the education committee of the Assembly of California, and 2 years as its chairman. They have visual aids, of course, but they are so mundane and lacking in sharpness as a tool, that it would be like trying to do modern farming with nothing but a shovel. The possibilities of this tool have not been appreciated.

Some questions must be offered at this point.

Is it the role of the legislator, or whose role is it, to decide what attitudes need to be shaped by use of some of the advertising techniques? For example, we might develop a total marketing campaign on the proper attitude toward study, and repeat the theme on billboards, in magazines, and radio and TV spot announcements. Who could ever get any agreement on which attitudes should be shaped and how?

I don't think you are going to get any agreement on things like that.

A lot of attitudes are being shaped right now, and we have no general agreement on the subject. What Government can do is encourage the development and use of better tools in this area, as it does in other technological endeavors such as the conquest of space. Without the infusion of Federal funds, what would have happened to the space program, or the development of transcontinental railroads? I am saying not that Government ought to decide what the end product should be, but how much effort ought to be encouraged in a field of activity. If we encourage and support research in the use of films to shape attitudes, out of this encouragement and support will come some end product. Ultimately, there will be a consensus among qualified people as to what is worth while and what should be pursued. I am not going to prejudge that. I think our role ends with encouraging innovators, so that the people who are defending the status quo will have to give ground and adopt better ways of doing things.

Now, what about marketing these films?

What possibilities are there for a constructive contribution by the commercial film producer? Through what channels could his product reach the children it should reach? And to what extent would the Government have to participate to make this possible?

The Government is going to be reluctant to support commercial activity because of the probable criticism that it is playing favorites with the taxpayer's money. Or supporting an activity of questionable social value. On the other hand, there is hardly an endeavor in this society that has not been supported by Government funds at one time or another: the railroads, the airlines, banking, oil drilling, you name it; if they are doing well, I'll show you the hand of Government with a very strong assist. But in each of these cases, it had to be established first that it was in the public interest to support these activities. In the area of films, a presentation would have to be made to the Congress along the following lines:

We do have a problem in the attitudes of our young people and in their developing skills that will make them constructive members of society. Part of the cause of this problem is that we have not been giving young people, both in their formal schooling and in their entertainment that has an educational function, the right materials.

Then the legislator would say: we can seek to upgrade these materials under our authority to set standards. If we are going to have the Government setting standards for what goes into women's lipstick, why not for what goes into our children's minds? This is the kind of approach you would have to use to get the Government involved. After new standards have been set, then the Government can encourage the people involved in this kind of production to meet the standards. Part of the encouragement is the carrot, the rewards.

One kind of reward is the tax benefit, which the producer gets for doing the work the way the Government wants him to; another reward is the outright grant, to upgrade the performance so that it will meet the new standard; or the Government can put its credit behind your financing; or the Government can give you a contract to produce films of the kind it needs to do a certain job. These are the ways in which it has been done in the past.

Are there similar models in other countries, in which government has been involved in filmmaking?

In any modern country you can find some mix of government and private financing of filmmaking. In some countries the government owns a large part, or all of the film production, as in Korea, where the Government makes films to attract tourists. Allmost any country outside of the United States has encouraged the immigration of film companies by giving them tax shelters, from property or income taxes. Unfortunately, this kind of encouragement very seldom implies the application of any standards of quality; these governments have been interested only in the monetary size of the activity, not in the quality of the product. In Italy, for example, the criterion is the number of dollars the film industry can bring in.

What sort of legislative possibilities are there here in a program where the Government would subsidize the production of films and their exhibition on television for a stated period judged long enough to determine whether any popular demand for this new kind of film, whether educational or entertainment, could be generated in the audience, mainly of children but also of their parents, and then after that period of time the producers would have to go on their own without support?

First, you have a terrific defensive mechanism in both the television and theater exhibitors. They see anything new and different as a threat to their systems of distribution, organization, and profit. They are very sensitive about these things. A naive outsider does not understand what the effects of changing the film fare may be on, for example, the financial arrangements. Nevertheless, it seems to me that this is within the historic role of Government—to encourage the innovator, to undrewrite the heavy risk undertaking, in some endeavor that has a demonstrated potential value and is in the public interest.

One possible avenue for the exhibition of these new films is the educational television channel.

This is the obvious and most productive channel to follow, especially for Government supported film production, where the Government must be protected from taking on an improper role, or a role that will provoke excessive criticism.

I have tried to get the PTA, and the churches to pass out notices that high quality films are available in the local theaters. The turnout is not very encouraging. The fact that a thing is desirable and fun does not give it ready acceptance. When we tried to introduce square dancing in some recreation centers, the children hung back; they thought it was square; they didn't want to take a chance on not being "in." There has to be persistence in introducing these new things to children. They may be highly receptive, once you get across the threshold. Many innovators take the initial response as a final rejection, and they do not persist. But in the child there is a conflict; he wants the new thing but he doesn't want to take the social risk of being the first one.

One approach we have taken to trying to close this gap is to interest people to whom the children is a consumer, like candy manufacturers, to present some of these better things for a long enough period to allow some acceptance to grow in the child.

These standards that are the status quo are not unchangeable. They aren't set by magic. Somebody is the manipulator. We ought to do some manipulating of our own, to raise the standard. The status quo is not a natural phenomenon like the winds and tides; somebody started it, and we can change it. It may have served the purpose of somebody's profit or position or power, but we can make it serve purposes we care about today, if we become activists and don't just passively accept what we are handed.

Its just like inertia, in physics. You have to supply a new push, or things will keep on going the way they have been going in the past.

Those of us who have the opportunity to introduce something new to the young people ought to realize that we have to make it relevant to them. We have a tendency to believe that we understand children because we were children once ourselves or we have children. But children are very much a product of their own environment, and their environment is not the same as ours was. If we are going to reach them, we have to see their environment as they see it. We may want to teach children the old, valid principles, like courage, endurance, and honesty, but we have to put them in a context that seems alive and real to the child.

We have talked this afternoon about a very important social problem, which is the failure to make creative and constructive enough use of a great technological resource, which is pictures that move and talk, whether they are on video tape, or film, or whatever. This failure is not apparent to everybody. It isn't apparent to the general public. It isn't particularly apparent to the commercial producers, distributors, and exhibitors, because other things, such as level of profit, are more apparent to them; though they may see that something is lacking, they may not feel they can do anything about it, because of their other motivation. So we have established the existence of an important social problem.

We also see that some very strong and active multiple leadership is going to be needed to bring about the changes that those of us who have vision—and we can all congratulate each other here on being in that group—see as desirable, at least certain directions that we ought to go in.

This leadership can come from an individual. It can come from a legislator, or even from the legislature. It can come from a private foundation like the Brooks Foundation, or from some other private foundation that might help out in some kind of a developmental program. It can come even from the commercial interests themselves, if you catch them at a weak moment, or find out some way to influence them or to appeal to their profit motive. It can come through educational channels, particularly the university, I think, though we haven't talked about that today. This leadership is going to have to be stirred up from as many sources as possible. If this can be done, then the Government has a role which will be acceptable to these other elements and will not be subject to excessive criticism, because the Government will not appear to control things. The Government, of course, has to be very careful not to appear to be the only agency doing something.

I think the development of better children's films has pretty well got to come out of the same kind of complex social interaction that other things have grown out of in the past. The creative and constructive efforts come from various sources.

It is the purpose of this festival, to encourage exactly this kind of complex interaction, to involve all of the elements of the society that we have been talking about, and any others that are relevant, in a constructive program, or a number of constructive programs, to do exactly this.

The Honorable Patrick McNamara

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I observe the decease of my beloved friend and colleague, the former senior Senator of the State of Michigan, the Honorable PATRICK MCNAMARA.

He was indeed an outstanding Senator.

He was known for his courage, his forthrightness, his steadfastness of purpose, his dedication to the public interest, and most of all, for his concern for the unfortunate, hungry, downtrodden, and the aged.

His lasting monument is the great legislation he helped engineer through the Congress.

He will long be remembered for his work on behalf of medicare and for the interest he took in legislation which helped the aged meet their vast problems.

He was a great champion of clean waters and legislation to abate the pollution of this most treasured resource.

His efforts on two important committees of the Senate, including the one which he chaired so ably, the Committee on Public Works, left no doubt in the minds of any as to either his expertise or his dedication to the best interests of this Nation and our people.

I am deeply saddened at his death and express to his family and to his wonderful wife, Mary, the condolences of Mrs. Dingell, myself, and the tremendous number of friends that this great American had among the people of the district I have the honor to represent.

Tabulation of Results of Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have just received the tabulation of results of a questionnaire which I distributed among the residents of my district in mid-March. I have received about 9,000 replies. Again this year, the responses reflect careful thought on the issues and I attach the results for the consideration of our colleagues and other readers of the RECORD:

RESULTS OF MY QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE VOTERS OF THE 23D DISTRICT, MARCH 1966

Vietnam (last year I asked this same question first on my questionnaire. I asked it again this year to see is there is any shift in opinion):

1. What policy do you favor in Vietnam?

	Percent
(a) Expand the war and go all out to win	25
(b) Continue administration policy of supporting South Vietnam including limited bombing attacks in North Vietnam, as a way of achieving satisfactory settlement	28
(c) Restrict efforts to South Vietnam and negotiate best settlement possible	22
(d) Withdraw U.S. forces from Vietnam	15
(e) Other (specify)	11

(Responses ranged from urging an "escalate-or-withdraw position" to urging inclusion of NLF in U.N.-sponsored negotiations.)

Last year's results were:

	Percent
(a)	20
(b)	38
(c)	19
(d)	13
(e)	10

2. Have the President's efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement been:

	Percent
About right?	47
Too much?	10
Too little?	43

3. Four-year term for Congressmen: The President has suggested changing the term of office of Congressmen from 2 to 4 years. Do you agree?

	Percent
Yes	54
No	36
Undecided	10

4. Medicare: There are a number of suggestions for additions to this program. Please mark the two you think are most desirable:

	Percent
(a) Include cost of prescription drugs as part of basic coverage	30
(b) Eliminate requirement that senior citizen pay the first $40 of the hospital bill	16
(c) Eliminate requirement that senior citizen pay $3 per month for medical insurance (hospital insurance is free)	9
(d) Increase the number of days of hospitalization permitted	23
(e) Extend coverage to persons under 65 who are receiving social security benefits	16
(f) Other (specify)	6

5. Crime: Would you favor Federal assistance to cities to help with training and strengthening the police force?

	Percent
Yes	62
No	27
Undecided	11

6. Narcotics: A proposal has been made to make drugs or drug substitutes available to addicts under supervision of hospitals or doctors as a way of permitting them to lead useful lives and to prevent the narcotics sellers from preying further upon them. Do you think this is a good idea?

	Percent
Yes	74
No	27
Undecided	11

7. Federal Expenditures: If some Federal programs have to cut back because of the cost of the Vietnam conflict, which do you think should be reduced?

	Percent
(a) Space program	24
(b) Highway construction	13
(c) Veterans benefits	6
(d) Agricultural subsidies	25
(e) Antipoverty program	15
(f) Aid to education	4
(g) Other (specify)	13

["Other" included people who wrote in that they wanted cuts in Vietnam war costs; foreign aid; welfare programs, etc.]

8. Parks and recreation: Which of the following types of parks do you think are the most useful and necessary?

	Percent
(a) Parks in scenic rural areas, with overnight facilities	11
(b) Large city parks to provide greenspaces	21
(c) "Sitting parks" with benches and walkways	28
(d) "Vest-pocket" parks in vacant lots, possibly paved over to permit children's sports	34
(e) Other (specify)	6

["Other" concentrated on the need for improved safety and maintenance of existing parks.]

[Note.—In the case of questions 4, 7, and 8, the percentages indicate relative popularity of items marked.]

Glen Ridge Bids Farewell to James Brown and Arthur Martin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the Borough of Glen Ridge, N.J., is losing two outstanding and valued public servants with the retirement of Borough Clerk James Stewart Brown and the resignation of Superintendent of Schools Arthur Martin.

The departure of these two gentlemen is a distinct loss to Glen Ridge, but the people of the borough can certainly count themselves fortunate to have had the benefit for so long of the knowledge, dedication and integrity they gave so fully to the community. I join with all their friends and fellow citizens in honoring them for jobs well done and in wishing them success and happiness in the years ahead. A fine editorial in the Glen Ridge Paper of April 28, 1966, most effectively describes the debt the community owes James Brown and Arthur Martin, and I include it in the Record with these remarks:

Two Gentlemen Depart

Two of the most knowledgeable men in Glen Ridge in the areas of municipal government and education, respectively, will leave the borough a much poorer place in many respects when they depart office in the near future. We refer, of course, to Borough Clerk James Stewart Brown, who retires on June 1 and Superintendent of Schools Arthur Martin, who resigned last week to take another post in Moorestown.

Their going within a few weeks of each other will mean that Glen Ridge has suffered a distinct loss. There has been some expectation for some time that Jim Brown would call it a day before he became old and doddering but the sudden resignation of "Bud" Martin came as a shock to most citizens in the community.

Like Brown, he was so much of the Glen Ridge scene that it was almost impossible to imagine that he would ever leave. His intense efforts to have the voters approved the building of a new high school and make other educational changes in Glen Ridge somehow gave the impression that he was a permanent fixture and intended to be around to enjoy the fruits of his labor. But such is not to be. He has officially resigned and, in reality, is no longer in the school scene in any practical sense. He will stay on to bring his regime as superintendent to an orderly close but is not apt to loom large in scholastic matters from now on.

His fellow citizens and friends are tossing Jim Brown a testimonial dinner on the night of May 5 at the Glen Ridge Country Club and the affair is sold out. Despite his reticent manner, or perhaps because of it, Jim Brown has made a host of friends in his native borough and, when you consider the history of the Brown family in Glen Ridge, how could things be otherwise? Like his father before him, also a borough clerk, Jim Brown seems to inspire respect from all who know him. He has an iron integrity, a direct approach to people and events that almost forces respect. Glen Ridge has other such men we can think of, Chauncey Grant, Tom Butler, Karl Honaman, George Sloan, young Tom Purner, Herb Johnson, George Minasian, George Kaighn, Paul Klemtner, and many others who likewise inspire the same affection and respect. It seems to be a characteristic of many of the men and women who live among us.

Martin, unlike Brown, was often the target of critics and worse who badgered him unmercifully and maligned him for many and diverse reasons. The Glen Ridge paper has never been able to agree with this hard criticism. We would like to remember "Bud" Martin as an indefatigable worker who toiled hard and long in the cause of education for Glen Ridge children. In New Jersey educational circles, he is rated a brilliant administrator and anyone who has seen him in action would have to agree. The man did the work of three men, and successive boards of education saw fit to reward him for his remarkable capacities. Why not?

Somehow we always thought that Martin would go on to bigger things. The man really needs a bigger canvas on which to paint his dreams of future education. If we were surprised at all by his resignation, it was because he had selected a rather small Moorestown (population 15,000) to continue his work rather than a large city with great facilities. Moorestown is to be envied for having secured his services. There is no doubt that Glen Ridge has suffered a grievous loss. Time is certain to point that sad fact out to many borough citizens, including those who howled for his scalp.

In any event, we want to wish Jim Brown and "Bud" Martin success in their future lives. Brown intends to travel but will remain a Glen Ridge resident in his lovely home on Maolis Avenue. Martin, of course, moves on and we wish him and his beloved wife, Donna-Jean, everything good in life. May the wind be always at their back.

It is seldom that a community the size of Glen Ridge loses the services of two outstanding men in such a short time. Losing Brown was tough enough but when the news of Martin's resignation hit the streets, sensible people realized the magnitude of the double loss. With their departure goes a tremendous amount of knowledge about Glen Ridge and Glen Ridge people. Brown was a fountain of information about past and present municipal affairs, while it goes without saying that Martin, in his post as superintendent of schools, knew just about everybody in town to a greater or lesser degree..

So it is, in a figurative sense in the case of Brown, that we say farewell. To both we say: Gentlemen, you hold our affection in fee simple.

Telegram From Airline Pilots Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I spoke out against State Department plans to accept a $75,000 figure on a basis of absolute liability as the sum awarded to survivors of victims of international air disasters. I believe the absolute liability proposal amounts to an open invitation to sabotage, and have been joined in this conviction by a group with a vital stake in the question—the International Airline Pilots Association.

I enclose the following telegram in the Record, and commend it to the reading of my colleagues.

Urgent you inform your IGIA representative without delay of Air Line Pilots Association total objections to proposed absolute and automatic payoff for international air accident victims. His proposal invites sabotage by destroying principal means for tracing mad men who place bombs on airplanes, and would offer these criminals the incentive of an automatic payoff without requiring them to buy insurance. Too many lives at stake here to give bombers carte blanche.

Copy sent to Secretary Rusk, Administrator W. E. McKee, Secretary of Defense McNamara, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler, Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor, Chairman Charles Murphy, Chairman William Henry, Under Secretary of State Thomas C. Mann.

Charles H. Ruby,
President, Airline Pilots Association International.

Vietnam: Back From the Brink

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, there are hopeful signs for the beginnings of a solution to South Vietnam's political problems.

These are discussed with some justified optimism by Roscoe Drummond in the following article from the April 17, 1966, edition of the New York Herald Tribune:

Vietnam: Back From the Brink

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Washington.—Those who have been saying that only the worst could happen in Saigon—collapse of the government and a defeat-laden withdrawal by the United States—may well be wrong.

The way is beginning to open so that the worst can be averted and possibly the best can be achieved—an elected, civilian government with enough stability to enable the military to defend the nation single-mindedly and without a crumbling base in Saigon.

This prospect rests on two developments which seemed perilously beyond reach only a few days ago:

An unequivocal decree by the military directorate providing for a general election "in 3 to 5 months."

The apparent decision of the Buddhist and Catholic leaders that this meets their demands. The fact that the Buddhists turned their scheduled "protest march" into a "victory march" suggests that it is a firm decision.

If Premier Ky had kept delaying the elections much longer, there can be little doubt that political confusion would have turned into political chaos.

If the Buddhist and the Catholic leaders had all insisted upon their demand for the immediate overthrow of the Ky regime before the elections, there very likely would have been no agreement, no elections—and maybe no government.

This could be the rational compromise: an earlier date for the elections and the generals to remain in charge until the voting, after which they are committed to yield to civilian rule.

And what does this mean? Unless there is some unforeseen miscarriage, it means that Premier Ky has proved himself more flexible than many expected and that the Buddhists have proved themselves more powerful than many thought possible.

There is no doubt that South Vietnam was on the brink of irreparable deterioration and it was entirely reasonable that Members of Congress should begin saying that, if its leaders are willing to throw their nation into the lap of the Vietcong, the United States cannot and does not intend to defend South Vietnam against its will.

But both the government and its powerful critics have stepped back from the brink. With much of the countryside still under Vietcong domination, the elections will have to be limited to the secure parts of the nation and cannot, therefore, be as meaningful as they would be if delayed until more of the country was freed.

But the demand for civilian government chosen by as many South Vietnamese as are free to vote is politically healthy. It rests on long grassroots experience with self-government. It is in no way artificial. The nation's 48 provincial and city councils are all popularly elected. In none of them is there any trend toward the Vietcong or the neutralists.

The protests demanding that military rule be replaced by an elected government have understandably had anti-American overtones. Many South Vietnamese could only see the United States hand-in-glove with the military in Saigon. But we could only work with the government that existed. The United States will welcome the opportunity to be the stanch ally of its elected successor.

On such a basis the alliance would be healthier and the war effort would be stronger.

Killion's Man-Sized "Retirement"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, in the article made part of these remarks, Clint Mosher, the San Francisco Examiner staff writer, highlights the outstanding virtues of George Killion; namely, "his ability to make friends with ease."

Those who know George Killion well, and I pride myself in being one who does, know that it is not only his ability to make friends with ease that characterizes him as one we love and respect, but his ability to hold friends once that he has made them.

I have known George Killion ever since I entered politics in the California State government and we have been closely thrown together. He is the type of man who "can walk with kings and not lose the common touch."

I commend to my colleagues the story of George Killion.

[From the San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, May 1, 1966]

KILLION'S MAN-SIZED "RETIREMENT"

(By Clint Mosher)

George Killion, a perfectionist with a huge sense of humor—gazed out the windows of his spacious office at the pamorama of the bay, blue and sparkling in the noonday sun.

He turned around with a smile and looked at his broad-topped desk.

"So I'm retiring in a few days as president of American President Lines because my birth certificate shows I'm 65, and that's when retirement is compulsory," he said.

He laughed. "You can't argue with a birth certificate, but if you asked me how old I am I'd say 57 because that's the way I feel and that's what counts.

"A rocking chair? Hell no.

"I'm getting my own office as a base of operations for two man-sized projects I'm going to be working on.

"The late Jack Kennedy asked me to be an incorporator of the Communications Satellite Corp. With my associates, I'll be building ground stations around the world.

"In addition, as chairman of the board of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, I'll be busy turning out pictures which will be both entertaining and acceptable to the public.

He laughed again and said, "So I'm retiring."

Talking was a man who as a youngster covered the waterfront in San Diego for a local paper. The pay was peanuts. While determining the course of his life, he went to work in a garage, got his hands dirty and built up the constitution which has stuck with him. He climbed to success like a seaman going up a swaying Jacob's ladder on the side of the ship.

Today he is the possessor of a personal fortune well in excess of six figures.

In addition, he is 1 of perhaps 10 men who make San Francisco run. To put it another way, he is a member of the establishment.

How did all this happen to George Killion? The record speaks for itself. It is silent, of necessity, on one point: How does one man acquire know-how, a sense of direction and finally, accomplishment? There are no hard and fast rules.

Killion climbed the first rung of the ladder when he decided in 1930 to go into public relations. In the course of his work, he met the late Clem Whitaker whose public relations advice was readily accepted and well paid for.

In Killion, Whitaker recognized a kindred spirit, a man with ideas and punch. They worked together on a number of industrial and political accounts, and in 2 or 3 years, Killion set up his own shop.

His ability to make friends with ease, to take cold facts and make them palatable as news stories and advertising copy caught the attention of Safeway Stores. He was selected by the firm in 1935 as a consultant on public relations, advertising, legislation, and business development.

As adviser on legislation, Killion's job frequently took him to Sacramento, and thus began his political career—not so much as a jobholder or candidate for public office, but rather as a genial, behind-the-scenes settler of feuds, organizer of other peoples' campaigns and super-duper fundraiser.

Governor Olson picked Killion as his press secretary. When Olson named Phil Gibson to the State supreme court, he upped Killion to Gibson's vacated job, State director of finance.

"We put together a balanced budget for the first time in many years," he said thinking back over that part of his career.

"And don't forget, the budget wasn't put in shape behind closed doors. Newspapermen were asked to sit in. We didn't believe in keeping anything from the public. After all, we were spending their money. Why shouldn't they look on through the medium of the press?"

After one term, Olson was voted out of office, but Killion had established a reputation as a man who knew money problems and what to do about them.

He was made treasurer of the Democratic National Committee in 1944 after a tour of duty as a major in the Army. The hostilities over, something had to be done by the Government about its creation, the American President Lines.

The Maritime Commission, on recommendation of Harry Truman, made Killion president. The company's total capital assets in 1947 were $17 million. Today, they are $171 million.

Talked out for the moment, Killion said, "Let's relax a minute and have some fun."

Several years ago, Killion presented Lou Lurie, Montgomery St. financier, with a sea captain's hat, complete with gold filigree on the visor, and made him honorary commodore of the APL fleet.

Killion asked a secretary to get Lurie on the line.

"What do you want, Georgi boy?" asked Lurie.

"Put your cap on," said Killion, "get your binoculars and go to the window and wave. Let's break the monotony."

Presently, "Uncle Louie" appeared in the window, cap on his head, binoculars in one hand, and waved furiously.

They returned to their phones.

"Great to see you, Uncle Louie," said Killion.

"And the same to you," replied Lurie.

This is practically a daily afternoon break in their business operations.

Killion is married to Margaretha Rahenberg, a Viennese opera singer. They live in a Russian Hill apartment at 1090 Chestnut Street. Killion's first marriage to the late Grace Harris in 1922 ended in divorce.

Rent Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND

OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, the aims and the advantages of the rent subsidy program are outlined succinctly in an informative editorial in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

The paper believes that the potential of the program was suggested by the affirmative response which the proposal evoked throughout the country. It says that interested sponsors, many of them church and civic groups, expressed a readiness to build 561 projects with a total of more than 97,000 dwelling units.

And it adds:

> Such a building effort would help appreciably to replace the 2.9 million U.S. housing units which were found in the last census to be fully dilapidated.

I am convinced that many of my colleagues will want to read this appraisal and I make it a part of the RECORD:

RENT AID FOR THE POOR

After discouraging rebuffs last year and earlier this year, the Johnson administration has finally won congressional approval for a $12 million appropriation to begin its novel rent supplement program. By a one-vote margin, the Senate this week decided to keep the rent item in a $2.8 billion supplemental money bill, thus clearing the way presumably for a start on subsidized rental housing for the poor as proposed by the President last year.

The aim of the program is to promote decent low-cost housing scattered through cities and suburbs in a pattern that is not now provided by public housing projects.

Since local public housing authorities are often forced by political and other pressures to locate their units in large clumps, these clumps (with disadvantaged Negroes as tenants) soon become new ghettos. The solution envisioned was to entice private developers, with their greater flexibility in site location, into the low-income housing field.

To do this, the Government would agree to pay to nonprofit housing developers a part of the rent on housing which the developer would provide for low-income tenants. The eligible tenant would pay 25 percent of his income toward the rent, and the Government would pay the remainder. If the tenant's income rose sufficiently so that 25 percent would cover the entire rent, the Government subsidy would cease; but the tenant could remain in the project by paying all of the rent himself.

The potential of the rent subsidy program was perhaps suggested by the affirmative response which the proposal evoked throughout the country. Interested sponsors, many of them church and civic groups, expressed a readiness to build 561 projects with a total of more than 97,000 dwelling units. Such a building effort would help appreciably to replace the 2.9 million U.S. housing units which were found in the last census to be fully dilapidated.

Aside from the eventual cost of the program, which should not be allowed to get out of hand, the chief difficulty is the manner in which the administration's original idea has been undermined by a rider (inserted in the House and left in by the Senate) that would give local communities a veto over subsidized rental projects. This could curb the program's effectiveness in reducing central city ghettos and distributing the poor more evenly through cities and suburbs. When the next rent supplement appropriation is considered, the veto provision should be eliminated.

Polish Constitution Day

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, this is a very special week for the Polish people. Not only are they celebrating the millennium of Poland's conversion to Christianity but May 3 also marks the anniversary of the great Polish Constitution of 1791.

One hundred and seventy-five years ago, on the third of May, the Polish people adopted a document which they hoped would unite Poland against her traditional foes—under an improved constitutional government. The Constitution was designed to replace a medieval type of government with a modern constitutional monarchy and parliamentary system.

That such a document was even written was an amazing accomplishment. For the late 18th century was an age of absolute monarchs and dictatorial regimes. The Constitution set up a constitutional monarchy in which the prerogatives of the King were carefully defined. The King's executive power had to be exercised through a Cabinet which was responsible to the Diet, or Parliament. Any member of the Cabinet could be removed at any time by a two-thirds vote of the Diet. The lower House, called the Chamber of Deputies, was given preponderance over the Senate, whose role was mainly advisory.

The Constitution of 1791 had many other forward-looking provisions. The right to vote was greatly extended. The townsmen received a number of political rights and recovered their judicial autonomy. The basis of representation was significantly broadened by opening the doors of the Diet to deputies from the towns. And the peasantry were taken under the protection of the law.

The signing of this Constitution was a great accomplishment in a country where 100-percent agreement had previously been required on every bill adopted by Parliament. It represented a major judicial and economic achievement. Agreement on the need for reform was so widespread that the mobility did not revolt against the reduction of its powers.

But there were others who felt severely threatened by the ideas contained in this great document. Catherine the Great of Russia realized that the Constitution represented a strong resurgence of Polish nationalism and that the loss of imperial Russian suzerainty over Poland was at stake. Russian troops invaded Poland and by 1793 the great Polish nation was partitioned for a second time.

Today the Constitution of 1791 is a threat—it is a threat to those who deprive the Polish people of fair and representative government. The Polish Constitution did not survive very long, but the ideals of freedom and equality which it embodies are vibrantly alive in the hearts of the Polish people. On this day all Americans rededicate themselves to the cause of a free and democratic Poland.

Kent State University Seminar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, in March of this year a seminar entitled "The College Price Tag: Who Pays?" was held at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio. This national seminar which was sponsored by the Ohio AFL–CIO in cooperation with Kent State University was called to see what can be done to insure that a quality education is made available to all who can benefit from such an education.

This question, "The college price tag: who pays?" is becoming a more and more important one when we realize that enrollments in higher education will double in the next 12 or 13 years, thereby more than doubling present problems. Labor, of course, is greatly interested in higher education because the student of working class parents is increasingly being priced out of an opportunity for higher education. A recent survey of 23 universities showed that only 1 percent of the students come from families with incomes of less than $6,000.

I commend the Ohio AFL–CIO and Kent State University for sponsoring this important meeting. It is this type of cooperation between labor, education, government, and industry which our country needs to help solve problems of mutual concern to all groups in America.

Mr. Speaker, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point an article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on April 11 discussing the seminar:

NATIONAL SEMINAR CHALLENGES COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION

(By Dave Hess)

KENT, OHIO.—Some of the Nation's top representatives of education, business and industry, labor, agriculture, and State and Federal Government met here at Kent State University recently to tackle the problem of the rising cost of higher education.

Most speakers emphasized the need to provide a free college education to all qualified students. The seminar, however, failed to reach a consensus.

One observer from a private college remarked that such a development would "drive us out of business." A Cleveland industrialist wondered aloud about the "high cost of such a venture." And a labor executive asked whether it is "realistic" to expect the public to pick up the tab for a "free ride."

But Dr. M. M. Chambers, professor of higher education at Indiana University, asked: "Can we afford not to do it?"

Participants in the seminar, sponsored jointly by the college and the Ohio AFL–CIO, raised the broad issues of public policy and social responsibility:

How long can we continue to hike tuitions without subverting the educational opportunities of lower income people?

Is college a basic right, rather than a privilege, for all who can make the grade?

If it is a right, then how can it best be secured to guarantee equal opportunity to all?

What about students who either can't or won't go to college, but who want to advance their technical or vocational training beyond high school?

And from where should the money come?

Irked at rising costs, Dr. James H. Pelley, professor at Miami (Ohio) University, declared that "college education * * * is rapidly becoming the prerogative and preserve of the rich, well born, and [financially] able." He then cited figures from a sample of incoming freshmen at Miami, showing that "only 8.7 percent came from families with less than a $6,000 annual income."

On the same theme, Robert Bollard, secretary treasurer of the State AFL–CIO, pointed out: "72 percent of Ohio's population consists of families with annual incomes of less than $7,500 * * * yet students from these families comprise less than 20 percent of the student body in the State's universities and land-grant colleges."

These figures, it was explained, reflect a growing trend of State universities, in Ohio and elsewhere, to pass on the pyramiding costs of building classrooms and upgrading curriculums to students. They also mirror the inability of State governments to stay abreast of their universities' burgeoning financial needs.

The latter situation was brought into sharp focus during a brief repartee between Dr. John Millett, chancellor of Ohio's Board of Regents, and Frank King, president of the Ohio AFL–CIO:

Dr. Millett: "In recognizing inadequacies, we should not at the same time ignore progress * * * the State's per-pupil allocations to universities have risen steadily since 1958.

The facts are that there have been increases in State support of higher education, and the facts are that while expanding the scope of State support the funds available to older institutions have not been reduced."

LOSING BATTLE?

Mr. King rebutted: "There's something fishy when we're shown that the per-student subsidy has risen while tuitions have risen in the same period. The basic question is simply this—Is it harder now, financially, to get a college education than it was 10 years ago? I say it is, I say we're losing the battle."

On this issue of rising costs, Philip Des Marais, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Office of Education, made these comparisons: In 1940 the average student cost at public universities was $850 a year; in 1965 the cost had shot up to $1,560. By 1980, he forecast, the cost will top $2,400.

Viewing this trend with alarm, several other speaker and panelists suggested that free college education should be provided to all students who, as one seminarist put it, "can cut the mustard."

Eulogy to Senator Patrick V. McNamara

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the death of the Honorable PATRICK V. MCNAMARA, senior Senator from the State of Michigan, is deeply regretted among his colleagues in the Congress, among his host of warm friends, and among the millions of American citizens who, never knowing him, were yet aware of his constant and vigorous championship of their rights.

Senator MCNAMARA was a fighting liberal, not of a sentimental and theoretical kind, but of down-to-earth practicality, and of legislative proficiency. He was forthright and consistent. He championed labor against repression by management, and rank and file against betrayal or coercion by union organization; he fought for the poor, the young, the aged; he worked effectively for the development of the national road system, for flood control, and for the development of rivers and harbors.

As chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee as well as of its Flood Control—Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, and as ranking majority member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Senator MCNAMARA was in a position to contribute tremendously to the building of an America of fair and equal treatment for all, of generous help to those who need it most, and of bold and generous programs for future development.

Among recent legislative accomplishments which owe much to his powerful support are the Civil Rights and Voting Acts, hospital insurance for the elderly through social security, increases in minimum wages, and Federal aid to education.

In honoring the memory of this brave and devoted man, I offer also my deepest sympathy to his wife, Mary Mattee McNamara, to their 2 children, Mary Jane Ballard and Patrick V. McNamara III, and the 12 grandchildren to whom he has left the heritage of a noble memory.

"Let's Stop Being Polite to Those Who Cheat Us, or Uncomplaining About Those Who Give Us Poor Service"—Address by Congresswoman Sullivan Before Council on Consumer Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 25, 1966

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier today it was my privilege and great pleasure to address a luncheon meeting of Consumer Assembly for '66 on the subject of pretesting of cosmetics for safety and of therapeutic devices for safety and effectiveness. This is but one of a wide variety of consumer issues being discussed and debated at this worthwhile national conference here in Washington this week.

Last week, another important national conference on consumer issues took place in my own city of St. Louis, sponsored by the Council on Consumer Information, an organization of outstanding leaders of the consumer movement in this country, and headed this year by your close friend, the Reverend Robert J. McEwen of Boston College. Father McEwen has served the State of Massachusetts in distinguished fashion as an official State adviser on consumer problems, and has been instrumental in bringing about important changes in your State laws intended to protect consumers.

I was scheduled to address the annual conference of the Council on Consumer Information last year at Berkeley, Calif., but because of other responsibilities was not able to fulfill that speaking engagement. I am delighted, therefore, that when the conference took place this year in my city, I could be present and participate.

In a 3-day meeting attended by educators, public officials, and representatives of nonprofit organizations from all areas of the Nation, the Council on Consumer Information surveyed the problems facing the consumer in the marketplace and the things which can be done, or should be done, to improve the safety of the products we use, as well as to improve the ability of the consumer to get his money's worth.

The theme of my remarks on "The Citizen's Role in Furthering Consumer Interests" was that, while there are many shortcomings in our laws which protect consumers, there is a great deal more the individual consumer can do to protect himself or herself in getting good value.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my remarks at the National Consumer Conference in St. Louis last week and also the program of that conference, indicating the variety of important consumer issues discussed, and the outstanding caliber of the consumer leaders who took part.

The text of my talk follows:

THE CITIZEN'S ROLE IN FURTHERING CONSUMER INTERESTS

(Address by Congresswoman LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, at annual national conference, Council on Consumer Information, St. Louis, Mo., April 21, 1966)

Since this is the end of the second day of your 3-day conference, it is perhaps a bit late for me to welcome you to St. Louis. I am sure this city's welcome has been evident to you from the moment of your arrival. In my somewhat prejudiced opinion, St. Louis is unique and wonderful among American cities in many respects and for many reasons, but from the standpoint of your organization, one of its most important distinctions is the active and vigorous interest of this community in consumer issues.

I think we can properly claim recognition as the consumer capital among American cities, for it was this city which led the first real fight on air pollution. We have a long history of consumer activity. The St. Louis Consumer Federation has been a powerful factor in consumer affairs not only in St. Louis but throughout the country for many years, and to the extent that I have earned a right to speak for consumers in the Congress of the United States, I must honestly admit that the federation "made me what I am today" as a consumer-minded legislator.

Before I was ever sworn in as a Member of Congress in 1953, the consumer federation took me in hand and gave me a cram course in consumer problems and legislative issues for which I have always been grateful, for they succeeded in setting my course and direction in the Congress from that day forward. I am delighted to see so many similar organizations now being formed across the country, and in many of the States; but for years, the St. Louis Consumer Federation was almost alone in this field.

It is most fitting, therefore, that the national conference of the Council on Consumer Information is being held in St. Louis, just as it was most fitting for the first White House Regional Consumer Conference set up 2 years ago by Esther Peterson to be held in St. Louis. As I said then, this is a community which believes deeply in the validity of the consumers' rights in the marketplace, one which has vigorous leadership in consumer activities and which has newspapers, radio and television stations, and other media which compete strenuously with each other to be in the forefront in the promotion of consumer causes.

TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN INTEREST IN CONSUMER ISSUES

In the past 4 years, national interest in consumer problems has grown at amazing speed. The consumer message sent to Congress by President John F. Kennedy in March 1962, was a milestone in the development of that growth and interest. President Johnson has sent us two such messages, the latest one being just exactly a month ago.

Mrs. Peterson's office has provided a rallying point within the Government, at the White House level, for the dissemination of information and for the improvement of communication between consumer and Government and between consumer and businessman. And your organization, the Council on Consumer Information, under the leadership of Father McEwen and Professor Morse and Dr. Metzen and others who have contributed so much to public awareness of the issues, has performed a great national service.

Earlier this week, a subcommittee of the House of Representatives for the first time held hearings on the idea of setting up a Department of Consumers in the U.S. Government. The hearings were useful in spotlighting consumer issues. Next week, in Washington, many of us will meet again on the consumer front as the Consumer Assembly organized by David Angevine takes place in what I hope will be a focus of national attention.

In the past 4 years we have passed two outstanding new laws on drug safety—the Kefauver-Harris Act of 1962 and the Drug Abuses Control Act of 1965; our pesticides laws were strengthened very materially; both the House and Senate Commerce Committees are going deeply into the subject of automobile safety and the Senate has now passed a tire safety bill which can save countless lives on our highways.

This legislation is long overdue, of course; but there is real satisfaction to be derived from the fact that it has progressed so far so fast, for it is less than 3 years since former Congressman Kenneth Roberts, of Alabama, and I jointly sponsored the very first tire safety bill introduced in either House of Congress. Considering how long it usually takes for a new idea to come to a boil on the legislative burners, this is phenomenal speed. But there is still so much remaining undone that we have no basis for self-satisfaction.

PIERCING THE APATHY OF AFFLUENCE

I have made many talks to consumer groups about the need for a general overhaul of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, as proposed in H.R. 1235—a bill of mine which has been pending forlornly for more than 5 years—and I shall discuss that issue again next week at the consumer assembly in Washington, so I am not going to use this time tonight to rehash with you facts which are already well known to everyone here. Instead, I would like to take time to talk about what I think is your most important assignment—that is, alerting the public to dangers, problems and solutions, and arousing the public to be concerned and to demand action.

If 1966 is to be the year of the consumer, we are going to need much more effective ways of carrying out this assignment of reaching and alerting the public. Although much has been printed in the newspapers about consumer issues, we still seem to be doing a great deal of our talking on consumer issues just to each other.

On economic issues, there is among the general public what might be called an apathy of affluence which we have not yet been able to pierce with sufficient skill and impact. I can remember—and it wasn't too many years ago—when an American citizen who felt cheated or defrauded or short-changed or fast-talked out of some money got so indignant—so mad—that he not only yelled "ouch" but tried to do something about it.

Today, a great many Americans just shrug it off. When they do get mad it is often about the wrong things.

For instance, there is great indignation now over the high price of bacon and pork products, and certain other foods. As a member of the National Commission on Food Marketing, I have spent many, many hours in Commission hearings and executive sessions on food costs, particularly food distribution costs. We have variously been told that the farmer has been receiving too little and that the consumer has been paying too much and that the stores are not really making any money. Interestingly enough, there was some truth at some point in time in all of these different points of view, when vigorously presented to us by spokesmen for the separate interest groups appearing before us.

FAST-CHANGING SITUATION IN FOOD PRICES

But, like all such generalities, these claims were only partially true. The farmers had gone through a very bitter experience in raising an abundance of livestock and many of them lost substantial amounts of money when the price fell. The packers operated on a small margin. Stores frequently sold meat as a price leader, even while their costs were rising—in some instances rather alarmingly. And yet consumers felt they were paying too much—and sometimes were.

But how fast a situation can change. After a bad year of very low prices for hogs at the farm level because of abundant supplies, the farmers decided to cut back on hog production. After all, who wants to work hard producing something at a loss? Inevitably, the following year, hog marketings went way down, and pork products zoomed in price. As the price went up, farmers were again encouraged to raise more hogs, and this will mean a drop in wholesale and retail prices when the new production comes to market. We have been trying for many years to try to find ways to even off these hills and valleys of long-lead farm products, but there is still wide variation in prices from year to year because no one really is able to guess far ahead of time—when the decisions have to be made as to how much to plant or how many steers or hogs to fatten—what the market is going to be like at harvest time.

We have had enough experience with this annual phenomenon of surplus or shortage in individual farm commodities to have learned as consumers how to live with it intelligently—and buy those foods in good supply. But from the letters I receive, and the protests and complaints I read in the newspapers and hear over the radio, a lot of consumers shop with no reference at all to what is happening in the marketing of food. If bacon is inordinately high compared to what they are used to paying, they nevertheless often pay the higher price, and then cry they are being cheated.

They are cheating themselves.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT BACON—BUT NOT ABOUT EXCESSIVE INTEREST CHARGES

They are cheating themselves because they are ignoring information readily available to them. Just as there is nothing in the Bill of Rights which says that a pound of bacon must cost 79 cents even when supplies are short, so also there is nothing in the Constitution which requires a housewife to buy bacon when it is $1.19. So why buy it? Yet many go ahead and buy anyway, and complain about how the consumer is being robbed. Such consumers need a good scolding for not adjusting their buying habits as market conditions change. The Wall Street Journal recently told of a California housewife jabbing her finger at bacon marked $1.19 a pound and saying "that's ridiculous." What the article failed to say, however, was whether she was ridiculous enough to buy it.

If we could get people as mad about paying 36 percent interest on a small loan or 100 percent interest on a television set bought on time, as they are or were about paying $1.19 for bacon when pork products are comparatively scarce, we'd really be getting somewhere on consumer education and consumer interests. It doesn't take mathematical genius or even "truth in lending" to figure out that 3 percent interest a month is 36 percent a year. Yet people who should know better will nevertheless borrow money even frivolously at that enormous interest rate.

How about packaging? At one of our Food Marketing Commission hearings in New York, at which we took testimony from the women's editors and food editors of major magazines, an outstanding home economist who represented a leading publication of very high standards told me that their readers had shown virtually no interest whatsoever in the controversy over labeling and packaging of food products. She said they receive thousands of letters on homemaking problems and issues of interest to their readers, but about the only ones she could remember receiving about food packaging were complaints over the instructions for opening the packages. She was referring to protests that when you tried to push in the little spot on the package where it said "push here" you were likely to break a fingernail. But as to the slack fill of many packages or the misleading illustrations of contents, or confusing sizes of the cartons, or the poor legibility of required label information, or the widespread use of fractional ounce net weights which made it almost impossible for the average consumer to decide on the better buy between two sizes of the very same brand of a product—the readers of that magazine wrote not a word of protest. They didn't seem to care.

IS IT THAT THEY CAN'T ADD OR SUBTRACT?

I truly believe that the home economist who testified on this point was telling us the truth about the lack of reader letters on this issue. My question then must be directed to you—why don't more of her readers care about packaging abuses?

We were also told at that hearing that a comprehensive study of consumer purchasing habits in supermarkets showed that the average shopper swept through the 8,000 or more items on the shelves in less than 30 minutes, even if spending $25 or more. If that is true, it is no wonder that the manufacturer likes to make it difficult for the shopper to figure out price per ounce of his products; he doesn't have to make it easy, or even practical, for the shopper to figure out these mysteries because the vast majority of shoppers presumably wouldn't take the time to make the effort and apparently don't care.

I care and you care and many other consumers do care. But apparently not enough consumers care. How do we reach Mrs. Average Shopper and persuade her to start caring? Unless we can succeed in doing that, all of the discussions we have among ourselves about truth in this and truth in that will have no effect on various House and Senate committees because these issues still do not have enough zip behind them where it counts—in the marketplace itself.

I have a theory on the seeming apathy among consumers about figuring out the better buys in the stores or in shopping around for credit terms. It is not that they are lazy; in many instances they just don't know how to make mathematical computations. Millions of young people today simply can't add and subtract and divide. Mathematically they are functionally illiterate, if that is the way to describe it. The annual anguish over income tax computations is a good indicator of that situation.

Income tax time is often the only time many Americans actually try to work out a mathematical problem, and they suffer more over the figuring they have to do than over the taxes they pay. They really need the "truth in" bills to know what they pay for things.

But in the meantime can't we encourage them to learn to help themselves by persuading them occasionally to add up a restaurant check, or check a grocery list, or go over the items in an automobile repair bill, or doublecheck their telephone bills or bank statements? When I do those things—and ask questions about the items I consider doubtful—I know I am being considered something of a nut by the person waiting on me. Presumably not very many people do that sort of thing any more. Possibly it is no longer considered polite to check someone else's figures which are presented to you for payment.

OVERCHARGES MORE LIKELY TO BE FROM CARELESSNESS THAN DECEIT

Yet the same poor mathematical skill characteristic of so many consumers today is at least as common—and probably more so—among those who are employed to prepare our bills for goods and services. Under the circumstances, we are far more likely to be overcharged through carelessness than through deceit. But the tendency on the part of so many customers not to bother checking their bills or statements is a real incentive to the unscrupulous to take advantage of the customer deliberately. It doesn't take new laws to get at that problem; it takes just a tiny bit of effort and some courage to speak up for one's pocketbook rights.

I make such a point of doing this in the course of my own shopping that some of my friends are embarrassed to go shopping with me. I ask questions about unmarked items; I ask for the manager if a price seems out of line; I try to remember the price ranges of things I'm used to buying and I make a point of checking the prices on those items I buy infrequently. You don't have to be a Member of Congress to get the answers to such questions; the answers are available to every shopper who takes the trouble to ask the right questions of the right people in the stores. Why then are so many consumers reluctant to ask? Is it because they are still suffering from a kind of timidity hangover from World War II or Korean war days when you didn't dare antagonize the storekeeper for fear of not getting some scarce or rationed item in great demand? Whatever the reason—whether timidity, insecurity, inability to add and subtract and divide, or just plain neglect—the American consumer is often paying more than she thinks she is paying or expects to pay for lots of things and not doing a thing about it, except to complain about the prices of the few items whose customary cost she happens to remember from one shopping trip to the next.

I have made a rather large issue of this point tonight—of sloppy buying habits—because I think it is a fundamental cause of the lack of clearcut consumer demand for corrective legislation we really need. I have made the point so strongly to you men and women who are leaders in the consumer movement because I think your dedicated efforts to help consumers through legislation too often is handicapped and stalemated by the failure of the people you want to help to try to help themselves—the failure to use information already available to them.

PUBLIC NOT APATHETIC ABOUT DANGERS TO HEALTH AND SAFETY

Of all of the activities of the agencies now fighting the war on poverty, one of the most useful may very well turn out to be the neighborhood centers working on basic consumer economics. But it is not enough to try to teach people how to shop intelligently for installment credit; we must also teach them how to curb a human desire to buy things they can't afford, no matter how good the credit terms might be. One ironic success story I read about in the Washington war on poverty involved a readjustment in monthly payments for a poor family which had been terribly overcharged in interest and carrying charges on a color television set. Nowhere in the story, however, did I see any suggestion that a color television set was perhaps not quite as essential to that family as accumulating enough cash to participate in the food stamp program.

And this brings me to another aspect of the consumer battle, and one I consider far more important than helping people to get their dollar's worth, important as that certainly is, I am referring now to the safety of the consumer. The apathy of affluence which leads so many people to accept uncomplainingly minor economic aggressions committed against their purse does not hold true when it comes to dangers to the family's health.

People will respond to information about health hazards, and are effective in demanding corrective governmental action in this field, once they have the facts. It is in this area therefore that I think more of the consumer movement's efforts should be directed. When I first included in my omnibus food, drug, and cosmetic bill last year a provision to outlaw the sale in interstate commerce of flavored aspirin for children, I was amazed by the instant and enthusiastic response I received from people all over this country—families which had gone through the agony of child poisoning or death caused by these lethal little candy pills.

THE CANDY ASPIRIN MENACE

In the research which led me to include this provision in the bill, I had been appalled by the tremendous incidence of aspirin poisoning among children under 5—thousands upon thousands of poisoning cases a year, with more deaths than from any other single accidental ingestion cause.

Only—if I can use that word "only" in this context—only 150 or so childhood deaths are attributed to this cause a year, but this is a fraction of the number of near tragedies, each one of them a nightmare of horror for the family involved. And 150 needless deaths among young children is not an insignificant figure. I am glad in this connection to have President Johnson's support for at least limiting the number of such pills in a single container. I wonder how much more could be done through the groups and agencies you men and women represent to alert mothers of young children to the danger in each bottle of these "convenience" pills. Is it really too much trouble for a mother to crush half of an aspirin tablet and add some sugar or jelly to make palatable what the child knows is medicine, not candy? Will you help me in getting this across?

In inviting me to speak here tonight, your executive director, Dr. Metzen, suggested I discuss "The Citizen's Role in Furthering Consumer Interests." I have talked mostly about the failure of so many consumers to fight for and protect their own interests—because of apathy, ignorance, laziness, or lack of information. The laws we are considering in the Congress to aid and protect consumers are certainly important—more so, undoubtedly, because consumers themselves are not doing enough to protect themselves and effectively use the powers they can already wield in the marketplace. But the fact of political life is this: unless and until consumers generally show more concern over the sharp practices which victimize them in the marketplace, and speak up and do something about those practices, they are not going to be very much help to us or to themselves in getting through the kind of corrective legislation they need and should have.

DAILY ASSAULTS ON OUR DIGNITY AS BUYERS OF GOODS AND SERVICES

The citizen's role in this situation is to stand up and be a citizen—a responsible American citizen who not only knows his rights but fights for them against all comers. Let's stop being polite to those who cheat us, or uncomplaining about those who give us poor service. When we think about the way a comparative handful of freeborn citizens of Massachusetts stood up for their rights at Lexington and Concord on that April day nearly 200 years ago, it seems to me that the least we can do today is to refuse to suffer in silence the daily assaults on our dignity as buyers of goods and services.

I do not want to give the impression that I think we are cheated, defrauded and pushed around in every transaction. Not at all. Our economy is probably the fairest and most effective in the world in sharing the good things in life. Most businessmen want to make only a fair return based on honest dealing with the public. The faults in the marketplace are not based on villainy. Most businesses can convincingly defend most of the practices they follow. But few of them can successfully defend all of their practices, particularly on credit, and some cannot legitimately and morally defend any of their methods of operation. We must fight those particular ones at every turn—through legislation, where necessary, and through our own self-defense efforts as informed consumers.

When there is this kind of general dedication to the cause of the consumers by consumers, the legislation we need will be passed quickly. I have frequently told consumer groups that when it comes to legislation. Congress is like the accelerator of an automobile—that is, extremely sensitive to pressure. You make it go by putting your foot down. Not enough Americans who love to put their foot down to make their cars go faster have yet awakened to the fact that it's far safer for all concerned if they expended a little less pressure on their cars' accelerators and more effort in putting their foot down on gaps in our consumer laws. But people are learning—more of them are learning every day. Consumer issues are getting more and more attention everywhere in this country, in the press and other media.

If we can get more of the people to complain out loud—and preferably in the form of letters to their Congressmen and other public officials—about practices which offend them as consumers and as citizens, we'll pass the new consumer laws we need in Washington, and in the State capitals, and in the city halls. And we'll all be a lot better off—we'll get more for our money and live a lot longer, too. Those objectives are certainly worth the effort and dedication you who are leaders of the consumer movement in this country have been investing in a cause you can be proud of. As a Member of Congress who shares your goals and admires your courage and devotion, I salute you for what you are working so hard to accomplish in behalf of all the people of this country. Keep up the good work.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I submit the program of the 3-day conference in St. Louis, listing the participants in this outstanding consumer affair:

Program of the Council on Consumer Information, 12th Annual Conference, April 20–22, 1966, Sheraton-Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20

At 12:30 p.m.: Luncheon. Presiding: Richard L. D. Morse, head, Department of Family Economics, Kansas State University. Speaker: David Swankin, Executive Director, President's Committee on Consumer Interests. Topic: "The View From Washington."

At 2:30 p.m.: Chairman: David Hamilton, professor of economics, the University of New Mexico. Speaker: Leland J. Gordon, Director, Weights and Measures Research Center. Topic: "Recent Developments in Consumer Economics." Question leaders: Mrs. Carla Williams, specialist for consumer programs, Administration on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Heinz Biesdorf, assistant professor, Department of Household Economics and Management Extension, Cornell University.

At 3:30 p.m.: Speaker: Arch W. Troelstrup, director of family economics, Stephens College. Topic: "The Consumer Movement in Western Europe." Question leaders: David W. Angevine, public relations director, Cooperative League of the U.S.A.; W. Lou Tandy, professor of economics, Central State University, Ohio; and John B. Moore, Department of Economics, Lindenwood College, Missouri.

At 7:30 p.m.: Chairman: Miss Phyllis Ilett, associate professor, home management, equipment, and family economics, the University of Tennessee. Speakers: Hon. Norman H. Anderson, attorney general of Missouri; Robert D. Brodt, assistant attorney general in charge of consumer frauds division, Illinois; and Gale P. Gotschall, Assistant General Counsel for Federal-State Cooperation, Federal Trade Commission. Topic: "Consumer Protection by the States—New Approaches, New Problems, Unmet Needs."

Question leaders: Joseph M. Klamon, professor of business management, Washington University; and Arthur C. Meyers, Jr., acting chairman, Department of Economics, St. Louis University.

THURSDAY, APRIL 21

At 8:30 a.m.: Chairman: Ramon P. Heimerl, professor of business education, Colorado State College. Speaker: David Schoenfeld, social studies teacher, Lincoln High School, Yonkers, N.Y. Topic: "Possibilities for Consumer Education at the Secondary Level—the Lincoln High School Story."

At 9:15 a.m.: Speakers: Heinz Biesdorf, assistant professor Department of Household Economics and Management Extension, Cornell University; Thomas M. Brooks, head, Department of Family Economics and Management, University of Connecticut; and James E. Mendenhall, education director, Consumers Union of United States. Topic: "Consumer Education at the College Level."

Question leaders: Mrs. Marie Davis Huff, director, home economics education, State Department of Education, Missouri; Mrs. Rose Shanight, home economics teacher, Eureka, Mo., High School; Stewart Lee, chairman, Department of Economics and Business Administration, Geneva College; and Herbert A. Tonne, chairman, Department of Business Education, New York University.

At 10:45 a.m.: Chairman Robert Cissell, associate professor, Department of Mathematics, Xavier University. Speakers: William A. Gates, director, St. Louis and St. Louis County Extension Centers, University of Missouri; Robert L. Gawf, program director, Consumer Education, St. Louis and St. Louis County Extension Centers, University of Missouri; and Mrs. Evelyn Buck, home economist, Consumer Education, St. Louis Extension Center, University of Missouri. Topic: "Consumer Education for Low-Income Families in St. Louis."

Question leaders: Hayes Beall, director, Peace Corps/Cooperative Projects, Association for Cooperative Education; Milton J. Huber, associate professor, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee; John N. Orms, education director, Missouri Credit Union League; and G. R. Westwood, executive director, Central Missouri Counties' Human Development Corporation.

At 1:30 p.m.: Chairman: Herbert A. Tonne, chairman, Department of Business Education, New York University. Speaker: George Fersh, associate director, Joint Council on Economic Education. Topic: "Achieving Personal Economic Competence Through Economic Education."

At 2:30 p.m.: Speaker: Ray G. Price, professor of education, University of Minnesota. Topic: "Teacher Preparation for Consumer Education—Current Developments and Future Needs."

Question leaders: Mrs. Marie Davies Huff, director, Home Economics Education, State Department of Education, Missouri; Mrs. Rose Shanight, home economics teacher, Eureka, Mo., High School; Thomas M. Brooks, head, Department of Family Economics and Management, University of Connecticut; Ramon P. Heimerl, professor of business education, Colorado State College.

At 3:45 p.m.: Chairman: Gordon E. Bivens, professor of economics and director, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. Speaker: Edward Damon, public information specialists, Division of Consumer Education, Food, and Drug Administration. Topic: "Consumer Education—Then and Now."

At 4:10 p.m.: Speakers: Mrs. Faith Prior, family economics and home management specialist, Extension Service, University of Vermont; Edward J. Metzen, chairman, Home Management and Family Economics, University of Missouri. Topic: "Report on the First International Conference on Consumer Education."

At 6:15 p.m.: Annual dinner. Presiding: Stewart Lee, past president, Council on Consumer Information, chairman, Department of Economics and Business Administration, Geneva College. Presidential address: Rev. Robert J, McEwen, S.J., chairman, Department of Economics, Boston College.

At 8:30 p.m.: Chairman: Rev. Robert J. McEwen, S.J., president, Council on Consumer Information. Speaker: Hon. Leonor K. Sullivan, Member of Congress, Missouri. Topic: "The Citizen's Role in Furthering Consumer Interests."

FRIDAY, APRIL 22

At 8:45 a.m.: Chairman Roy C. Cave, director, Consumer Research Institute, San Francisco State College. Speaker: Monroe P. Friedman, associate professor and acting head, Department of Psychology, Eastern Michigan University. Topic: "Rational choice in the American Supermarket: An Empirical Study of the Effects of Packaging and Pricing Practices."

Question Leaders: Gordon E. Bivens, professor of economics and director, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; and Robert O. Herrmann, assistant professor of Agricultural Economics, Pennsylvania State University.

At 9:30 a.m.: Speaker: Colston E. Warne, president, Consumers Union of the United States and professor of economics, Amherst College. Topic: "Is it Time to Re-evaluate the Consumer Protection Activities of the Federal Government?"

Discussants: Milton J. Huber, associate professor, Center for Consumer Affairs, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; and Ralph R. Reuter, administrative assistant, Northeast Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL–CIO.

At 10:30 a.m.: Business meeting. Presiding: Rev. Robert J. McEwen, S.J., president, Council on Consumer Information.

Chairman of 1966 conference: Dr. Edward J. Metzen, executive secretary CCI president, Missouri Association of Consumers, Chairman, Home Management, Family Economics University of Missouri, Local arrangements committee: Mrs. Loretta Johnson, Consumer Specialist Food and Drug Administration; and Mrs. Rose S. Klamon, president, St. Louis Consumer Federation.

Officers: Executive secretary, Edward J. Metzen, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.; president, Rev. R. J. McEwen, S.J., Department of Economics, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.; vice president, Gordon Bivens, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wis.; treasurer, David Angevine, Cooperative League of U.S.A., Washington, D.C.; director, Robert O. Herrmann, Department of Agricultural Economics, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa. and Ramon P. Heimerl, Colorado State College, Greeley, Colo.; publications chairman, Faith Prior, the Extension Service, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.; newsletter editor, Stewart M. Lee, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa.

Past presidents, Ray G. Price, College of Education, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.; Henry Harap, 900 W. Oregon, Apartment 208 -W, Urbana, Ill.; Marjorie East, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.; Leland Gordon, 3 Highgate Road, Granville, Ohio; Arch W. Troelstrup, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo.; Richard L. D. Morse, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans.; Marguerite C. Burk, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn.; Stewart M. Lee, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa.; Samuel L. Myers, 2210 Windsor Avenue, Baltimore, Md. and Irene Oppenheim, New York University, New York, N.Y.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereo (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

The Artificial Water Recharge System of Minot, N. Dak.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, thanks to some ingenuity in planning, and the scientific and technical skills displayed by representatives of the U.S. Geological Survey, the North Dakota Water Commission and the city of Minot, N. Dak., that city today appears to have temporarily solved a serious water supply deficiency problem.

In 1963–64, the water level in aquifers—subsurface, water-bearing rocks—in the Minot area, which provides the water supply for nearly 51,000 people at Minot and the Minot Air Force Base, was declining rapidly and approaching a critical level. A serious water shortage was considered imminent. The problem: how to "recharge" the water supply.

A geohydrologic and artificial recharge study was undertaken by the North Dakota Water Commission and the city of Minot, and Wayne A. Pettyjohn; of the U.S. Geological Survey's Water Resources Division in Bismarck, N. Dak., was named as project leader. Pettyjohn is a ground water geologist.

The study, which began in November 1963, showed that Minot's ground water reservoir would provide only about 3 million gallons of water per day without additional water-level declines. The city required an average of nearly 4 million gallons per day. Test drilling indicated that no additional ground water sources capable of large yields were present in the Minot area.

To halt the rapid water-level decline, an artificial ground-water recharge system was considered in which water would be diverted from the Souris River into a "spreading" basin where the water would rapidly filter downward to the natural ground water reservoir. Tests indicated a potentially good area for the construction of a recharge site at the extreme west end of Minot. However, because of the small area of available land, a new system of recharge had to be developed.

Following a period of experimentation, a recharge facility was constructed whereby untreated water is pumped from the Souris River to a rectangular basin about 70 by 125 feet, and nearly 35 feet deep.

The lower few feet of the site consists of sand and gravel, and the upper part is clay. Connected to the basin is a Y-shaped canal system. The canals were excavated in clay to a depth of 7 to 10 feet. In the canal system, are thirty-six 30-inch, and four 72-inch-diameter, gravel-filled bore holes ranging in depth from 20 to 30 feet. The lower feet of the bore holes are in dry sand and gravel, and the upper part is clay. The dry sand and gravel represent a part of the ground-water reservoir that was "dewatered" with the lowering of the water level.

Water is pumped from the Souris River to the large pit, and when the pit is full, water flows along the canals and into the bore holes. The water that filters through the bore holes reaches the ground-water reservoir and raises the water level.

The recharge system adds between 3.5 and 4.5 million gallons per day to the underground reservoir. Minot is now pumping about 40 percent of the daily water requirement from the Souris River and the remainder from the ground-water reservoir. Consequently, artificial recharge is ading to storage at least 2 million gallons per day that would normally flow as waste water down the Souris River. The water added to underground storage can be used in times of drought when the Souris River is very low.

The water level in the Minot ground-water reservoir has risen, in places, more than 20 feet since artificial recharge was first started in June 1965.

The cost of the bore hole type of artificial recharge is considerably less expensive than other conventional recharge methods if the geology permits this type of construction.

This cooperative effort on the part of local, State, and Federal representatives demonstrates what can be done to meet an immediate and pressing problem. This, however, is only a temporary solution. The long-range answer to the city of Minot's water supply problem can and will be found in supplemental water from the Garrison diversion project authorized by the Congress.

A preliminary open file report entitled "Geohydrology of the Souris River Valley in the Vicinity of Minot, North Dakota," by Wayne A. Pettyjohn, U.S. Geological Survey, Bismark, N. Dak., is being prepared and is expected to be ready for examination at Geological Survey offices before the end of this month.

Canners Plead Their Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, we have heard many arguments in recent days on behalf of those who would remove both 14-week exemption periods for canners from the payment of overtime penalty to their workers.

I call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives the following editorial from the Worcester Democrat of Pocomoke City, Md., in its April 21, 1966, edition, which I feel goes straight to the problem in plain language by those who know this problem best:

WHEN A CANNER CAN'T CAN

Sometimes unheralded events taking place in Congress can have a very restrictive effect on some localities. A case in point could hurt the canners who are left on the shore. There's a big push on in Congress this year to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 in ways that could result in higher prices for canned goods, or poor quality or both. It could also kill the local market a lot of growers have for tomatoes, potatoes, and other vegetables.

Under present law, because their operations are seasonal, commercial canners of perishable fruits and vegetables are exempted from having to pay overtime rates for up to 14 weeks out of a year, no matter how many hours an employee might work. For an additional 14 weeks, overtime rates are required only after 12 hours of work a day or 56 in a week. After that the same rules apply for canners as for year-round industries.

There are several good reasons for those special exemptions in the canning industry. A canning company can't possibly employ as many people year round as it needs during those few weeks of the year when perishable crops grown in the surrounding communities are ready for harvesting and processing. Yet during those fews weeks canners must operate on a multishift basis. As any housewife knows who has ever put up even a few quarts of garden vegetables, time is of the essence—if one hopes to preserve the essence of those good things from the garden in flavor and food value. The same problem, by the truckloads, confronts commercial canners. For perishable fruits and vegetables, there simply is no way of putting off the canning after they've been picked without loss of flavor and nutritional value.

Some of those (politicians and labor union officials, in particular) who are now pushing to amend the Labor Standards Act say there is no further need for exemptions to canners from overtime rates because—so they claim—it's now possible to freeze and store perishable fruits and vegetables, to be processed throughout the year "at leisure." Even if this were true, the costs of freezing and storing would hike the price of the finished product. Anyone who believes it is true should try freezing and unfreezing just one vine-ripe tomato, then have a go at eating it either cooked or uncooked.

Another claim of the "amenders" is that denying the exemptions to the canners would spread out employment in their industry to more workers and over longer periods. That, too, is nonsense (to say the least). During that brief period when a canner can and must can those perishable foods, there is usually a job available—at fair wages—for just about anyone in the community who is willing and able to work. When a canner can't can those perishables in their prime and at once, it will be the consumers (that's all of us) who pay the cost, either in lost quality or higher prices, or both.

Federally induced restriction of the migrant labor supply and other harrassment of the farmer and canner, has already become more of a hazard to the industry than inclement weather. This additional burden is not needed by shore food processors and growers.

Women's Club and Community Action Associations of Clay County Combine at Widen, W. Va., in Presenting Successful Arts and Crafts Fair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there is being engendered in West Virginia, as in much of the Appalachian region, a movement to bring to the fore the heritage and traditions of Appalachia. Consistent with this activity there is emphasis on the development of programs and methods of fostering the excellent handiwork and craftsmanship which is found in the region.

Last fall, I was privileged to participate in the statewide Mountain State Arts and Crafts Festival initiated at Cedar Lake in Jackson County, W. Va. During its life, that fair was visited by more than 10,000 persons interested in observing and procuring items of unique mountain culture, crafts, and art forms.

Last Saturday, I was the guest of one of the contributing community components of the statewide Cedar Lakes festival when I visited the Widen Arts and Crafts Fair in Clay County. It was a truly inspirational experience in a community which formerly was a prosperous hub of profitable coal mining and timbering, but which has suffered considerable from obsolescence.

Yet, Mr. President, Widen Women's Club—now reduced to 17 determined, enterprising, and skillful ladies—and the hardy and resolute members of the 25 community action associations of Clay County combined to sponsor a superb fair. The display of mountain art and handcraft was such as to assure that the Widen and Clay County booth at the forthcoming statewide arts and crafts fair at Cedar Lakes will be among the most interesting and attractive. And those of the Widen fair's products to be displayed and sold by concessionaires at the Summersville and Sutton Reservoirs will doubtless be in demand.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record my speech at the first annual Arts and Crafts Fair of the Widen Arts and Crafts Center.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Address by Senator Jennings Randolph at the First Annual Arts and Crafts Fair of the Widen Arts and Crafts Center, Widen, W. Va., May 7, 1966

It is a genuine privilege to join with you at this first annual arts and crafts fair, sponsored by the Widen Women's Club and the Community Action Associations of Clay County.

Public acceptance and appreciation of the arts and crafts fair movement has been enthusiastic and outstanding. Many of these events have been so successful that they have been continued on an annual basis, just as you plan to continue the arts and crafts fair here. A tangible example of the attraction of these efforts to display West Virginia's unique mountain culture, crafts and art forms is the fact that in 1 year the Cedar Lakes Arts and Crafts Fair was visited by more than 10,000 persons. Residents of our Mountain State and also people from numerous States of the Nation attended. It has been brought to my attention that from the hundreds of articles on display here there will be selected exhibits to be shown at the statewide Cedar Lakes festival.

In developing this program, the organizational efforts of the Widen Women's Club, local community action associations, various art, craft, and business groups have been highly commendable. I am aware that your organization has been entirely financed by local contributions, in keeping with the traditions of the independence and hearty spirit of our mountaineer forebears.

There are gathered here artisans and craftsmen representing the entire spectrum of pioneer handicraft as well as outstanding examples of more modern artistry.

It is my understanding that your activities have attracted so much attention in Clay and neighboring counties that the State department of commerce has arranged to have these products sold by concessionaires at the Summersville and Sutton Reservoirs. In addition to providing an added source of income for many of you, this distribution will afford an opportunity to show thousands of persons from other States the distinctive handiwork and skills passed from generation to generation of mountain folk.

The march of time and the results of an automated society regrettably have necessitated the elimination of much of our primitive crafts and arts. However, it is my belief—which I am sure you share—that we are witnessing a revitalization and revival of past artistic forms and cultures so that the unique skills of earlier generations will not be lost, but will be preserved for the education and enjoyment of others.

There is an awareness in America of the importance of preserving the rich heritage which is ours. The Congress enacted legislation last year, which I cosponsored, which provides for the establishment of a National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities.

One of the provisions of this law especially meaningful is the section which authorizes a one-time grant of $25,000—with matching requirement—to States for establishment of a State agency on the arts and crafts. I am happy to report that we moved ahead of the provisions of the law and, under the guidance of Governor Hulett Smith, established a West Virginia State Arts Council. Again, we have an example of the progressive spirit of the mountaineers, manifesting itself in this notable event. West Virginia is now qualified for and has submitted an application for a $50,000 grant from the national foundation to assist in programs and services to provide facilities in the arts to communities and people in the State. The implementation of the provisions of the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 will result in considerable stimulus to the spread of cultural appreciation and attainment in our State and in other States as well.

Many persons believe—and wrongly so—that this legislation does not include the development of arts and crafts festivals such as we enjoy here. You may be assured that the definitions within the law do include folk art and projects in the craft arts.

In addition to this progress, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities has been involved in detailed discussions with the Appalachian Regional Commission toward the development of programs and methods of fostering the excellent handiwork and craftsmanship which is found in the 12 States comprising the Appalachian area. This is in no way an effort to intrude on established arts and crafts centers. It is only an endeavor—and a vital endeavor—to bring to the fore the regional heritage and traditions of Appalachia for the enjoyment of all citizens. And, this coordination with the Appalachian Commission does tie in effectively with the precepts of regional economic development. It can provide means of supplementing individual income and the development of profitable tourist attractions.

In a broader sense, the Nation, under the leadership of President Lyndon B. Johnson, is engaged in an expansive campaign of beautification and conservation.

The Widen Arts and Crafts Fair constitutes a wholesome involvement in these efforts.

The President has called for an allout effort to make beauty and conservation and the preservation of our heritage the responsibility of business, private groups, all levels of government and, more importantly, of every citizen. He has reminded the Congress and the people that for centuries Americans have drawn strength and inspiration from the grandeur of their country—a fact which is familiar to West Virginians.

At the heart of this new conservation is the concept of balance. In the past, conservation has too often been viewed as an unequal battle between a few nature lovers and the implacable forces of city growth and industrial development. However, the realization has gradually developed—and the President's unprecedented messages to Congress on this subject are expressions of that realization—that a partnership can and must be effective.

Today, more than 7 out of every 10 Americans live in urban surroundings. There can be no romantic or pastoral escape from that basic reality, and herein lies our challenge. The challenge of conservation in our generation is to develop a proper balance among our various necessities—the need to earn a living; to enjoy the advantages of urban life and the equally desirable advantages of recreation in some reasonably accessible place; to have sparkling rivers, remote valleys and scenic beauty to visit if we choose; to protect wildflowers, forests, rivers, and other natural resources for the future.

It is not true that any two of these necessities must be diametrically opposed. It is not necessary to destroy scenic beauty in building a road. It is not necessary to pollute a river to such an extent that it kills the fish in order to have an industrial plant in which men and women can make their living. There is no necessary conflict between preserving areas of untrammeled wilderness and also establishing expanded facilities for mass recreation. There is no necessary conflict between preserving the individual craftsmanship and handiwork and the products of an automation-oriented society.

This broad challenge of conservation and beautification has been translated into proposals such as the Highway Beautification Act which I authored in the Senate, legislation on wild rivers and scenic areas, and the arts and humanities law.

But it is citizen participation in events such as the Widen Arts and Crafts Fair which is providing the groundwork for the widespread regeneration of public interest in beauty, history, and the rewarding cultural heritage which is ours.

West Virginia has surely been blessed with natural beauty, scenic attractions, and citizens who possess distinctive skills and crafts. We are proud of our legacy of pioneer independence and creativity. We are determined that our State will be at the forefront of the drive toward building a better America—a land of opportunity where we strive to encourage productivity, progress and prosperity for all.

I am confident that the Widen Arts and Crafts Fair will continue to make meaningful contributions to that end.

Dr. John A. Shellenberger, of Kansas State University, Receives Highest Alumni Award From the University of Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER L. MIZE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, Dr. John A. Shellenberger, who has been head of the department of flour and feed milling industries at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans., for 21 years, recently received the Outstanding Achievement Award from his alma mater, the University of Minnesota. The Southwestern Miller magazine carried a story concerning Dr. Shellenberger's recognition in its April 26 issue. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that this article appear in the Appendix of the RECORD. The article follows:

MINNESOTA HONOR TO SHELLENBERGER—OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT AWARD, HIGHEST ALUMNI RECOGNITION, PRESENTED BY UNIVERSITY TO KANSAS STATE MILLING DEPARTMENT HEAD

ST. PAUL, MINN., April 25.—Dr. John A. Shellenberger received the highest alumni award, the Outstanding Achievement Award, of the University of Minnesota in ceremonies Saturday evening on the St. Paul campus. The award, presented by Dr. O. Meredith Wilson, president of the University of Minnesota, is reserved for former students who have attained high eminence and excellence.

The regents of the university, upon unanimous recommendation of the administrative committee of the university senate, voted to make the award.

The text of the citation presented to Dr. Shellenbeger follows:

"The regents of the University of Minnesota, as a token of high esteem and in recognition of noted professional attainments by John Alfred Shellenberger, distinguished graduate of the University of Minnesota, head of milling industries at Kansas State University, skilled biochemist and expert agricultural scientist, devoted to advancing research and education at home and abroad, as an international consultant of great renown, deem him to be worthy of special commendation for outstanding achievements."

RECIPIENT OF PH. D. DEGREE IN 1933

Dr. Shellenberger, 66 and a native of Moline, Ill., received his Ph. D. degree from the University of Minnesota in 1933. He previously received a B.S. degree from the University of Washington and a master's degree from Kansas State University.

HEAD OF MILLING DEPARTMENT 21 YEARS

After acquiring broad commercial experience as a biochemist with several companies, including Fisher Flouring Mills Co., Seattle, and Mennel Milling Co., Fostoria, Ohio, and serving as an agricultural consultant and technical adviser in Argentina, Dr. Shellenberger became head of the Department of Flour and Feed Milling Industries at Kansas State. He held that post for 21 years until this year when he reached the retirement age. He will continue with the department, which has recently been expanded to the Food and Feed Grains Institute, encompassing the university's work in flour and feed milling, baking and related sciences.

TO HEAD INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

In recent years, Dr. Shellenberger has been a frequent consultant to the U.S. Government and to private industry. He has traveled widely, especially in Europe and South America, and is a frequent participant in international conferences. In May he will assume the presidency of the International Association for Cereal Chemistry at the annual meeting of that organization in Vienna, Austria. He is the first U.S. citizen to head the international association.

GIVEN AT ALUMNI ASSOCIATION MEET

The Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Dr. Shellenberger at the eight annual meeting of the College of Agriculture, Forestry and Home Economics Alumni Association of the University of Minnesota at a dinner in the student center on the St. Paul campus.

The North Dakota Plowman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the other day I was privileged to receive a letter from a sagacious and erudite senior citizen in Fargo, N. Dak., who signed his name simply, Mr. O. A. Olson. Mr. Olson who is 86 years old took the time to offer me advice on several issues of national concern and he also sent along a bit of poetry he had recently written concerning the virtues of tilling the soil and the sense of pride a man gets from working the soil with his back and hands. Mr. Olson's poetry captures the essential quality of the farmer's heritage. He writes from experience because he was a farmer for several years and today he is a successful businessman.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Olson's poem be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO THOSE WHO PLOWED WITH A "WALKER"—THAT IS

(By O. A. Olson)

They whose dainty hands have never held a plow,
Have missed the ecstasy of knowing how
Much fragrance is released from upturned earth,
To which all plants that clothe and feed us, owe their birth.

They whose hatbands show no stains of sweat,
Nor labored hard until their clothes were wet,
Know not the bliss that come to those who sow
And harvest crops that into foodstuffs go.

If horny callouses adorned your grubby hand,
It cast no taint on you, for you were tilling land
From which the hungry throngs were fed—
As indicated by their loud and urgent cry for bread.
The cooling feel of moistened earth between your stubby toes,
Is luxury that but a barefoot plow-boy knows,
Remuneration came to you with setting of the sun,
By knowing that a day of gainful work was done.

Staten Island Advance's Operation Radiogram

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues an outstanding program being conducted by the Staten Island Advance. The following news article outlines in detail the method by which this local newspaper is making a contribution to its readership by their "Operation Radiogram" to improve the morale of our men who are fighting in southeast Asia to preserve our freedom.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the article:

NEWS FROM HOME RADIOED TO GI'S IN VIETNAM

(By William O'Connell)

Good news, birthday greetings, and best wishes for Staten Islanders serving overseas were dispatched from the Advance Building last night in the first installment of a 2-week program to help cheer up the boys in Vietnam.

Army Specialist Sharon Doucette, a WAC volunteer from Fort Hamilton in Brooklyn, sent 32 messages on the special high-speed teletype machine set up on the main floor in the Advance Building. It is expected that an even larger number will take advantage of the program tonight from 7 to 10.

Receiving the first message, sent by teletype to the Pentagon and then by radio to Vietnam, was Pfc. Mark S. Laurie of West Brighton.

Photos of Laurie appeared in the Sunday Advance. They were taken near Song Be by former Advance Photographer John Schneider, who is now in southeast Asia.

The first message read: "Mark your sisters and children say keep well—we are praying for your safety and good health. We love you dearly. All my love mother."

Nearly all the messages were from families and girl friends, but Pvt. Peter J. Mancuso will be glad to hear that his teammates on the Johnick's softball team of the Staten Island Slow Pitch League miss him in the outfield.

Three team members penned the following message: "Hi Pete, everyone says hello including John the Greek. Finally won our first game. We still need a good glove man in centerfield. Johnicks."

Mancuso left the team in November to join the Marines and has been in Vietnam a month.

"Happy birthday Joey," turned out to be a favorite greeting. Pvt. Joseph Montalbano and Airman Joseph Carannante each got radiograms beginning with those same three words.

Montalbano, in fact, will see the words twice sometime today when Army personnel hand him his radiograms—from his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Montalbano, of 164 McFarland Avenue, Arrochar, and from his brother, Louis.

This was one of the first "Operation Radiogram" programs to be conducted in cooperation with the Pentagon, and the first night was not entirely without hitches.

Miss Doucette, a communications specialist, ironed out most of the problems with ease. The first disappointment came when Washington notified the Advance it was unable to forward any of three messages to Seaman Salvatore Madalone aboard the U.S.S. *Terrell County*, or any other messages to APO 96601.

For other servicemen who get their mail through APO 96601 also failed to receive greetings, but they will be sent out today, if the difficulty can be resolved.

Birthdays weren't the only special occasions to be marked. Pvt. Herbert Brooker of Sunnyside got anniversary greetings from his wife, Diane. They were married 5 months ago yesterday.

Several persons, including Mr. and Mrs. Gaetano Damiano of 99 Belfast Avenue, New Dorp, included words of thanks to the Advance. They sent this message to their son, Domenick, who is with the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile) in Vietnam: "Dom, Thanks to the Advance we're sending happy birthday wishes. We all love and miss you. Hope to be together soon. Regards your family."

Since the Pentagon has restricted the message to 25 words or less, including greeting and signature, words of thanks to the newspaper are not necessary. The more morale-building news for the serviceman, the better.

A message written with painstaking care went from Mrs. Robert McMillan of 78 Taylor Street, West Brighton, to son Derek: "Hello Derek. Love and best wishes from us all. Looking forward to your safe homecoming Take care of yourself. God bless. Love, Mum."

Mrs. McMillen explained that she is always careful with any kind of communication. "With my Irish accent, people sometimes misunderstand me," he explained.

The Advance is hoping for larger groups tonight and every night, Monday through Friday, until May 13. There are few rules and no complications. There is plenty of parking at our building, located in Grasmere at 950 Fingerboard Road.

There are easy forms to fill out which allow the sender to supply all the information needed. The Pentagon uses no punctuation, so be sure the message is easy to understand without periods or commas.

Bad news will have to go by regular mail. "Operation Radiogram" is designed to improve morale. So far, no one taking advantage of the service has written a depressing message.

Propaganda, even in small doses, will not clear the Pentagon.

Vietnam is not the only area in which servicemen are able to receive the radiograms. One message last night went to a soldier in Germany. We do have a list of APO's, in addition to 96601, that cannot be reached, but that was the only troublesome number during the first session.

The time, once again, is 7 to 10 p.m. If you have a relative, a friend, or a former softball teammate, in the service, then stop by and let us transmit a message for you.

In addition to those mentioned above, the following servicemen received messages as a result of last night's efforts by families and friends:

Pvt. R. J. Lawrence, Company B, 46th Engineer Continuent, APO, San Francisco, Calif.

Pfc. Roger Cupples, HHC, 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry, 25th Infantry Division, San Francisco, Calif.

Pfc. Jerry W. Keefe, BTR Battery "D," 7th Battalion, 16th Artillery, New York, N.Y.

Pfc. Barry J. Barizone, HHC, 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry, 3d Brigade, 25th Infantry Division, San Francisco, Calif.

Pfc. Robert J. Fortunato, Company B, 864th Engineers, Battalion Construction, San Francisco, Calif.

First Lt. Martin F. Ryan, Adv. TM No. 35, San Francisco, Calif.

Airman Richard Hull, 3d Field Maintenance Squadron, Box 4,000, San Francisco, Calif.

Seaman Robert E. Mason, U.S.S. *George Clymer*, OC Division, Fleet Post Office, San Francisco, Calif.

Pfc. Howard E. Latimer, HHC, 2d Battalion, 18th Infantry, San Francisco, Calif.

Pfc. Neuton Dunn, Company B, 69th Signal Battalion (A), San Francisco, Calif.

Sgt. Peter J. Snyder, Headquarters Company, 3d Marine Regiment, San Francisco, Calif.

Pfc. Thomas G. Pedersen, 16th RRU, care of Headquarters 25th, San Francisco, Calif.

Capt. Robert F. Feeney, Air Force Surgical Team, San Francisco, Calif.

Cpl. Robert J. Trey, 3d Battalion, 1st Marines, L Company, 3d Platoon, San Francisco, Calif.

Spc. Robert A. Mazza, 125th ATC, San Francisco, Calif.

S. Sgt. Thomas Gorman, 12th OMS, Box 6033, San Francisco, Calif.

Spc. James Dibbs, Service Battery, 3d Battalion Artillery, San Francisco, Calif.

Pfc. Thomas W. Antico, 3d Reconnaissance Battalion, D Company, San Francisco, Calif.

S/A Francis A. Sweeney, Central Registration Detachment, San Francisco, Calif.

Positive Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the positive approach which this administration is taking toward our Latin American neighbors is praised in an editorial in the San Angelo, Tex., Standard Times.

The paper states:

> By helping present Latin American governments meet the demands of underprivileged populations, this Government helps negate the appeals of the Castros and the Maos for violent overturn of existing social orders.

The analysis made by the writer will interest my colleagues, I feel sure, and it is with this in mind that I include the editorial in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

ALL TOGETHER

President Johnson's lightning trip to Mexico and his resulting endorsement of a meeting with Latin American heads of state to speed up the Alliance for Progress should give fresh impetus to that program of vital interest to all in this hemisphere.

What the Alliance for Progress proposes to do, in terms of U.S. self-interest, is to avoid the dangers of communism inherent in present Latin American conditions of plenty for a few and little for many.

By helping present Latin American governments meet the demands of underprivileged populations, this Government helps negate the appeals of the Castros and the Maos for violent overturn of existing social orders.

There must be strengthened safeguards to insure that Alliance funds are spent properly in the benefit of the people; there must be imagination in application of methods to achieve Alliance ideals, and there must be understanding between this Government, the other governments involved and people everywhere in the hemisphere that the Alliance means just that—a partnership for mutual advantage.

Latin America's importance to the United States and to Texas in particular will continue to grow. The Alliance for Progress, properly administered, can help assure that this importance will be in positive rather than negative ways.

Death of a Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, April 14, 1966, the life of one of Kansas' most beloved and highly respected public servants, Paul R. Shanahan, came to an end. At the time of death, Paul, as he was known to everyone, was serving his 16th consecutive year as secretary of State of Kansas.

He became interested in Republican Party affairs some 30 years ago, and served in various positions of public trust throughout this span of time, including three terms in the Kansas House of Representatives from Saline County. His honesty, sincerity, dedication, and loyalty to his friends, party and State, gained for him a deep and widespread respect from all Kansans.

His passing has deprived Kansas of an able and dedicated public servant who will be sorely missed.

The esteem in which Paul Shanahan was held throughout the entire State is manifested by editorials throughout western Kansas:

[From the Garden City (Kans.) Telegram, Apr. 15, 1966]

A DEDICATED MAN

We were an admirer, but not close friend of Secretary of State Paul Shanahan who died yesterday after a long illness.

He is one of those dedicated men who serve the public with honesty, efficiency, and integrity—a rare breed these days.

He had served as secretary of state for the past 16 years, and prior to that served three terms in the State legislature.

A fun-loving man, some will remember him as a singer of Irish songs. We will remember him as a fine public official who made Kansas a better State because he not only lived in it, but served it well.

[From the Phillips County Review, Phillipsburg, Kans., Apr. 21, 1966]

HUCKLEBERRY PATCH

(By McDill Boyd)

One of the finest men I ever met on the Kansas political trail is dead. Paul Shanahan, secretary of state for the past 14 years, not only looked after his official duties with meticulous care; he also steered others away from dangerous public practices in a quiet and unassuming manner. He was completely dedicated to his work, but found the time to lend a hand to the affairs of the Republican

Party in an unselfish way. His election year after year was about as sure a thing as you can find in statewide circles, but he attended meetings, stood in line long hours, shared his wisdom generously, and took part in public activities with all the zeal he could muster. I don't know who will take his place (his wife could probably fill out the unexpired term better than anyone else) but whoever it is will find Paul Shanahan's shoes hard to fill. I'll always remember him as an honest, efficient public servant; and a good and loyal friend.

[From the Salina (Kans.) Journal]

PAUL SHANAHAN

Paul Shanahan was a gentle man and a gentleman. Monday he was buried on Mount Calvary, overlooking the community he served for more than a generation.

While he reached high office at Topeka, being continuously elected secretary of state from 1950 on, he was proud to be considered a Salinan. The town returned his affection.

All over Kansas, the flags have been at half-mast. As the colors of his Nation and State are now raised again to the spring winds, we will not forget Paul.

He will be remembered not in mourning but in warm, deeply felt appreciation for the life of a selfless public servant who was our friend.

[From the Ulysses (Kans.) News, Apr. 21, 1966]

ON SECOND THOUGHT

(By Jay Baugh)

Kansas Republican gatherings and even the campaigns will be hardly the same without tall, genial, Paul Shanahan. There are few like him in the world.

Shanahan had devoted a great many years to public service without sighting for the higher echelons and better paying offices. He was Saline County sheriff and then he went on to become Kansas secretary of state. And he lent his beautiful Irish tenor voice to all gatherings, especially during all the years when Fred Voiland, Jr., was along to play piano for him.

If he was not scheduled on the program to sing "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" invariably someone requested it and he, always good naturedly, responded.

And when a caravan of Republican candidates arrived in Ulysses, each 2 years, Grant County Republican leaders would take them in tow, to introduce them around town—all except Shanahan. Democrat Representative Walt Ford always introduced the Republican secretary of state around town. It gave them a chance to visit for they were old friends from Kansas peace officer days when both were sheriffs.

Of course someone else will run the office of secretary of state and probably as well, but not better, than Paul Shanahan did for years, but there will not be another personality like his, in the office or on the campaign trails. Things just won't be quite the same come campaign time.

[From the Hutchinson (Kans.) News, Apr. 17, 1966]

TRIBUTE PAID TO SHANAHAN

TOPEKA.—High State officials and friends paid tribute to the late Secretary of State Paul Shanahan today in services at Assumption Church.

Gov. and Mrs. William H. Avery and Chief Justice J. X. Parker headed the group of elected State officials and supreme court justices who attended the requiem high mass.

The Most Reverend Edward J. Hunkeler, archbishop of the diocese of Kansas City in Kansas, and the Rev. James J. Moriarty, pastor of Assumption Church, participated in the rites.

HIGHLY ESTEEMED

Father Moriarty said Shanahan was a man highly esteemed.

"Paul Shanahan preached his own eulogy in a long career of public service," Father Moriarty said.

"He was often called the Abraham Lincoln of Kansas politics, with a likeness that was more than physical in his sincerity and honesty."

The casket was carried into the church through an honor guard of highway patrolmen and members of the Topeka police force.

The body of the late secretary was taken to Salina following the service for final rites Monday in Salina's Sacred Heart Cathedral.

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Eagle, Apr. 16, 1966]

PAUL R. SHANAHAN

The death of the Secretary of State Paul Shanahan Thursday ended a distinguished career of public service dating back 30 years.

Born on a farm near Salina, Mr. Shanahan entered public office by being appointed undersheriff in 1937. Later he was elected to two terms as Saline County sheriff, during which time he served as president of the Kansas Peace Officers Association.

He went on to the Kansas Legislature, where he served three terms and was active in the support of public welfare programs, including rural health and mental health. He was majority floor leader in the house in 1949.

He had been secretary of state since 1950, and in that capacity he was a member of the Kansas Interstate Cooperation Commission and chairman of the State School Fund Commission. In 1957 he was elected president of the National Association of Secretaries of State.

An ardent and lifelong Republican, Mr. Shanahan was well known in political circles, but it was his unfailing courtesy and helpfulness that endeared him to members of the public who had dealings with him in his various official capacities.

He served Kansas effectively and loyally. He will be missed.

Sikes Firearms Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, keen interest in proposed national firearms legislation has been provoked all over the country. Central Florida is no exception.

A recent bill on this subject introduced by my good friend and colleague, Representative Robert L. F. Sikes of the First District of Florida has inspired the following editorial support from the Orlando Evening Star of May 3, 1966:

NEW FIREARMS CONTROL ACT

The dean of the Florida delegation in Washington Congressman Robert L. F. Sikes, has introduced a new proposal for a Federal firearms act which should meet the approval of sportsmen and conservationists who have opposed earlier legislation of this kind.

In his message to Congress on crime and law enforcement March 9, the President pointed out the need for a Federal gun control law which would give the several States a chance to enforce their own firearms laws and would close the loophole through which undesirables can flout their State law by way of mail order purchases from out of State.

The President suggested the enactment of legislation such as Senate bill 1592, a firearms control bill which has been assailed by most national sportsmen and conservation groups.

Congressman Sikes said he personally opposed the bill in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency because "it is unduly restrictive, it goes far beyond what the President asked for, and because, contrary to providing a bulwark for the laws of the various States, it constitutes actually an invasion of important States' rights."

With the job in view of better controlling firearms yet not penalizing law-abiding sportsmen and others, Congressman Sikes set about to write a better bill than S. 1592.

"In my opinion it was always the intent of the Federal Firearms Act to require federally licensed manufacturers and dealers to observe State laws," Mr. Sikes says. "This intent can be made crystal clear by a relatively simple amendment to the Federal Firearms Act. This amendment will be welcomed by the States, will have the support of all law-abiding sportsmen and conservationists, and will do all that Federal law can do to prevent the circumvention of State firearms laws."

Congressman Sikes' bill to amend the existing act simply states, "It shall be unlawful for any licensed manufacturer or dealer to ship or transport, or cause to be shipped or transported, any firearm in interstate or foreign commerce, to any person in any State where the receipt by such person of such firearm would be in violation of any statute of such State; provided, however, that no conviction shall be obtained under this section if I can be shown by the dealer or manufacturer that reasonable efforts were made to ascertain whether or not the shipment would be in violation of State law."

Mr. Sikes' bill seems to do the job required admirably without in any way hampering the law-abiding or interfering with States' rights. It should have wide support.

Credibility Gap

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the pattern of the Presidential press conference has taken several different forms over the years in its role as an important vehicle implementing the right of the American people to know what is going on in Government.

Our Presidents over the past several years have handled the Presidential press conference in different ways. In a column appearing in the Baltimore Sun newspaper of this morning Mr. Gerald Griffin reviews the recent history of this issue. I request that the column be reproduced here because it is in the general interest.

A PRESIDENT AND THE PRESS

(By Gerald Griffin)

Washington reporters a few years ago were able to convince themselves, up to a point, that the presidential press conference was a rough American equivalent of the question period in the British House of Commons. During the question period, for an hour at the start of each session, ministers of the British Government, including the Prime Minister, give answers to written questions previously submitted by members of Parliament and often go on to answer, parry or otherwise dispose of followup oral questions.

The question period has a high political content, since the controversial subjects usually are raised by members of the opposition. While major policy decisions normally are disclosed, and argued, in regularly scheduled debate, the question period serves to throw a special light on the Government's attitude, and reaction, toward a variety of large and small public issues.

Our Cabinet members appear before congressional committees where they may be, and often are, vigorously questioned. But the President of the United States is not subject to questioning by committees of Congress. He appears before Congress only when he uses it as a sounding board for his speeches on the state of the Union or for special messages.

As the Presidential press conference developed under Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower, some reporters discovered within it a budding American institution in which the Chief Executive, not subject to questioning by representatives of the public in Congress, became subject to questioning by representatives of the public in the form of reporters at press conferences.

This wasnt such a bad rationalization of the circumstances, but in fact the press conference still was rather new and undeveloped. It took difference forms, none of them very satisfactory, during the Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations until F. D. Roosevelt made it a regular part of his schedule.

The press conferences obviously were useful to Roosevelt, who was fully in command at all times, but they also were useful to the reporters (and hence the public) as a means of obtaining news firsthand and of equal importance, keeping themselves informed on the President's thinking about various issues and policies. The proceedings were conducted informally in the President's office.

In President Truman's administration, the press conference moved a notch toward formality. It was commonly understood that Truman discontinued the practice of inviting reporters into his office after somebody (this was in the fountain pen era) dropped a blob of ink on his carpet. In any case the reporters were getting too numerous for the office. Truman moved the meetings across the street to a conference room and a stenographic service began to make transcripts of the questions and answers, for use without quotation marks. The proceedings were still informal, but the questions nad answers often were sharp.

With Eisenhower as President, the television camera and hence the direct quotation of the President were introduced, and reporters were asked to identify themselves when they asked questions. This gave the proceedings a more formal and public air. President Eisenhower's reactions and policies came through quite clearly, however, in spite of the involved language of some of his off-the-cuff replies.

President Kennedy, who was much better at answering questions than the reporters were at asking them, modified the press conference to his own advantage and converted it into a live television show in a big auditorium. But his press conferences were useful to the reporters as well as the public for the glimpses they gave of a President in action and for the understanding they provided of his attitude toward assorted issues and individuals.

Much has been written about President Johnson and the press conference—his experiments with different techniques and the comments of his press secretaries. Mr. Johnson has demolished the idea that the Presidential press conference is a public institution, something like the question period in the House of Commons.

The President's press secretaries have noted that he has a right to employ the press conference to suit his own needs. Of course he has. But it is proper for reporters to ask whether his needs, and the public's, are being met now as well as they might be.

What has been missing lately from the dispatches and the electronic news programs is an insight into the attitudes and thinking of the President. This is not supplied by set speeches or announcements or even by hastily called meetings between the President and the regular White House reporters. With all its imperfections, the press conference has served the public interest, in that the public can better understand what a President does if it knows what he thinks. When it doesn't know, the fog of misinformation and conjecture drifts in.

Controlling the Economy in a Political Climate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I have been waiting for some time to have one of the columnists bring to the attention of his readers the result of the Keynesian doctrine as practiced by this administration and I am happy to note that Richard Wilson, in his column in the Sunday Star of May 8, did just that. His column follows:

CONTROLLING THE ECONOMY IN A POLITICAL CLIMATE

(By Richard Wilson)

The hard-to-control elements of our national life seem to be converging in a conspiracy against the Johnsonian doctrine of controlling the economy.

It is being proved not so easy for the President to sit in the White House and pull a string here, press a button there, speak soft or strong, threaten or cajole, and cause this huge Nation to proceed onward and upward at a measured and majestic pace.

The new economics of the Kennedy-Johnson administration is coming undone owing to the fatal fault in the Keynesian doctrine of managing the economy through manipulation of taxing and spending. A democratically constituted government, subject to continual political pressures and the imperative of staying alive politically itself, cannot carry out an economic plan any better than can an authoritarian government. The democratic government can, under certain circumstances, induct an expansion. But it is very difficult to restrain and contract the economy.

The withdrawal symptoms are so acute, and elections come so often, that every conceivable excuse is found for not putting on the brakes by such stringent measures as tax increases. This is the present condition in the Johnson administration.

But there are also other factors illustrating the lack of effective control. Once the big spending, which is a part of the Keynesian idea, has been begun it cannot be stopped. It tends to expand at a time when it should contract to cool off the economy. For example, Congress has just voted $490 million more than the President requested for programs of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare.

The House of Representatives also has voted $332 million more than the President requested for Federal aid to schools in areas where Federal installations or programs add a heavy burden to the local school systems. Congress may be, as the administration states, in the course of adding more than $3 billion to the President's budget at a time when inflationary factors are not abating.

The political hazards of restraint also are currently illustrated. Action was taken to reduce demand and thus prices for leading food items, mainly pork and beef, by reducing military buying. The action, however, was untimely, for a price decline was already underway and the administration found itself under such sharp political pressure from the Midwest that it began to reverse itself.

Reaction to this action to depress farm prices was so acute in parts of the Midwest, coming on top of the Vietnam war reaction, that Democrats running for Congress this fall considered themselves lucky not to be running in a presidential election year.

The effect was softened, however, by a presidential order authorizing an increase in allotted wheat acreage of 7.7 million acres, calculated to increase farm income next year by more than $100 million—hardly a nonexpansive action.

According to the Wall Street Journal, the confusing dialog in Washington on economic planning contributed to last week's stock market break, triggered by the cutback in auto production. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board was calling for an across-the-board tax increase while the Secretary of the Treasury was warning against one.

The basic mistake—and there always seems to be one in economic planning—was the judgment at the beginning of the year that an expensive military operation could be carried on and the Great Society could be expanded at the same time without superheating the economy. But before 4 months had passed the White House economists were warning that profits were too high, wages could be expected to respond, and we would soon be back on the old wage-price spiral.

Now, when it would make sense to cut back on Great Society spending, the President finds that he cannot do so because Congress, facing an election this fall, won't let him.

We may never know, at this rate, whether or not the "new economic" theories will actually work because we may never see them used in full to restrain a boom. That goes too strongly against the political grain.

Christian Responsibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Michael J. MacInnes, U.S. Navy, Chaplain Corps Research Team, Navy Yard, Washington, D.C., celebrated mass for the Capitol Hill First Friday Club on May 6 and spoke at the breakfast meeting of the club in St. Peter's Catholic Church Hall, Second and C Streets SE., Washington. Father MacInnes, a Franciscan priest ordained in 1941, has been an officer in the Navy since 1943. He served under fire in the Atlantic and

Pacific during World War II and has just returned to Washington from an assignment with the submarine fleet operating from Norfolk, Va.

It was my privilege to hear Father MacInnes talk and I felt that my colleagues would be interested in reading his comments on today's social unrest and the individual's responsibility to the human family. I am, therefore, inserting his speech in the Appendix of the RECORD at this time:

CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITIES

(By Capt. Michael J. MacInnes, U.S. Navy)

The insights the church has into divine revelation and the application of its truths to the lives of men and society depend to a large extent upon the condition, circumstances, and situations of men at the moment. As these have changed, so have the insights of the church become deeper and broader. We now find ourselves in this moment of the 20th century in a unique condition and situation demanding an existential understanding, interpretation, emphasis and application of divine truth in the lives of men and society living in the present. Vatican Council II, under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit has given Catholics, and others as well, I might add, new understanding of our Christian individual responsibilities and our responsibility to all men of the human family. In this brief talk this morning, I hope to indicate what they are.

All Christians have been called by Christ from the beginning to be witnesses of Him in the world but the manner of their witnessing has depended upon the needs of their generation and age. Christ told the Apostles: "You shall be witnesses of Me in Judea and Camaria and to the outermost ends of the earth." Their understanding of witnessing depended upon their understanding of the scriptures. The early Christians understood the second coming of Christ to be imminent, within their own age and generation, as is evident from a literal reading of St. Paul. They became, then, a people apart from the rest of men and sought to bring others into their company. According to the needs of that moment in time, Christ assisted them by signs and wonders.

St. Mark writes: "Go into the whole world and preach the good tidings to all creation. He that believes and is baptized will be saved; he that does not believe will be condemned. And in the ways of proofs of their claims, the following will accompany those who believe: In my name they will drive out demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will take up serpents in their hands, and if they drink something deadly, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick and these shall recover."

The early Christians withdrew from the world to await the second coming of Christ. As the Jews were a people set apart, so the Christians emphasized their separatism even when they converted the Gentile. This apartness from the seculum, the rest of the world of men, manifested itself by extreme asceticism, the establishment of hermitages, monasteries, and convents where men and women could practice the evangelical counsels of perfection while awaiting the coming of Christ; and by the understanding of the relationship of man and woman in marriage. Little attempt, if any, was made to understand in depth the pagan mentality. Much time was spent in condemning it.

But the triumphant Christ did not reappear. The Kingdom of God, as they understood it, did not come to perfection. As man evolved, and society changed, there gradually came the understanding that the Kingdom of God is constantly coming, unfolding, developing in each age and generation of men. Did not Christ Himself teach us to pray in the Lord's Prayer "Thy kingdom come"?

Each age and generation develop new insights into the truths of the Kingdom of God as they apply existentially to them. Men of the 13th century were not identically the same as those of the 1st century of Christianity; men of the 16th century were not identically the same as those of the 20th; nor will the men of the 25th and 30th be the same as ourselves.

Teilhard writes: "Mankind as an organic and organized whole possesses a future: a future consisting not merely of successive years but of higher states to be achieved by the struggle. Not merely survival but some form of higher or superlife."

The truth of God remains forever as eternal and immutable as the nature of God. Man's understanding of that truth, however, and his insight into its meanings and application must be constantly changing by development. Our problems of the 20th century are not the same as those of the 1st century. But we still look to God's revelation for eternal principles and guidance.

In our opening remarks we spoke of the manner of witnessing Christ in the early days of the church, that is, by signs, wonders, and miracles. Then, they were existentially necessary, according to the plan of Christ. Today the age of miracles is past. That is not to say they are impossible but that they are unlikely, because their meaning is lost on modern man. The great miracles of the past were concerned with feats of feeding the multitudes, transportation, healing, and destruction.

In these areas, modern man performs his own miracles by understanding the laws of nature and controlling his existence. Instead of man's modern miracles bringing him to a greater understanding, respect, and love for God, they show man's own intellectual prowess.

Men will, therefore, no longer be brought to God in fear, trembling, and wonderment, as of old. Man will be brought to God in our day by the understanding, love, involvement, and relationship of those who call themselves Christians with their fellow men. We live in a shrinking world where human beings live closer than ever to each other and where human relationships are more complex than ever before.

Pope Paul has said that we live in an age of complex and intimate relationships. Our world is a world where men are deeply conscious of their humanity: longing for the application of fundamental justice supplemented by awareness, understanding, love, empathy, and sympathy. Men are sensitively aware of their humanity because they feel it threatened by science and technology. Individuals long for meaningful relationships with others regardless of their race, color, religion, sex, or economic status.

At the time of the renaissance, man became more conscious of his intelligence and power over nature in all its forms. In this new renaissance, man is deeply conscious of himself, his human dignity apart from extrinsic value, his rights derived from his innate dignity, freedom from oppressive authority, and his natural and supernatural destiny. That is why society today, both nationally and internationally, is characterized by ferment, protest, and change. Traditional relationships between classes, segments in society, and individuals are changing. The institutionalized churches no longer successfully communicate with them as in the past. They are regarded as protectors of the past, the status quo, and the establishment, more interested in the continuation of the institution than with people. It is considered that they have lost or stifled their openness, spontaneity, and human qualities in attempting to bring God to men.

The present "God is dead" controversy says to me that the churches stand accused of not communicating the existence and meaning of God to modern man in forms that they can understand. They can't bring God to men because they have become too remote, juridical, judgemental, not relating God to existential man but speaking to him of the God of the Old Testament in ancient ways which fail to reach modern man.

But God speaks through Christ, the man-God, our brother, living, thinking, feeling, understanding, comforting, forgiving, loving, surrendering, dying that we might live, and rising that we may hope. He is our brother in the flesh, but at the same time, the Divine Son of God. His essential message to existential man is what it has always been: love. Love can be communicated to every age and generation of mankind. Love can be understood by them. It speaks from every page of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Not only can it be communicated but it can be shared—and it must be shared by each of us who call ourselves Christians if our fellowmen are to know God and Christ.

"A new commandment I give unto you. That you love one another. As I have loved you so love you one another. By this shall all men know that you are my disciples."

Love is not selfish. It diffuses itself. In this age and generation, how many of us Catholics have been egocentric about our religion and our relationship with Christ: more concerned with sin and the state of grace than with showing Christ in our relationships with all men.

Even in this 20th century we have been as separatist as the Catholics of the 1st century waiting for the second coming of Christ. Christ's love seeks to touch all men intimately. His message of love is to every creature in every circumstance of life. "Go into the whole world and preach the Gospel to all creation." Today, the witnessing to Christ will not be by miracles but by our involvement, motivated by the highest Christian love, with all mankind.

Vatican Council II under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit has called us to this witnessing of Christ in our daily lives. It insists that we be truly "Catholic" rather than spiritually egocentric. It stresses involvement with all men in the world. The days of the church's detachment from the affairs of men are finished. Its rigid institutional juridical stance is changed. It emphasizes its "Catholicism," its universality, embracing all men with the love and understanding of Christ. But the church is you. You are the people who must establish relationships with all men.

The decree on the apostolate of the laity makes the following points:

"1. The formost task of every faithful Christian is to pour out his energies so that the Divine message of redemption may be heard and welcomed by all men everywhere.

"2. They should have high respect for a civil and familiar sense of responsibility, and for the virtues particularly oriented to the social order: honesty, the spirit of justice, integrity of life, courage, and a gentle regard for all men.

"3. Christ's work of redemption is directed both toward the salvation of men as individuals, and at the renewal of the whole secular order. Hence the church's mission is not only to preach Christ and His grace to men, but also to bring the secular order to perfection by permeating it with the spirit of the Gospels. God's plan for the universe calls for men, working harmoniously together, to renew the secular order and continuously improve it.

"4. We must see in our neighbor the likeness of God, to whose image he has been created, and the person of Christ the Lord.

"5. Equally important is that fraternal love which makes them share in the life, labors, sorrows and aspirations of their fellow men and thus gently but surely disposes their hearts to the workings of grace.

This apostolate should be extended toward all persons, no matter where they be encountered, and should include every spiritual and material benefit that can be offered. Many people will be able to hear the Gospel and acknowledge Christ only through the lay people who are close to them."

To conclude, only as we witness Christ to men by approaching all men with deep human and supernatural love, becoming involved with them in working out their legitimate aspirations, will men be brought to Christ. I end with the word of Pope Paul VI:

"The first action of the apostle must be that of presenting to the world an admirable, attractive christianity. The second will be that we will love those whom we wish to evangelize. We shall not forget that the fundamental attitude of those who want to convert the world is loving it. This is the genius of the apostolate—knowing how to love."

National Avocado Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from California, Bob Wilson, and I, take pleasure in announcing to the House of Representatives that the County Board of Supervisors of San Diego County, Calif., has adopted a resolution designating May 14, 1966, and the second Saturday in May hereafter, as "National Avocado Day." The resolution follows:

Proclaiming May 14, 1966, "National Avocado Day"

Whereas the county of San Diego is one of the leading agricultural counties in the United States, producing a variety of fruits, crops, and a myriad of other delicious and nutritious products; and

Whereas the avocado industry is a prime contributor to the annual gross income within the agricultural industry and the producer of a product known and enjoyed throughout the world; and

Whereas the community of Fallbrook has devoted 7,000 acres of its fertile hillsides and quiet valleys to the production of avocados and is acknowledged as the "Avocado Capital of the World"; and

Whereas the Chamber of Commerce of Fallbrook, in thankful gesture to the blessing of a benign sun and productive soil have annually set aside a period each year to celebrate the "Avocado Festival"; and be it

Resolved, That the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Diego, Calif., does hereby proclaim that the second Saturday in May shall hereafter be known as "National Avocado Day" and further extends congratulations to the avocado growers of Fallbrook on the excellence of their crop and for their contribution to the economy of the county of San Diego; and be it further

Resolved, That the people of Fallbrook and especially the members of its outstanding chamber of commerce be complimented for their enterprise in the planning and execution of the "Avocado Festival," an event which continues to grow in magnitude and which provides an outstanding attraction for the residents and visitors to the county of San Diego.

Passed and adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Diego, State of California, this 12th day of April 1966, by the following vote:

Ayes: Supervisors Boney, Dent, Austin, and Cozens. Noes: None. Absent: Supervisor Gibson.

What I Can Do To Preserve Nature's Gifts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Miss Julia Borntraeger, of Arlington, Va., a student at St. Charles School there, was recently awarded first prize in the John F. Madigan Post Annual Samuel DeGrazie memorial essay contest, for her submission of an essay on conservation entitled "What I Can Do To Preserve Nature's Gift."

Miss Borntraeger's essay was sent to me by a former post commander of John F. Madigan post, because he feels, as I do, that it is an excellent work.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include Miss Borntraeger's essay in full in today's Record, and I commend it to my colleagues as a truly thoughtful work by a fine young lady:

What I Can Do To Preserve Nature's Gifts

Natural resources are essential for man's life on earth. The encyclopedia terms it "minerals which nature has placed in the earth—soils, forests, streams and lakes, and wildlife." These resources provide us with fuel for industry, and energy, both electrical and mechanical. These resources provide us with lumber for homes, paper, cloth, and some types of food. The rivers provide us with hydroelectric power and fish. The minerals provide indispensable fuels for factories and the substances of which the products are made.

Why, then, were so many of these natural resources being wasted? Whole forests were being cut down to provide lumber for other products. Rivers were and still are, being dammed and the fish are being killed from the sewage dumped there by careless citizens. Minerals are being used by the tons every day and there is nothing to replace them. Some species of wildlife are becoming extinct.

The Government first took steps to correct this problem before 1908 when it established Commissions concerning this. Now, when forests are cut down, trees are planted to replace them. Many factories are being built to control water pollution and trees or shrubs are being planted to eliminate soil erosion. New game preserves are being started all over the country, and in most places you must have a license to hunt.

I can help the Government conserve our natural resources by cooperating with them. I can, for instance, be careful not to contribute to the pollution of water by putting trash in it. If I see a slope that is being eroded by wind and rain, I can report it to the local county government, and, in cooperation with the U.S. Government, it will correct the situation. When in a forest we should always be careful to put out fires and matches. My support and enthusiasm for the Government conservation agencies can do much to promote preservation of nature's gifts.

As we grow older we should be more interested in what our Nation is doing to conserve its resources and perhaps we can give suggestions to improve the present condition. There are many ways in which we can help conserve nature's gifts. We should remember that nature's gifts are used for industry and our pleasure, as well as provide us with essential products. Without these resources, we would be living in an artificial world. All of us should, in some way, whether at home or not, try to conserve nature's precious gifts. We should remember that we all use them and that they are not replaceable.

At every opportunity I must try by word and example to convey the idea that natural resources are a precious gift. God gave them to us for us to use, not to abuse.

Two Letters to the President of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the President shared with me two letters from servicemen with our U.S. Forces in South Vietnam. These letters, with simple eloquence, tell of our task and our purpose in that far-off country. I include them in the Record at this point in order that all Members may have the opportunity to read them.

Honorable Sir: I am a private first class, in the U.S. Army, stationed at Cam Rahn Bay, Vietnam. There is nothing in this world I could be more proud of than this mission the fightingmen of the United States are doing over here. There has been quite a bit of protest against the U.S. policy in Vietnam. I, as a fightingman in the U.S. Army, am most dedicated, and believe in the job that the United States and its great men are doing with every breath I take. A man has to be here to see for himself what's really happening over here.

The people of the Republic of Vietnam need help. I, as an American, offer my services to them with every possible way I can help out. That is my feelings toward the U.S. policy, here, in Vietnam. Many other servicemen in Vietnam feel as I do. I'm in Vietnam, in a combat zone, and in constant danger of an instant unknown danger. My fellowmen of the Republic of Vietnam need help and I'm here for that purpose.

The people, not knowing the true situation over here, cannot really protest against the U.S. policy in Vietnam for this simple reason. They're too quick at assuming their own belief where they are right or wrong.

This is the belief of not one, but, I'm quite sure all fightingmen doing a part of the working or fighting in the Republic of Vietnam.

Yours and America's,

Pfc. Ellis Ray Coward.

Layton, Utah,
April 8, 1966.

Dear President Johnson: I realize that you will probably never see this letter I'm writing, but still I feel that I must write it.

I am a military wife. I have been a military wife for only 6 years, but in those 6 years, I have learned much about the rights we have worked so hard to keep.

My husband is an Air Force staff sargeant, only one of the many enlisted men who work and fight to give us the freedoms that we so dearly love. Freedoms that so many of us take for granted. Rights for which the world yearns, but which we alone are lucky enough to have.

My husband is in Saigon, installing radar, a job that must be done. He says, and I quote, "I feel that I am needed in Vietnam.

Believing peace as the final result." We are only two, but two who believe in the good Lord, believe in our flag and believe in our country. Two people who are proud to call ourselves Americans. Proud that our children are Americans, able to grow up in a free country. America is a strong country, with a heart big enough for all who come to her. A proud America with but one goal, peace.

If this letter does reach you, Mr. President, may our good Lord protect and bless you, and give you and the country we all love the peace we have all fought so hard to obtain.

Sincerely,
S. Sgt. and Mrs. John S. Hughes.

Morris County, Kans., Farm Bureau Takes Exception to Administration's Attempt To Make the Farmer the High-Cost-of-Living Scapegoat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, what the administration is doing to put the farmer in bad light with respect to the high cost of living and inflationary pressures does not sit too well with quite a few members of the farming community. I received a letter recently from the Morris County, Kans., Farm Bureau Association which protests the adverse image which administration officials are trying to create for the producers of food and fiber. The letter speaks for itself.

I have asked, and have been granted, permission to bring it to the attention of my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert it in the Appendix of the Record. The letter follows:

Morris County Farm
Bureau Association,
Council Grove, Kans., April 25, 1966.

Chester L. Mize,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Mize: At a regular monthly meeting of the directors of the Morris County Farm Bureau Association, the following statement was drafted to be sent to you, our Congressman.

"Recent newspaper articles with Washington datelines and commentaries by leading radio personalities have created an adverse image of agricultural producers and depicted farmers as purposely gouging the consumer on food prices.

"We are not opposed to lower consumer prices, for farmers are also consumers, but with continuing higher costs of production, falling farm prices, and rising inflationary pressures, producers should not be made the whipping boy in the rising cost of living, as reported.

"We urge that you use every opportunity and the prestige of your office to correct the public image of the American farmer and rancher and to challenge any statement issued in Washington which presents these producers in a bad light to the consumer of their products.

"We are aware of the news of the Pentagon announcement that they would no longer buy butter for the Army and Air Force; a 50-percent cut in pork purchases for military use in this country and then on top of that, the announcement that the Government plans to seek supplies of beef and pork in Europe to help feed American military men stationed there.

"We specifically ask that you question USDA officials in their policy of dumping CCC stocks on the market for the obvious purpose of lowering farm prices and soliciting the consumer vote to the deteriment of agriculture and the national interest."

Morris County Farm
Bureau Association,
John K. Blythe,
President.

Entrance Fee Policy Needs Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important pieces of legislation recently passed by Congress was the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act. The law marked a great stride forward in a comprehensive program for developing recreational areas in the United States. I supported this bill which received almost unanimous endorsement from the Congress.

There are, however, several points that need to be ironed out in connection with the language of the bill. Particularly in light of the recent announcement by the Corps of Engineers to charge entrance fees at recreational areas at Federal reservoirs, does it become imperative that Congress take a second look at the fee policy which is one of the key features of the land and water fund.

On four Federal reservoirs in my State of South Dakota the fees will be initiated on May 30. There is, however, before Congress, in particular before the Public Works Committee, a bill which would exempt those Federal reservoirs which are not deriving more than half of the benefits in the form of recreation. Since all Corps of Engineers projects are designed primarily for conservation and flood control purposes, it would mean no fees could be charged at recreation areas on corps reservoirs. The bill H.R. 13313 must be passed before the May 30 deadline at which time fees will be collected.

These fees would tend to discourage the second largest industry in South Dakota, tourism, because most of the adequate sites for launching boats and for just viewing the reservoirs will be under the "chargeable" category of the present law. Where there are facilities such as hydraulic boat launches and showers or other developed facilities, it is only fair that some type of user fee be charged. But an admission fee does not seem equitable with the purposes of the current law.

Hopefully, Congress will act soon on H.R. 13313, which clarifies the current law, clears up an important omission of the original law, and yet does not disrupt the intent and purpose of the Land and Water Conservation Act in any way.

Commissioner George H. Hearn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following interview of Commissioner George H. Hearn of the Federal Maritime Administration by the publication Traffic World. Commissioner Hearn goes into great detail on regulations on the reporting by ocean carriers. I think it worthy for my colleagues to study this carefully, particularly in light of the very strict competition the American-flag merchant marine faces in the world today.

The interview follows:

[From Traffic World, May 7, 1966]

FMC Member Proposes Uniform Accounting System for Ship Lines in Foreign Trade—Commissioner George H. Hearn, of Federal Maritime Commission, Enlarges on Proposal Made in Dissenting Opinion and in Address at Tulane University To Provide Needed Cost Data in Rate Cases

(By Lewis W. Britton)

(Note.—Commissioner George H. Hearn has been a member of the Federal Maritime Commission since July 22, 1964. The proposal he advanced for a uniform system of accounting for shipping lines serving the foreign trade of the United States, which gave rise to this interview, was made out of a transportation background of some extent.

(From 1961 until he became a member of the FMC, Commissioner Hearn served as a special assistant to Commissioner G. Joseph Minetti of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Prior to that he was associated with a New York City law firm specializing in admiralty matters and he has served, by appointment of judges of Federal courts, as special master in admiralty and as a commissioner to hear and determine various questions of admiralty law.

(In view of objections of foreign governments to the furnishing of data on commodities carried by their shipping lines in U.S. foreign trade, exploration of Commissioner Hearn's idea for a uniform system of accounts for ship lines in the U.S. foreign trade seemed desirable. Traffic World's request for an interview for that purpose was granted by Commissioner Hearn. The interviewer's questions and the Commissioner's answers follow.)

Question. In your speech at Tulane University on March 22 you advocated a uniform system of accounts to be used by all carriers in the U.S. foreign commerce. The new section 43 of the 1916 act empowers the Federal Maritime Commission to "make such rules and regulations" as are necessary to carry out the provisions of the act. Would you anticipate the same or similar objections by foreign governments as were made to the section 21 orders?

Answer. First of all one important point to remember, is that the Federal Maritime Commission's mandate from the Congress under the shipping act is the promotion of the foreign commerce of the United States. Common carriers by water are only one essential adjunct in this endeavor. Freight forwarders, terminal operators, ports, etc., are also essential and important parts of this undertaking and consequently we must remember that we regulate the foreign commerce to insure fairness for all participating therein. We are not charged with the responsibility of promoting the U.S. merchant marine, but the foreign commerce of the United States, which necessarily plays such an important role in the overall entire economy.

Consequently, in my speech at Tulane University on March 23, I was restating my published dissent to the Commission's order of investigation in docket No. 65-45, Investigation of Ocean Rate Structures in the Trade Between United States North Atlantic Ports and Ports in the United Kingdom and Eire (Traffic World, Jan. 1, p. 49). My remarks at Tulane were in accordance with my opinion as previously stated in that case last December. In the North Atlantic Ports-United Kingdom case I indicated that meaningful findings under section 18(b)(5) of the shipping act, without knowing the carriers' cost of doing business, could not be made and that section 43 of the act, passed on the very same day as section 18(b)(5), authorizes the Commission to "make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the act."

Since one of the provisions of section 18(b)(5) is a mandate to strike down unreasonably high or low rates, then our obligation to explore seriously—and I might even say carefully—the feasibility of a uniform system of accounts is indicated and necessary. The person who sets the rates must have some basis, reasons, costs or indications to support or to justify the existing rate or a rate increase.

The fact of the existence of objections by foreign governments to a rule which requires the filing of uniform accounts is not the issue and might even be considered irrelevant. If the objections raised, however, are similar to those raised with respect to the orders that issued from the Commission under section 21 of the act, I am of the view that such objections would not prevail. In any event, that is a matter that will be decided, ultimately, by the courts and in my mind, since we have the daily experience, under international law, of foreign courts upholding decrees and orders of courts in other lands, in the absence of any legislation in a foreign country actually conflicting with the decree, a court order of the United States enforcing our accounting order would, I am sure, be upheld and enforced.

I have long held the view that while our foreign commerce is open to the vessels of all flags which desire to serve, that open invitation to participate in our commerce is not without some conditions. Historically, many of the conditions run the gamut from health and immigration requirements to contraband regulations, local pilotage rules, and dangerous cargo rules. Interestingly enough, these conditions have been satisfied without a murmur of opposition. Now Congress, through the Shipping Act of 1916 (the golden anniversary of which we will celebrate on September 7) codified a system of economic regulation applicable to common carriers by water who engage in our foreign commerce. Section 18(b)(5), in my opinion, casts upon the Commission a very demanding obligation regarding freight rates in our foreign commerce.

As I said, in section 18(b)(5), at least insofar as it recognizes extremes, i.e., extremely high or extremely low rates, requires the Commission to make findings akin to those same findings which are daily made by other regulatory bodies in general rate cases. I do not know of any regulatory body which is called upon to make rate judgments without first having knowledge of a rate base, or, in effect, the actual cost of doing business of the person supplying the service. In my view, the Commission now cannot make more than an educated guess as to whether an individual rate or an entire rate structure is "unreasonably high or low." In my view, a knowledge of the carrier's cost of doing business is necessary to make a judgment under section 18(b)(5), and since carriers in our foreign commerce are not willing voluntarily to provide us with this information, I believe we are under an obligation to require the information by a rule promulgated under sections 21 and 43.

Now, an important point to be noted here is that the economic justification which was mentioned in my concurrence in the *Iron and Steel case* (docket No. 1114, "Iron & Steel Rates," Traffic World, Dec. 11, 1965, p. 138), wherein I first participated concerning the "disparity" issue, set up a guideline which, in effect, said that when there is a rate disparity in a reciprocal trade on similar commodities, and when it is shown under these three criteria that the movement of goods under a higher rate has been impaired, then, in that situation, the carrier making or quoting the rate must demonstrate that the disparate rate is reasonable.

There may be many reasons to justify the existence of disparate rates and if the carrier can justify them, then they would not be considered unreasonable and would then not be in conflict with either section 15 or section 18(b)(5). Hence, they would be lawful.

In the Iron and Steel decision, I was of the opinion that continued investigation of disparate rates on ad hoc approach would result in no rule or guide to the industry or to the public. For the Commission to continue to look at one commodity or even an entire trade, would not provide the needed solution to the general disparate rate problem especially since there are indications that our entire commerce is honeycombed with disparate rates.

I felt, as I outlined in my decision in No. 65-45, commonly known as trade route 5 investigation, that the Commission could more productively discharge its responsibilities and aid in our foreign commerce, give criteria or guidelines to the industry and at the same time shorten and render less expensive our investigations, if we utilized our authority under section 43 and came up with either a general rule or suggest legislation, which legislation I said I thought was premature, on how to handle the disparate rate issue. To continue to handle them on an individual case basis, in my mind, would not be fruitful and would be harassingly expensive to all of the carriers and people serving our trades. But I feel that, by a system of cost accounting, which has proven very worthwhile in our domestic offshore trade, we would be equipped with the tools based on the information received from the rate setter, to make the judgment whether or not a rate was justified as being fair and reasonable.

In our domestic trade we have the power of suspension, which we may invoke if we do not know whether a proposed rate increase is fair and reasonable. The Commission can suspend while it investigates an increased rate and the act of invoking a period of suspension puts the onus or burden on the rate setter, the carrier, to justify the increased rate. In our foreign trade, where there is no suspension authority, the carrier merely files his rate increase and the burden then rests upon the Commission or shipper or anyone who protests the rate, to prove that the rate is unreasonably high or low to the detriment of our commerce.

The shifting of this burden away from the rate quoter to my mind is an unfair shifting of the burden since I am sure that the person setting or quoting the rate must have the information upon which to make the judgment to increase the rate. Since the shipper, and particularly the Commission, cannot obtain cost data voluntarily they are unable to obtain the reasons or the evidence supporting the rate increases. It is very difficult to prove that the increase is unfair and unreasonable without cost data. Under the existing approach, the unlawfulness of a rate established by a shipping company is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine.

I have gone into some detail in answer to the first question, because it was necessary to indicate that my proposal at Tulane University stemmed from thoughts about the situation previously presented to the Federal Maritime Commission and the need to arrive at some guidelines based on facts and existing impediments preventing a quick and intelligent assessment of "disparities" in our trades.

Question. Do you contemplate an accounting system as revealing as that prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission for the railroads?

Answer. The type of accounting system, or the information required, would be similar, as I said before, to that which the Federal Maritime Commission requires pursuant to its existing General Order 11 requiring filings by common carriers by water in our offshore domestic trades. I am convinced that that system has worked well for shippers and carriers alike and has afforded the Commission a rate essential tool for meeting its responsibilities under the Intercoastal Shipping Act of 1933.

Question. Would you expect foreign-flag lines to report, in the dollar amounts aid granted by their governments?

Answer. No; I would not expect foreign-flag lines to report, in detail dollar amounts of aid granted by their governments.

Question. If they did not do this, would the accounting reflect such costs of operation as payment by the Dutch Government of part of the cost of maintaining merchant marine cadets on merchant ships, or the 20-percent surcharge on the value of imported goods which Chile levies when the goods are not brought in on ships flying the Chilean flag?

Answer. I do not believe that capital placed at the disposal of a common carrier by its government should form the basis for the earnings or profits on that capital. Similarly, I do not believe that a government's contribution to a private carrier's labor costs should form the basis for the carrier's profit. In essence, a carrier should be entitled to a reasonable return on his own prudent and wisely managed contribution to his enterprise. He would be entitled to a profit on his capital necessarily employed in his endeavor. For example, if a common carrier invests $1 of capital and his government matches that with another dollar, the carrier's allowable return should be based on his $1, not on the total of his and his government's investment. In the same vein, if a government contributes 15 percent of the carrier's labor costs then the costs properly chargeable against the operation for the purpose of determining the carrier's return should be based upon the carrier's 85-percent contribution to the labor costs of operation.

Question. How much of such accounting information is at present reported to either the Federal Maritime Commission or the Maritime Administration by American-flag lines?

Answer. I assume you are asking exclusively about vessels engaged in the foreign commerce of the United States. I am not in a position to state precisely what accounting information American-flag operators file with the Maritime Administration, but in the case of subsidized operators I know that it is considerable. However, they file no broad accounting information with the Federal Maritime Commission. The Commission, as you know, regulates without regard to flag. American-flag operators and foreign-flag operators stand in the same posture before the Commission and under the Shipping Act. Whatever uniform accounting system that might be adopted would apply to all carriers subject to our jurisdiction. At the present time there is a foreign-flag carrier engaged in our domestic offshore trade. That carrier is filing cost accounting data as do all other operators engaged in that trade.

Question. If the system of uniform accounting were adopted by all flag lines, would their own auditing be accepted, or would auditing firms be employed, as in the case of the policing systems of the shipping conferences?

Answer. Normally, we would expect to accept, as valid, the reports from the shipping lines. The purpose of the uniform system is to collect meaningful data, not to impose penalties. I would imagine that the particular way of reporting would be resolved in the rulemaking proceeding.

Question. Would the Federal Maritime Commission, assuming data were made available under uniform accounting, be able to use such information in establishing rate bases where rates have been complained of by shippers, or where a rate investigation has been instituted by the Federal Maritime itself?

Answer. Emphatically, yes. Assuming the efficacy of uniform accounting in the foreign trades, the Commission would definitely be able to use the data to determine whether rates are reasonably high or low under section 18(b)(5) of the Shipping Act. However, we would certainly not use the information to set or make rates ourselves, since we feel that this would invade the managerial discretion of the carriers participating in the trades.

Question. Would you use the machinery of the conferences to effect the returns under the uniform accounting system?

Answer. I do not think so, and I lean toward the negative. Because the requirements for filing would devolve on the individual carrier who may operate in several trades as a member of several different conferences, or may be an independent operator. I think costs differ depending on the prime source of business costs. For example, there is a difference between Japanese, British, and American costs. I would not want to accept averages, however an average might be necessary since a conference rate would probably ultimately be quoted by those in the particular trade.

Question. Would the uniform accounting system take into account the movement toward diversification, especially if diversification resulted in a most-favored position for a producing company owned by the shipping line?

Answer. I feel that a carrier offering or engaging in common carriage cannot discriminate as between shippers, whether one of them is an affiliate or not, vis-a-vis any other person. Sections 16 and 17 of the Shipping Act prohibit discrimination or preferential treatment of shippers. The rate on file at the Federal Maritime Commission, published, is offered and available to all shippers and must be charged to all. This principle has recently been firmly established and reemphasized by the Commission in Special Docket No. 377, *Ludwig Mueller Co., Inc.* v. *Peralta Shipping Corp.*

Question. Would the Federal Maritime Commission have power, under section 43 of the 1916 act, to impose penalties on carriers who failed to comply with the uniform accounting system, or made incorrect reports?

Answer. The purpose of the system of uniform accounts would be to obtain meaningful cost information. The Commission is not primarily concerned with imposing penalties for failure to comply, although I recognize that the existence of penalties for failure to comply constitutes a strong reason for compliance. I hope we would not have to use the necessary penalty provisions of the act, but, under the general tenor of the act, I would hope we would be trying to accumulate data for the benefit of all participating in our foreign commerce, rather than obtaining pecuniary damages.

Question. Have you any idea of how Members of Congress would react to the idea?

Answer. I do not have any idea as to the reaction of Members of Congress to this concept. I would imagine, if they feel as strongly as I do that this would aid the Commission in its administration of the shipping act by requiring a carrier to justify a rate—which I do not think is an unreasonable thing to ask—the Members of Congress would approve the idea. I have no personal knowledge. I have never discussed it with a Member of the Congress nor received an opinion on this from a Member of the Congress. Section 212(e) of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act, in effect authorizes the Commission to request legislation from the Congress along desired lines, to meet a particular problem. In the Iron and Steel case, I said that I did not think investigating alleged rate disparities can properly be done with our present tools. Therefore, I said, we could request specific legislation. I do not think it is called for yet, since I would rather do it by general order first, but the authority to request same reposes in the Commission under the act. I suggest that we avail ourselves of the existing power which the Commission has; i.e., to cause a general order adopting a system of cost accounting.

The fact that our own vessels are not carrying substantial portions of our foreign commerce—that commerce which plays such an important role in a healthy U.S. economy—coupled with the fact that we rely heavily upon the tonnage of other nations, whose primary interest is not necessarily the advancement of U.S. commerce, is a valid reason for our concern with the level of ocean freight rates. Since our duty is to insure that our exporters are quoted the most economical rates, due regard being had for profitable carrier operations, is it any wonder that we seek to know that the rates quoted to our shippers are justified so that we as a nation can maintain our place in international commerce, and can continue to compete in the marketplaces of the world with our exports?

Farmer Not Responsible for High Cost of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, there is widespread resentment in Iowa over the reprehensible efforts of the Johnson administration to pin the blame on the farmer for the high cost of living.

In a recent editorial, the WHO radio and televisions stations, Des Moines, Iowa, properly cautioned consumers not to be fooled by this propaganda. I commend the excellent editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

Tinkering With the Law of Supply and Demand

Consumers should not be fooled into thinking the farmer is responsible for the high cost of living. Only about 37 cents of the consumer's food dollar goes to the farmer. And pork prices, which finally have reached respectable levels, are at only 89 percent of parity with the rest of the economy.

Then why has the Federal Government tried to depress prices by cutting back Defense Department purchases of pork? What is the justification for trying to depress a price that is only 89 percent of parity? Why is the farmer being asked to give up a fair price for his products, just to gain a small, temporary drop in the cost of living?

Perhaps it's because farm prices can be juggled by the Government far more easily than the many other factors in the cost of living. It's difficult to control wages and prices of manufactured goods. It's easier to depress farm prices than to reduce Government spending.

But the results will be only temporary. Tinkering with thhe operation of the law of supply and demand does not repeal the law. If prices drop, so eventually will production. The resulting shortage will result in a new price rise next year, and the move will have accomplished nothing.

The Government attempt to depress farm prices does not come to grips with the real causes of inflation. And it is a shabby, cynical way to treat the people who have made this the best fed nation in the world.

Between Man and the Jungle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD an "Editorial of the Air," which was written by Mr. William Freehoff and presented on radio station WKPT in my hometown of Kingsport, Tenn., on May 2, 1966.

The main theme of the editorial, "Respect for Law and Order," is one that has repeatedly been discussed, and I would say that it will be a long time until the subject is fully exhausted.

Mr. Freehoff's presentation of this topic is excellent, and I think that, particularly now, his analysis should be read and reread by us and by all of our people, lest we forget that our Nation is one in which there is "equal justice under law."

Between Man and the Jungle

(By William Freehoff)

All that stands between man and the jungle, really, is a thin veneer of civilization.

And basic to this civilization is respect for law and order.

Without that respect, civilization degenerates into the kind of anarchy we have seen in the Congo, at the University of Mexico, in Watts.

Ironically, some religious organizations have gone on record as favoring the doctrine of civil disobedience, a doctrine which attacks the very foundation of law.

For civil disobedience must inevitably lead to criminal disobedience and criminal disobedience leads, of course, to chaos.

The seeds of this pernicious doctrine have been sown and the results have been devastating.

Disrepect for law and order is rampant in this troubled Republic, and attempts by law officers to enforce the law is called—in some places—police brutality.

Sargent Shriver, head of the antipoverty program, was recently obliged to leave a meeting of the poor in Washington when rabble-rousers took over that convention.

Indeed, conditions have become so bad that John Dear, who is civil rights chief of the Justice Department, has come out and stated frankly that the time has come to draw the line on protestors who—in his words—assume they have the unlimited right to protest at any time or place in any way or number.

But why wouldn't these people think they had these so-called rights? Haven't they been told repeatedly by Dr. Martin Luther King and others that they do have this right?

Isn't this civil disobedience carried to its logical and ultimate conclusion?

Many of these protesters are poorly educated and unsophisticated people and cannot make the subtle distinctions in the doctrine of civil disobedience, those distinctions the defenders of the doctrine point to in justification.

By advocating disrepect for the law—even in the smallest degree—some of our clergymen are actually creating a sort of Frankenstein's monster that cannot be controlled.

Listen to the words of former Supreme Court Justice Charles A. Whittaker:

He says: "If we allow men to disobey with impunity the laws they do not like, or to spurn the courts and all constituted authority by taking the law, or what they think ought to be the law, into their own hands, will we not be inviting anarchy and chaos?"

And listen to the words of the Apostle Paul in his letter to the little Christian community at Rome:

"Let every soul be subject unto the highest powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.

"Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

And listen also, to the words of the Apostle Peter when he says: "Submit yourself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake."

There is no justification, in the ancient law, or in the words of the prophets or in the exhortations of the Apostles, for the doctrine of civil disobedience.

Think about it.

Fort Worth and Federal Government Work Hand in Hand To Build Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an article from the April issue of the magazine Fort Forth, official publication of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce.

It was written by John Spragins, Jr., manager of the chamber's research department, and it provides an illuminating example of how the Federal Government can work hand in hand with civic and business leaders of individual cities in the development of international trade that will benefit us all.

Singled out for special credit in the mission described here is Richard Eisenmann of the Bureau of International Commerce. To him, his colleagues in the Department of Commerce, and to all the Fort Worth civic and business leaders who made this mission such an outstanding success, I would like to offer my sincere congratulations.

FORT WORTH LAUNCHES FIRST CENTRAL AMERICAN TRADE MISSION

(By John F. Spragins, Jr.)

The first official U.S. Department of Commerce trade mission ever made by a Fort Worth group * * * and the second ever to emanate from Texas, left Fort Worth on March 16 for a seven-country trip through Central America and the West Indies.

The six-man mission, organized by the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce World Trade Council, received official sanction by the Commerce Department's Bureau of International Commerce. Fort Worth thus is the second Texas city to win such a designation. Other Latin American trade trips from other Texas cities, such as Dallas, have not enjoyed official sanctions, according to U.S. Government officials.

This means that the Fort Worth group receives direct U.S. Government and American Embassy assistance in setting up and transacting business in each country visited, enjoys a Federal tax exemption on trip expenses, and is accorded a number of other privileges not enjoyed by ordinary trade excursions.

In exchange, an official mission group has certain obligations. It is restricted in size (preferably 6 to 8 persons), it agrees not to take wives or husbands on the trip, it participates in pre and post mission briefings, and it complies with certain other Government requirements such as sending an advance man into the countries to be visited by the mission.

Purpose of the Fort Worth mission was, of course, to sell products and services of Fort Worth area firms to Central American and West Indian buyers and to learn of products and services available to Fort Worth buyers in those areas.

The mission, set to end April 6, visited Guatemala City, Guatemala; San Salvador, Salvador; Managua, Nicaragua; San Jose, Costa Rica; Panama City, Panama; Port of Spain, Trinidad; and San Juan, P.R.

The Fort Worth group investigated markets for livestock and poultry feeds, printing machinery, refrigeration and roadbuilding equipment, canning and meat-processing machinery, conveyors and materials handling equipment, industrial adhesives, and a number of other items. Mission members were briefed in an all-day session prior to departure. Conducting the briefing were Roy Gootenburg and William Rafferty of the Commerce Department in Washington. Robert Turner and Harry Meyers of the southwest regional offices, also participated.

Theodore F. Lange, manager of the International Department of the First National Bank of Fort Worth, headed the mission. As vice chairman of the chamber's world trade council, he is due much of the credit for getting up such a trip. Credit also is due Council Chairman A. M. Pate, Jr. Other members, all well-known Fort Worth businessmen, were Richard C. Miller, vice president of Charles Needham Refrigerator Manufacturing, Inc.; C. Edward Smith, partner in the firm of J. Paul Smith Co., brokers and merchandisers; H. S. Landers, president of Landers Manufacturing Co.; William F. Sprinkle, partner and general manager of McGown & Sprinkle, combination export managers; and W. Paul Thomas, president and general manager of Thomas Conveyor Co.

While it will not be possible for some time yet to appraise fully the impact of the first Fort Worth trade mission, there is no question that the potential for Fort Worth trade with Central America exists. This is attested to by the parade of trade mission groups—official and otherwise—which are visiting these same countries. I encountered three such groups in the month I spent in Latin America, and I know of others that were there.

Many of these mission groups have, in my opinion, far less to offer in the way of goods and services than Fort Worth; yet, in every instance, the results of their missions have far exceeded all expectations, U.S. Embassy people told me. In every city and country I visited, I was assured by the experts that Fort Worth—with all it has to offer—will definitely do business.

Much of Fort Worth's success in Latin America—and that of any American city wanting to do business there—is directly dependent on the extremely high caliber of the people staffing our embassies and the Bureau of International Commerce in Washington. In all my travels throughout Latin America, my most gratifying and rewarding experiences came from working with these experts whose dedication and knowledge seemed unlimited.

One Government official in particular stands out in my mind. He is Richard Eisenmann—project officer for the Trade Missions Division of the Bureau with headquarters in Washington. Mr. Eisenmann was assigned to the Fort Worth mission once it was deemed an official mission group by his division.

It then became his task to take me in tow and into each country to be visited by the mission, introduce me to the American Embassy people, and then direct and coordinate our joint efforts to develop contacts for the Fort Worth group.

For 1 entire month preceding the mission itself, we worked in the capital cities of seven countries. When our work was done, nearly 300 appointments were to be made from American embassies for the 6-man group scheduled to follow us from Fort Worth 4 weeks later. That the Fort Worth mission was official in every respect can be judged from its tight schedule of appointments and work load set up by Mr. Eisenmann and the American embassies.

Working with Richard Eisenmann, who was born in Panama and knows Latin America like the back of his hand, was truly an experience and an education. And, I might add, it was an education administered by a stern taskmaster and a hardheaded former Central American and U.S. businessman.

Many Fort Worth businessmen naturally will wonder if it is difficult to do business in Latin America. The answer is: Not necessarily. But, doing business in any foreign country is not exactly like doing business at home. Any difficulties that may be encountered usually can be overcome readily with the aid and assistance of the experts in the commercial attaché offices of our embassies. Regardless of the differences in the way business is transacted abroad, many Fort Worth competitors have found how lucrative it is. It is high time Fort Worth found out.

There is a saying in foreign trade circles today: "trade or fade." Now that Fort Worth has become the second city in Texas—and so far the largest in the Southwest—to venture out on an official trade mission, it is hoped that the group which has been pioneering in Central America will be greeted on their return with word of positive planning for the next official trade mission.

Lest they be disappointed in that respect we have another appointment with the Commerce Department officials on April 1. Who knows? Maybe Europe will be Fort Worth's next official trade mission destination.

Expanding Air Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILLIP BURTON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, Chairman Charles S. Murphy of the Civil Aeronautics Board this past week told a distinguished group of transportation specialists that "it is our job at the CAB to meld the public interest and private interests to help achieve optimum results for both" in the expanding air transportation industry.

Speaking at the National Transportation Symposium in San Francisco, Chairman Murphy said:

> There are countless ways the CAB can help make air transportation grow and we try to be constantly alert to discover new ones.

He told the group that he believes we have a magic circle in air transportation where many things are working together for good.

I urge my colleagues to read this scholarly presentation, which follows:

EXPANDING AIR TRANSPORTATION

(Remarks of Charles S. Murphy, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board)

I have been asked to talk about the growth in air transportation. The first thing I wish to say is that the growth is sensational. Measured in ton miles, which includes both passengers and cargo, the volume of business handled by our U.S. scheduled air carriers in 1965 was 23.4 percent above 1964. Many people thought that this growth rate could not be sustained, and that we were in effect borrowing from future growth. However, the rate of growth so far this year is even faster. The volume of trunkline passenger traffic for March 1966 was 26 percent higher than for March of last year.

When I speak of air transportation here, I am using the term in the sense that it is used in the Federal Aviation Act. For our present purposes, it will suffice to think of it as the airline business. The other forms of aviation, such as private and corporate flying which we usually speak of as general aviation, are also growing extremely rapidly and have taken on major importance. However, it is the airline business that is our chief concern here today.

In air transportation at the present time, passenger business is considerably more important than cargo, with revenue from passengers being almost 10 times as large as revenue from cargo. The rate of growth for cargo business is even faster than for passengers—perhaps twice as fast—and in the years ahead the volume of cargo may well outstrip the passenger business. However, the passenger business is so much larger at the present time we tend to deal mainly in passenger terms, although forward planning for cargo is extremely important and in many respects the most challenging.

Air transportation is now by a wide margin the dominant means of moving persons by common carriers between cities in the United States. It accounts for almost 60 percent of the total market. In 1938, its participation was an insignificant 2 percent. This is a startling growth indeed—138 fold—particularly when compared to the growth of our economy as a whole which was slightly more than threefold during this period. The international story is even more striking. Air transportation now accounts for almost 90 percent of all travel, up from a scant 5 percent in 1938. Certainly this is one of the most vigorous expansions in the annals of commercial history.

What has happened with respect to travel in the United States is vividly illustrated by this advertisement which appeared in one of your San Francisco newspapers some 3 months ago. This is an advertisement of the Southern Pacific Railroad explaining why it had asked the California Public Utilities Commission for permission to discontinue one of its great passenger trains between San Francisco and Los Angeles. This train was called the Lark, and the advertisement is headed "The Lark: What future is there for a bird that can't fly?" It tells the story so graphically that I wish to quote from it at some length.

"The Lark, Southern Pacific's overnight streamliner between San Francisco and Los Angeles, is now averaging fewer than 95 passengers per trip.

"This is less than a single planeload—at a time when air travel between these cities is breaking all records.

"As recently as 1958, the Lark carried an average of 224 passengers per trip. By 1965, this average had dwindled to only 94—a decrease of 58 percent.

"What's behind this continuing decline in the Lark's patronage?

"The most important single reason seems to be that the public has accepted jet travel as a way of life. The great majority of nonhighway travelers between San Francisco and Los Angeles now prefer to make the trip in less than 1 hour by jet rather than overnight by rail. In fact, from 1958 to 1964, the total number of air passengers per year between these two cities has grown from just over a million to 2,400,000—an increase of almost 2½ times.

"These yearly increases show why the San Francisco-Los Angeles air corridor has become the most heavily traveled airline route in the world. Certainly, they go a long way toward explaining where the Lark's passengers have gone.

"It's too bad.

"For more than a half a century the Lark has been a California tradition—and a model of railroad innovation. It became the West's first complete train to carry modern, all-room sleeping cars. The luxurious Lark Club was the first to offer truly elegant dining, lounge, and refreshment service in a two-car-length unit that permitted an unobstructed view from one end to the other. As another innovation, the Lark even provided a radio-telephone from which passengers could make calls anywhere in the world.

"All these features of the Lark were widely promoted and heavily advertised, and for years this train was a favorite with overnight travelers—particularly business executives who valued the hospitality and convenience of its hotellike amenities.

But for all its luxury, and tradition, the Lark has a fatal flaw: it doesn't fly.

"As more and more travelers have taken to the air, the Lark's passenger list has steadily declined. And its losses have mounted. In the first 11 months of 1965, the Lark's deficit totaled $993,683.

"This staggering loss only threatens to become worse as the inexorable trend to air travel continues. And this is why, after repeated efforts to reduce the Lark's operating costs, Southern Pacific has now asked the California Public Utilities Commission for permission to discontinue this historic train."

I regret to see the Lark and other famous trains disappearing from the American scene because I like trains and the romance associated with them. However, I share the view of the Southern Pacific that the trend to air travel is inexorable.

The growth of air transportation is certain to continue at a rapid pace. I would like now to discuss briefly with you a number of the reasons why this is true.

The first reason to expect continued rapid growth is the inherent advantages of air transportation. These are suggested by the Southern Pacific advertisement. The most distinctive advantage, of course, is speed—which is not only a matter of convenience, but actually makes possible a great deal of travel which otherwise could not be performed at all. For example, many of us here today simply would not be here if it had not been possible for us to come by air. As more and more people appreciate more fully the wider scope which can be given to their activities by air travel, the increasing use of air travel will become more and more firmly embedded as a part of the regular pattern of life for us.

The benefits of speed are not limited to time saving, of course. They contribute very materially to increased creature comfort. It is far less tiring to travel a thousand miles by air in 2 hours than it is to travel the same thousand miles on the ground in 24 to 48 hours. These inherent advantages of speed are now backed up by great reliability and safety. Over 97 percent of all scheduled flights by trunkline carriers in the United States were performed as scheduled last year and more than 80 percent of them were completed within 15 minutes of the scheduled time. As to safety, one statistic makes the point. The fatality rate in domestic scheduled air transportation in the United States for the period 1961 to 1964 was about one-sixth fatality per 100 million passenger miles. The comparable rate on passenger trains was somewhat less, on buses slightly more, and in other motor vehicles it was more than 14 times as high. There is no question but that air travel is now here to stay as the backbone of our intercity public transportation system.

The second reason to expect continued growth in air transportation is continued growth and improvement in the economy generally. We will have more people, and almost surely they will have more money. Not only will their total incomes be higher, but the discretionary part of it will be relatively greater. More people will have more money to spend for nonessential purposes, including travel. This will be of particular importance in increasing the size of the air travel market for vacations and other pleasure travel.

Third, air transportation will be stimulated by better flight equipment. The airlines have been moving rapidly to turbine-powered equipment. This transition is now more than 90 percent complete, and within 2 years the scheduled airline service performed with propeller-driven planes will be very small indeed. The air carriers are moving ahead vigorously and boldly with their programs for acquiring new equipment. As of the first of the year they had more than $3 billion on order for delivery within the next 4 years—and there have been additional orders since then, including Pan Am's order of $500 million for jumbo jets. This equipment could be enough to double the carriers' capacity. The new planes provide better service and attract a substantial amount of new business just because people prefer to ride on them. In addition, they make possible more schedules and faster service; which have a strong traffic passenger-generating effect.

A fourth factor which will increase air travel will be the level of passenger fares. While the level of fares will necessarily be controlled by future developments, it is almost certain that they will continue to decline in relation to prices in the rest of the economy, and reasonably certain that they will continue to decline in absolute amounts. This is true for a number of reasons. The new flight equipment has lower per seat-mile operating costs; traffic growth increases load factors, which means that costs can be spread among more passengers, and among other factors, the Civil Aeronautics Board can be counted on to perform its statutory mandate to see that air transportation is provided at the lowest cost consistent with the furnishing of the service. I suppose I hardly need to add that lower fares will generate additional business—although there are sharp differences of opinion about the degree of elasticity.

A fifth reason for expecting continued growth in air transportation is the kind of management which our airlines have. If they won't be offended, I might refer to them as "go-go" management. They are able, knowledgeable, and highly skilled with respect to their industry. They are forward looking and venturesome in a responsible sort of way, and best of all they are, it seems to me, imbued with a very considerable sense of responsibility to the public as well as to their own companies. There is little likelihood of this industry getting to be stodgy with its current generation of managers.

The sixth and final reason I will mention for expecting growth in air transportation is the Civil Aeronautics Board and its statutory mandate. The CAB is unusual among Federal regulatory agencies in that is is enjoined by statute to promote air transportation as well as to regulate it. I might say that we at the Board relish this part of our task, I am becoming increasingly convinced that it is the most important part of our task. At any rate, we consider that our responsibility is not merely to watch air transportation grow, but to help make it grow.

How can the CAB help make air transportation grow? There are countless ways, and we try to be constantly alert to discover new ones. But the most basic ways are to exercise our regulatory functions with respect to rates and fares, and with respect to routes or economic operating authority for air carriers, in such a manner as to encourage growth. Our touchstone, of course, is the public interest. That is our special responsibility and our paramount concern. And it is our job to meld the public interest and private interests to help achieve optimum results for both.

I hope that in the years to come students of Government and economics will be able to look on the economic regulation and promotion provided under the Federal Aviation Act as a successful example of the pragmatic genius of the American system. I hope they will find this to be a case where private enterprise—tempered with just enough Government regulation, but not too much—has provided the greatest good for the greatest number. And I hope that they will find that the Civil Aeronautics Board performed its promotional responsibilities well enough to make a substantial contribution to the development and achievements of our air transportation system.

I sometimes say it seems to me that we now have a kind of magic circle in air transportation where many things are working together for good. Traffic grows, and that makes it possible for the carriers to improve their service. The improved service in turn stimulates additional traffic growth. This provides better earnings to improve flight equipment. The new flight equipment makes possible even better earnings. Good earnings by the carriers make it possible to reduce fares. Lower fares—within reason that is—increase traffic and, hopefully, increase earnings. I talked about that at some length in the panel discussion this morning and will not dwell on it here. Finally, this happy state of affairs makes it easier for the industry and the regulatory agencies to live together and work together, and that in turn can lead to further improvement. I don't know how long we can keep all these things working together so well, but it is a most exciting challenge.

While all these factors will work together to assure growth in air transportation, none of us can be sure just how fast that growth will be—probably somewhere between sensational and fantastic.

A good many groups need to have the best possible answer to this question, and are doing their best to forecast traffic growth—carrier by carrier in some cases and industrywide in others. This includes the CAB, for it is important to us to know what the future holds in this respect. I hope that our own forecasting work will be greatly improved, and that we can serve as a catalyst to improve the techniques in this field.

There is one thing that all forecasts of air traffic increases appear to have in common—they appear to become obsolete very quickly. About a year ago, when I came to the CAB, the optimists were talking about an annual growth rate of 15 percent for passengers and 20 percent for cargo. Now the conservatives are using these numbers and the optimists are having to stake out new ground.

I have seen recently that IATA is forecasting that North Atlantic traffic will double in 5 years and triple in 10. That appears to me to be in the realm of reason for that market and for other foreign markets and the domestic market as well. No matter what the forecasters forecast, I hope we can upset them by doing even better.

Soviet Recognizes Need for Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, an article in the New York Times of Thursday, May 5, about the visit of Soviet physicist, Prof. Pyotr L. Kapitza, to Britain emphasizes that even in the Soviet Union they recognize the need for the very things that have made America great; such as competition and a free economy.

I am setting forth the article in full in order to bring it to the attention of my colleagues, but I would like to emphasize one paragraph.

> There should be some competition. Competition stimulates the best creative and basic research.

The article follows:

KAPITZA OFFERS WRY PEACE PLAN IN FIRST BRITISH VISIT SINCE 1934—SOVIET PHYSICIST, 71, CALLS FOR TRADE OF WAR SCIENTISTS AND NO MORE SECRETS

(By Dana Adams Schmidt)

LONDON, May 4.—Prof. Pyotr L. Kapitza, on his first visit to Britain since Stalin prevented him from returning to his laboratory at Cambridge in 1934, suggested today as his formula for peace an international "exchange of scientists from military institutions."

"Then there would be no more secrets," he observed with a puckish smile, adding that he supposed it would not come to pass, "for some time, you know."

The 71-year-old physicist, speaking at a Royal Society news conference, offered his idea as though it were a joke. That typified the light spirit that surrounds the sentimental return to Britain, the scene of his first triumphs, of the man who has become the great liberal of Soviet science.

Thirty-two years ago he was a luminary of British science. A czarist general's son, he came to Britain when he was 27 years old and became the collaborator of Lord Rutherford, the man who split the atom. He did his research in a $60,000 laboratory specially built for him by the Royal Society. He was elected a regular member of the society, the first foreigner so honored in 200 years.

KEPT HOME BY STALIN

For several years Professor Kapitza had been returning each year to Moscow to visit his aging mother. Then, in October 1934, he went to Moscow once more and did not return. Stalin held him and insisted he work for Soviet science.

According to information received by British scientists, Professor Kapitza refused after World War II to turn his talents to the task of making the Soviet Union's first atomic bomb and was removed from his laboratory for about 10 years. After Stalin's death he was restored to good favor as chief of the Institute of Physical Problems and became Soviet science's advocate of creative effort. He wrote early this year that Soviet basic research sciences were behind those of the United States and that the gap was widening.

Today, however, Professor Kapitza said that in the realm of space research "I think we are still a little bit ahead of the United States." And he said this lead had been achieved with less expenditure in money and scientific manpower.

Asked whether it would be worthwhile to pool United States and Soviet efforts in space research, he replied that when talking of collaboration "you must take each case on its merits," and added:

"There should be some competition. Competition stimulates the best creative and basic research."

He was asked how he would justify the effort that is being put into getting men to the moon. In reply he asked, "How do you justify the war in Vietnam?"

HAVE AND HAVE-NOTS

He noted with satisfaction that "little has changed" in the realm of basic science in the laboratories of Cambridge, which he has revisited during the last few days. He regretted the "brain drain" from Britain to the United States. Russia, he contended, was in a more difficult position, "because we have nobody to drain."

Professor Kapitza was asked at one point whether he had felt scientifically "isolated" when he returned to the Soviet Union in 1934. It was a "romantic question," he said, and left it at that.

The professor, here as a guest of the Royal Society, will return to Moscow in about 2 weeks. Some of his British hosts regard his presence here as indicative of the change that has taken place in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death.

Urban Mass Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times contained a very interesting editorial concerning the administration of the Federal mass transportation program. One can hardly doubt the success and contribution which this program is registering, despite the fact that, in comparison with need and the transport crisis itself, the funds are still insufficient and inequitably distributed.

While this is true, the bill recently approved by the House Banking and Currency Committee, on which I serve, represents considerable progress.

I would like to bring this editorial to the attention of my colleagues, which is as follows:

LONG-RANGE MASS TRANSIT

The success of the Federal urban mass transportation program these past 2 years is bringing justified demands that it be greatly expanded. Governor Rockefeller's suggestion to this effect won warm support from four other Governors of Middle Atlantic States at the recent Trenton meeting. Similar tribute for the program has come from the House Banking and Currency Committee, which has voted to continue it on a long-range basis, with an appropriation almost double that requested by the President. The action accurately evaluates an investment that has proved timely and richly rewarding.

The program's most striking accomplishment is the contract just signed by the Federal Government and the Pennsylvania Railroad for the establishment next year of hourly train service between New York and Washington in new high-speed electric cars that will make the run in less than 3 hours. This will make the train trip competitive with air travel, when allowance is made for time spent between the business districts of the two cities and their airports. It will be faster than automobile travel.

If the result is a return to the rails of a major part of the traffic lost in recent years to planes and automobiles it will be a boon to travelers between this city and the Capital. Airways and highways between the two are badly overcrowded. A shift in traffic patterns might delay for several years the need for a costly new jet airport in the metropolitan area. The Government hopes to extend the high-speed rail program to Boston, but the condition of the New Haven Railroad roadbed may force a go-slow policy on that innovation.

The New Haven's commuter service is also being carried on with financial help from the Federal mass-transit program. This help has now been extended until the end of the year; by then New York State and Connecticut should have worked out with the merged Pennsylvania-New York Central an agreement that will keep the commuter trains running permanently with new and improved equipment.

These are among the benefits already derived from a Federal program that has involved an expenditure of only $90 million a year—a pittance compared with the more than $4 billion it is spending in 1966 to build and maintain highways, and the nearly $1 billion it is spending on airways and airports. The House committee's decision to increase the Federal expenditure for urban mass transit from the $95 million requested by the administration to $175 million—and to place it on a continuing basis—is in the right direction. The only question is whether it goes far enough even now.

Let's Face Facts About Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that the time has come to speak out bluntly about inflation and the terrible dangers it poses for our economy. Last year, I warned the House that we were facing a real danger of creeping inflation. At that time, I urged that prudent action be taken to cope with the situation; little was done. Now the creep has become a brisk walk, and I fear that this in turn will become a disastrous gallop unless responsible action is taken.

Today's vote by the House was neither prudent nor responsible. It passed the $10.5 billion Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare appropriation bill by a vote of 354 to 27. I voted against final passage of this bill. I voted for a 5 percent across-the-board cut. I voted for a motion to recommit the bill back to the Appropriations Committee.

Why? Quite simply, because I feel it was an inflationary bill, given our present economic conditions, even though it contained many programs valuable to our society. Because the bill as it emerged from the Appropriations Committee had an additional $1.2 billion added to it, over and above the President's original budget request. Because the 1966 national income budget already has a deficit of $2.2 billion, and there is no way of telling accurately by just how many billions the budget will be out of balance in 1967. Because I agree with the Appropriations Committee chairman, Congressman MAHON, who remarked in yesterday's debate:

> We have been saying that we are against inflation and against a tax increase. But the prevailing votes on this bill seem to indicate otherwise.

The remarks of the distinguished chairman are accurate. In a period of inflation, it is inexcusable to take the easy route of expediency; the stakes are simply too high. To stop inflation, you either cut appropriations and exercise budgetary restraint or you raise taxes to overcome the deficit. I fear the Congress has been taking the easy—and dangerous—route. Repeatedly, the Congress has chosen to talk about the dangers of inflation and then to vote to increase appropriations, while at the same time denying any need for a further tax increase. I simply cannot accept this point of view.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the opportunity and responsibility with which we are faced. We can either continue the sound and vigorous growth of an economy free from inflation, or we can hurl the Nation into the boom-and-bust cycle which proved so disastrous in the depression.

Remember what happened from 1960 to 1965: The greatest uninterrupted peacetime expansion of any economy in history. Look at the figures, all of which are put in 1958 constant dollar terms to insure consistency. Since 1960, our gross national product—the total of all goods and services produced in the country—has increased from $487 billion to over $633 billion, an increase of $146 billion in a little over 5 years. By way of contrast, this 5-year increase equals the size of our entire economy in the mid-1930's. Other figures are equally striking. Per capita disposal income—that is, income after payment of taxes—has increased 28 percent in a little over 5 years, from $1,883 to $2,260 at present. Weekly wages, farm income, corporate profits, and business investment are all at new highs. On top of this, our economic growth has enabled us to finance the start of vitally important programs to remove inequality and develop our society.

By contrast, let us look at the evidence of inflation in recent months. The wholesale price index is up nearly 4 percent over a year ago. At present the cost of living is rising at a rate of around 5½ percent. This is well over the 3.2 rate judged acceptable by the administration. All these price increases mean that each dollar earned by each person in America buys less. In the long run a general inflation could spell disaster.

I am afraid that the passage of this inflated bill reflects the attitude of the Congress: Spending will continue to go up when local or special interests are involved. But this attitude cannot determine our economic policy. We in the Congress must accept the responsibility to face the facts. If spending continues to go up, we must consider raising taxes to stop inflation.

Some months ago, I made a suggestion that suspension of the 7-percent investment tax credit which was used in the early 1960's as a stimulant to the economy might offer a useful way to control inflation. I proposed that this tax credit be suspended for 1 year, on a graduated basis which favors small businesses but which also controls some of the pressures which are pushing the inflation along. I intend to introduce such a bill shortly, in order to serve as a basis for debate—debate not only over the specific provisions of the bill, but also over the entire issue of responsibility in our Nation's finances. If by its introduction, Congress is led to a thoughtful and responsible consideration of the issues, much will have been acomplished.

I feel strongly that a tax increase is not as desirable as balancing the budget through limiting expenditures. But if the Congress feels—as it appears to feel at present—that expenditures cannot be reduced below prudent levels, then it must be brought to realize that a tax increase is the only other alternative means of achieving a balanced budget. And a balanced budget is the only real means of preventing an inflation that could wipe out all the progress so recently made. If the Congress decides to spend more, in a period of inflation, it must also realize that a tax increase is the only means of increasing the income to finance the expenditures.

In the end, the issue comes down to a very simple question; Are we responsible and levelheaded enough to do what must be done to avoid the boom and bust cycle which led to the depression which so many of us remember with so much pain. The Congress must not avoid its responsibilities. Continuing to spend more and more in the face of an inflation, without an offsetting tax increase, will most certainly bring us to boom and then quickly to bust. I believe this cycle must be avoided, and I hope the Congress will have the wisdom to face the facts squarely.

An Incisive Analysis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 4, 1966

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the progressive rise in the cost of living is cause for concern among this Nation's wage earners, housewives and those elder citizens dependent on pensions, savings and other forms of fixed incomes. While charges and countercharges are exchanged as to responsibility for this inflationary trend, the average citizen, not being extensively trained in economics, is understandably perplexed regarding its cause. Consequently, the views of Dr. W. Allen Wallis, president of the University of Rochester, N.Y., and formerly dean of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, are worthy of consideration. Dr. Wallis, who is certainly more qualified in this field than the average taxpayer, places the blame for inflation briefly and bluntly:

> Inflation can be generated only by the Government.

As the issue of inflation is a very timely one, I include the item, "Government Draws Blame for Inflation" from the Chicago Tribune of April 2, 1966, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

GOVERNMENT DRAWS BLAME FOR INFLATION—GUIDELINES CALLED LITTLE HELP

WASHINGTON, April 1.—W. Allen Wallis, president of the University of Rochester, N.Y., asserted here today that only Government can cause or prevent inflation and said that wage-price guidelines, whether they are met or not, can do nothing to maintain the dollar's purchasing power.

Wallis, a former dean of the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, criticized the guidelines at a symposium on business-government relations sponsored by the American Bankers Association.

"Inflation can be generated only by the Government," he said. "Business firms, labor unions, or consumers with excessive market power can do many objectionable things that are contrary to the public interest; but one objectionable thing they cannot do is to cause inflation—or, for that matter, prevent it."

NEED GROWTH CONTROL

The only way to achieve the price stability, said Wallis, is to control the rate of growth in the stock of money and credit.

"If effective demand exceeds the supply of goods and services, the Government can best serve the public interest by not attempting to interfere with the rise in the level of wages and prices that is then inevitable," he said. The consequences of such intervention or "guidance," he said, will be to lower the economy's efficiency and cause inequities and injustice.

Wallis also questioned as "shoddy, slipshod, and contrived" the economic analysis behind the wage-price guidelines as spelled out in the 1966 Annual Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. In contrast, the 1962 report, in which the first such guidelines were handed down, was a respectable piece of work, he said.

Similar deterioration in the quality of economic analysis late in the Eisenhower administration, said Wallis, tempts one to formulate a law something like this:

"The professional standards and consciences of an administration's economists decay exponentially with the length of time in office."

Like the wage-price guidelines, those aimed at solving the balance-of-payments problem have little chance of success, the economist said.

"It is by no means clear that the guidelines will enable us to balance our international accounts even in a nominal bookkeeping sense," he said. There may be some improvement in the short run "in the longer run, the return flow is bound to decline and thus to affect adversely our balance of payments," he said.

At an earlier session, George J. Stiglery, Walgreen professor of American institutions at the University of Chicago, questioned the "impressionistic" manner in which economic policies are devised with little effort to investigate their precise effects.

"The division of economic functions between the State and private enterprise is now based upon the most general thinking and wishing," Stigler said. "In this age of vast data, superb computers, powerful statistical techniques and usually adequate economic theory, we discuss and formulate and administer economic policies with no more scientific intelligence than the 17th century would utilize."

The Depredations of the Golden Eagle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the golden eagle, which has now been established as a No. 1 predator of young sheep, goats, fawns, turkeys, and other wildlife in the Southwest, continues to enjoy protection against control. Livestock owners and game conservationists are no longer allowed to effectively defend against the depredations of this predator. That is due to a regulation by the Secretary of Interior who, unilaterally and without any action to that effect by the Congress, prohibited the use of airplanes as a means of defense against the depredations. Since the airplane is the only means yet discovered to cope with the problem, it follows that livestock owners and conservationists find their hands tied.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a discussion of this subject by Tommy Henderson, a high school student of Kerrville, Tex. This speech was used by this young man in a State speaking contest sponsored by the Future Farmers of America, in which he was a finalist. The remarks, which contain many documented facts, is an able and convincing discussion of the golden eagle menace. It follows:

THE DEPRADATIONS OF THE GOLDEN EAGLE

The golden eagle is a stirring sight, whether he is circling above the face of a sheer cliff in the Rockies or above a small band of ewes and lambs here in Texas. One of the largest of all birds, the golden eagle is strong and swift in flight; with keen sight; a sharp, hooked beak; and long powerful talons with which to grasp and tear its prey. So strong and bold is this great bird that it will swoop down upon a stag, and has even known to attack a wolf; however, usually he preys upon helpless small animals.

The feelings he stirs in the breasts of men are quite varied. A member of Audubon Society sees the eagle only as a large beautiful, harmless bird that should be strictly protected because of the danger of extinction. On the other hand, the rancher looks at the eagle from an economic standpoint. He does not see the beauty and harmlessness of the bird, but the annual destruction of hundreds of lambs, kids, and fawns.

The feelings of the two groups can be illustrated by their attitudes toward the use of the airplane in controlling the golden eagle. The conservationists feel that the airplane should not be used as a means of control as allowable means seem to be sufficient. Since the habitat of the golden eagle is in the roughest, most remote parts of the State, the ranchers' only effective protection is control from airplanes.

There are many, many instances which have been observed by ranchers which would serve as sufficient evidence that the control of the golden eagle is essential. In the next few moments I will attempt to present only a few of these instances. For example, one rancher reports that of 900 kids born, only 46 escaped alive.

Another rancher near Alpine said that the eagles decimated his kid crop from 900 to 90. The golden eagle moves into Texas in November and generally stays through March, then moves back to Mexico or elsewhere. This movement coincides with the lambing and kidding seasons in Texas. A Real County rancher relates that he loses one-third to one-half of his kid crop to eagles each season. Another rancher told of finding nine lambs dead within a 125-yard area with only the heart, lungs, and liver eaten and the remains left to waste. C. R. Pursard of Del Rio once watched a golden eagle dive to the ground, pick up a young Spanish goat and carry it to a ledge to eat. Pursard remarked, "It is a pitiful sight to see an old nanny with just two horns trying to fight off an eagle."

Carroll W. Hinds, another Del Rio ranchman, has seen eagles attack and kill sheep, goats, and deer. He does not want to exterminate the golden eagle, but he feels there are many areas where eagles cause less trouble than in this one. He estimated that one eagle will kill 150 lambs per season.

Bill Cotter, a Fort Davis rancher, reports that early one morning recently, he saw two golden eagles on the ground waiting for a chance to breakfast on a newborn calf. He drove his pickup at one of the birds and managed to kill it before it could take off. Had it not been for the alert cows that had formed a circle around the calf, he would probably have been too late.

In case you think that just because you live in a city this problem does not concern you, listen to this: On October 20, 1962, a golden eagle swooped down upon a mild-mannered city puppy in a residential section of Chicago. The dog wheeled, tore for cover, and almost made it, but the giant bird attacked and dug its sharp claws into the dog's back. A passing policeman and the dog's owner fought the eagle off with a broom.

Could you stand and watch an eagle swoop down upon a soft-eyed little doe fawn and feel nothing but sheer joy and admiration in your heart for this "noble bird?" Would you dance and leap in a frenzy of delight at the sight of an eagle slowly rising from the ground with a day-old lamb, bleating and struggling frantically in the grasp of those mighty talons while the ewe runs along beneath, calling and searching for her offspring?

These reports definitely imply a need for control of the golden eagle in certain sections of the State and Nation. Since the eagle stays in such rough, remote areas, the only effective control the rancher has is killing from airplanes. However, on January 25, 1963, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall placed the restrictions on the bill concerning golden eagles that airplanes and poison could not be used as means of control. This was a shattering blow to all sheep and goat producers in southwestern Texas, as well as to anyone interested in the conservation and management of deer and wild turkeys in our areas. Kerr County Rancher Dan Auld, Representative W. R. POAGE, of Waco, and Representative O. C. FISHER, of San Angelo, have been the three most important opponents of this control bill. A number of interesting and informative articles written by local rancher Bob Ramsey concerning this problem have been published in various magazines, newspaper, and other publications.

Summing up the feelings of ranchmen on the other side of the question from the conservationists, Fisher concluded: "The airplane is positively the only way livestock raisers can protect themselves against the ravages of their No. 1 predator of the Southwest—the deadly golden eagles. By an act of the Secretary of Interior—not by any act of Congress—it has been made a criminal offense for a man to defend his herd against this notorious predator. His hands are tied."

In a debate in the Texas house of representatives, representative J. Collier Adams, of Lubbock, asked Representative James Nugent, of Kerrville, "Isn't the golden eagle the national bird of Mexico?"

"I only know," Nugent replied, "it is the national predator of west Texas."

A report made by several men from the Department of Interior stated: (1) the investigators are unanimous in their belief that properly regulated aircraft control is the most selective, effective, and humane method of eagle control; (2) nothing was developed to indicate that killing eagles from airpanes is ever done for sport; (3) there is relatively no danger of killing bald eagles by mistake because pilots have become expert in distinguishing young bald eagles from mature golden eagles and there are very few bald eagles in the areas where the problem is most serious; and (4) there is little danger of the golden eagle's becoming extinct, one of the greatest arguments of the conservationists, because of the large numbers that migrate to Mexico or elsewhere where they are completely protected.

As shown by these reports, the eagle is not just a harmless, beautiful bird but actually a menace to our food supply. We agree that the golden eagle should not be exterminated but only kept in check where the need arises. We cannot afford to risk the continued loss of our livestock and wildlife. We must be allowed to control this predator which threatens our very livelihood.

Oakland County's Attack on the Traffic Toll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, in view of the recent concern by Congress over the question of auto safety, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues an all-out attack on this problem in my congressional district.

In the May edition of American County Government, an article entitlied "Oakland County's Attack on the Traffic Toll," outlines the steps that this county is taking to cut the number of deaths, injuries, and auto accidents which have been growing at a rapid rate.

The first phase of this plan is completed and the action phase is ready to start. I think the results of these studies will prove to be of great value to the Congress and the Nation in the future.

The article follows:

OAKLAND COUNTY'S ATTACK ON THE TRAFFIC TOLL

(By Bruce M. Madsen)

The motto on the 20-foot banner above the head table appeared ambitious, if not somewhat boastful, to a number of the guests who attended a traffic safety "kickoff luncheon" last April at Michigan's Oakland University.

It read: "Oakland County: The Traffic Safety Model for America."

Over 150 prominent citizens and public officials attended the luncheon—a sizable majority of the 202 individuals who have answered "Yes" to an appeal to help combat the spiraling traffic toll in this country of nearly 800,000.

The plan for meeting Oakland County's traffic problems and needs, as outlined by the luncheon speakers, was unique. It was—and still is—ambitious. But if the high level of interest and enthusiasm which was present throughout the now completed first phase of this program can be used as an indicator of what will follow, the motto will appropriately describe the role of Oakland's demonstration project in traffic accident prevention.

To begin with, an intensive study of the county's present accident prevention activities was undertaken jointly by citizens and officials as a preliminary step to action.

The program grew out of an exploratory meeting which Durward B. Varner, chancellor of Oakland University, called in January of last year. County and local officials, publishers, and prominent leaders of business and industry were told that limited funds were available, through Oakland University's Mott Center for Community Affairs, to study some of the county's more crucial issues.

WE'VE LOST SOMEONE

"We've lost a member of our University staff and one of our students in separate traffic accidents in recent weeks," Chancellor Varner explained. "A number of our University 'family' have been seriously injured. These saddening experiences, plus the reports of accidents which reach us daily through newspaper, radio, and television, have prompted this meeting. We, at the university, would like to have you tell us if the problem is as serious as it appears to be, and whether the university, through its Mott center, can help in any way."

A summary of Oakland County's traffic accident situation had been prepared by representatives of Michigan State University's Highway Traffic Safety Center. Gordon Sheehe, director of the center, reported that Oakland County's traffic accident experience is far worse than most people realize. Two items from his report reveal just how serious the problem was:

Two hundred and two persons were killed in traffic accidents in the county in 1964—the highest number ever recorded for Oakland County.

While traffic deaths throughout the State climbed almost 35 percent in 1963 and 1964, Oakland County's deaths, during the same period were up approximately 70 percent—almost double the State's increase.

To provide assurance that all prevention efforts would be directed to the county's specific needs, it was agreed that a comprehensive study of the present level of accident prevention activities should be undervention activities should be undertaken as a first step.

The group concluded that a good deal of public understanding and support would be necessary later on, when the time would come to implement recommendations. For this reason, the members decided that the study process—or phase I—should involve many citizen leaders working in concert with public officials. The inclusion of nonofficials contributed substantially to citizen understanding of the situation.

Sheehe offered the assistance of the center's professional staff, each of whom is a specialist in a particular area of traffic accident prevention. In addition, he assigned a staff member to work full time as study director for the period of the study.

Oakland University's Mott Center provided administrative and clerical services in addition to the initial grant.

James O. Wright, president of Federal-Mogul Corp., was named chairman of the organization established to conduct the study. Serving with him as cochairmen of the Oakland County Traffic Safety Committee, as it was named, were Delos Hamlin, chairman of the county board of supervisors, and Chancellor Varner. An impressive list of top-echelon people, representing every facet of the county's social, governmental, political, and economic strata, made up the organization's 33-man board of directors.

Some 250 letters asking for help were sent to the citizens and officials who, as one participant put it, stand tallest in the community—those who have a reputation for getting things done.

The total membership of the committee, including board members, was divided into seven study groups; each was assigned to explore a separate functional area of traffic:

I. Traffic records.
II. Police traffic supervision.
III. Traffic courts and prosecution.
IV. Traffic engineering.
V. Safety and driver education.
VI. Public information and organization.
VII. Public opinion survey.

DETAILED STUDIES MADE

A particularly important feature of phase I was the series of detailed study guides which each Highway Traffic Safety Center staff member prepared for the study group to which he was assigned. Using these guides, study groups I through V were able to determine—and document—how well local officials were doing in their traffic accident prevention efforts and what more needed to be done.

The costs of mailings, preparation of study materials, clerical help, and the travel and subsistence of technical davisers (whose time was donated), exceeded the Mott Center's budget for this program. Additional funds which were necessary to complete phase I were donated by Chrysler Corp., General Motors, Ford Motor Co., and the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety.

The mission of groups I through V was completed in just over 60 days. The members of study group VI, public information and organization, asked for a delayed deadline for their final report so they might pinpoint recommendations more specifically to the real needs of Oakland County as identified by the other study groups.

Study group VII distributed approximately 45,000 public opinion poll questionnaires to learn what Oakland County citizens think should be done about the traffic problems. About 13,000 returns were received. Unexpected demands upon the computer which was made available to speed up the processing of the responses ironically resulted in a delay in the publication of the final summary report of recommendations.

On November 23, 1965, the board of directors met to consider and pass upon the 92 specific recommendations for traffic improvement which were outlined in the 121-page report. "Plans for Phase II," the action phase, were also developed and approved by the board at this meeting.

THREE MAJOR COURSES

After the board had reviewed all 92 recommendations, it outlined 3 major courses of action for phase II:

1. Immediate action to bring about improvements in the performance of official traffic activities throughout the county and to provide for better coordination of the traffic programs of officials.

2. A continuing program of public education to create an awareness of the serious nature of the county's traffic accident situation and to develop support for the needs of local officials.

3. The creation of a permanent, professionally staffed citizen accident prevention organization to meet the first two broadly stated needs.

Three action committees have now been established to carry out phase II.

It has been interesting to observe the number of improvements for which the study activity alone has been responsible—even before the "action" or "operations" phases have been fully activated. The publicity given this program by the news media has helped to show county residents just how serious Oakland County's traffic problem actually is. One agency has instituted an improved traffic records system; a committee of traffic court judges has been formed; a county driver safety school is now in the planning stages; organizational changes have been made in one agency to improve its traffic engineering operations.

In a public acknowledgement of the work of those responsible for the study, Chairman Wright said, "Never has an area started upon a program of traffic improvement with such a sound, detailed blueprint for action. The way ahead for our next phase is clear."

Self-Respect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the Warner & Swasey Co. has inserted a number of ads recently, in national publications, whose primary purpose is not so much connected with the products they sell, as it is to the system of government and free enterprise which makes it possible for thousands of American firms to contribute to the economy.

In this day of Great Society programs designed to discourage the "do-it-yourself" philosophy, and substitute the "let Uncle Sam do it" philosophy, these commentaries are well worth reflecting upon.

One such public service advertisement follows:

I DIDN'T HAVE A VERY HAPPY CHILDHOOD, EITHER

But nobody worried very much about it. I guess—cutting lawns, shoveling snow, running errands, delivering packages for 10 cents, selling newspapers, doing housecleaning for my mother, and going to school. I passed my grades, too; if I hadn't, I'd have had the hide strapped off me.

No one concerned himself about my amusements, either. What fun we had, we made. But if we did any damage like breaking a window in a ball game, we paid for it by working it out.

We never heard these modern phrases like "standard of living," "subsistence level," "minimum requirements." Our standard of living was whatever my father (and after I was about 12, my father and I) earned. I don't suppose people "understood" me and if I had said so, my mother would have asked, "Why should they?" And certainly no one ever gave a thought to my "problems." They were my mine, weren't they? Mine to solve. Why should I expect anyone else to bother?

If my father was laid off, we stopped spending on anything but food, and a lot less of that. My dad spent every waking hour looking for work—any work. We lived on savings and when they were gone, we moved in with relatives. If there had been no relatives, when every penny and every salable asset was gone, we would have gone to the only place left—the county poor house—but that would have been an admission that we couldn't take care of ourselves.

You'll notice in this true story of a typical American family of a few years back, I'm not talking about privileges nor happiness. I guess we didn't have much. But we had something that was infinitely more important, infinitely more rewarding—we had self-respect, because whatever we had, however little it was, we earned. It seems to me that is why America is the strong Nation it is today—and it will stay strong only as long as there are enough Americans more interested in earning than getting.

Amen.

George Norris, Lawyer, Dies at 81

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, if our Constitution could be condensed to its most important principles, certainly, the enforciable freedom of speech, including the freedom of the press, would be included high on the list.

On Tuesday morning, a man who had worked quietly all of his professional life died at Hingham, Mass. For over 40 years George Norris guided the reporters of the New York Times in libel matters. By constantly asking "Can you prove it?" he strengthened the ideals of Adolph Ochs in having a newspaper search for the facts and print the truth. While his main guidance came before the stories were printed, he also helped in the defense of libel suits in using truth as a defense. He was so effective that in his time of over 40 years, the New York Times paid only $40,000 in libel matters.

Mr. Norris was carrying on the tradition set by his father who had worked for the freedom of the press. As business manager of the New York Times, his father, the late John Norris, helped make profitable a paper devoted to printing the truth. Later, as a special representative of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, his father helped persuade Congress to reduce the tariff on imported newsprint from Canada, thus making possible the widest circulation of newspapers devoted to the search for truth.

Under unanimous consent I insert the obituary of Mr. Norris from the May 4, 1966, edition of the New York Times in the RECORD:

GEORGE NORRIS, LAWYER, 81, DIES—LIBEL EXPERT AND COUNSEL OF THE TIMES RETIRED IN 1959

George Norris, a former lawyer and libel expert for the New York Times, died yesterday in Hingham, Mass., after a long illness. He had been visiting his daughter there. His age was 81 and his home was at 24 Donnellan Road, Scarsdale, N.Y.

For several years before Mr. Norris retired as a legal counsel for the New York Times, which was on July 1, 1959, a longtime colleague on the news staff would say to him as he approached: "I was off that day."

It was a joke he liked to tell on himself. The reason for the remark was that Mr. Norris handled libel cases for the Times during his 43-year association, and no editor or reporter cared to admit responsibility for a story that had resulted in a suit for libel.

This disinclination to have a record marred by a libel action, however, made his work of defense much easier, Mr. Norris said, because the reporter responsible was always willing to work hard to prove that the plaintiff had no case.

In an article he wrote for Times Talk, the New York Times shop magazine, Mr. Norris recalled some of the libel actions he had worked on and some of the methods he had used. One was to investigate thoroughly the personal history of the suer. It was surprising, he wrote, how many were found to have had shady pasts, making hollow their claims that the Times had held them up to ridicule.

ADVICE FOR COMPLAINANTS

He ended his article with this advice:

"After 35 years on the defending end of libel suits my advice to prospective plaintiffs is—don't bring your linen suit to court unless it's completely spotless."

Mr. Norris also recalled in the same article that it was the policy of The New York Times never to attempt to settle a libel action out of court. Adolph S. Ochs, publisher for 39 years, "held that neither the plaintiff nor the Times could fairly assess the real value of the damage to the plaintiff and, therefore, a jury would have to decide," Mr. Norris said. "This attitude eventually dissuaded lawyers from taking libel suits on a contingency basis. Other newspapers followed the Ochs policy."

Mr. Norris was a second-generation member of the New York Times. His father, John, was business manager of the paper from 1898 to 1908.

Mr. Norris' own employment began on July 17, 1916. He was just shy of completing 43 years on the paper when he retired in 1959. Until 1965 he still kept an office in the main building at 229 West 43d Street and frequently came in from his Scarsdale home to clear up some item that had been pending when he left, or to attend a meeting of the stockholders.

HUNDRED NEEDIEST CASES

One thing that continued to interest him after his retirement was his work with the Hundred Neediest Cases, the annual appeal at the Christmas season for funds to be distributed among the leading charitable organizations of the city. It was begun by Mr. Ochs in 1912. Mr. Norris handled for the newspaper the legal matters that arose from trust funds set up for the neediest cases and bequests made each year. The trust fund now total more than $1.5 million.

Mr. Norris also unofficially represented the Times on the board of the Broadway Association, a group of business and professional men whose offices were on the street and who attempted to maintain some coherence in traffic and architecture and business character. He was secretary of the association for many years.

Mr. Norris' legal work at the Times was not his sole work. He had maintained law offices at 115 Broadway.

He was born June 28, 1884, in Philadelphia. He was educated in the public schools there and in New York City. He graduated from Columbia College in 1907 and from Columbia Law School in 1910.

Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Elizabeth P. Norris; a son, George Jr. of Washington; the daughter, Mrs. Betty W. Worcester, and seven grandchildren.

The funeral service will be private.

Father Dan: Our One-Man Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, within the past 2 days both the Washington Post and the Washington Star have printed feature articles on the work of the Rev. Daniel McLellan, an American Maryknoll missionary priest stationed in Peru, who has become almost a living legend as one of the most successful promoters of the principle of self-help economic assistance in the entire underdeveloped world.

As chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee special study mission to Latin America last November, I had a chance to talk personally with Father Dan McLellan during our visit to Peru.

I was deeply impressed with Father Dan's many accomplishments, particularly in the field of organizing a nationwide network of local credit union cooperative and savings and loan associations—thus enabling the economically underprivileged classes in Peru, for the first time, to begin the slow process of overcoming the tremendous handicap of centuries of poverty and lack of opportunity.

Padre Dan, as the Peruvians call him, expresses his philosophy this way:

> Man is neither pure spirit nor pure matter, but a mixture of both. These people are laden with economic problems. Their poverty deprives them of the time and peace of mind necessary to draw closer to God. If we can help them to raise themselves from their own misery, God has a chance to reach them.

Because of the exemplary work that Father Dan has been able to accomplish, and because of the wide public interest in his successful economic development techniques, under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include these two fine articles from the Washington press in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 8, 1966]

SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS BENEFIT PERUVIAN POOR: MISSIONARY BUILDS CREDIT NETWORK

(By John M. Goshko)

LIMA.—The room has all the abundance of dark wood and rich leather that one expect to find in a bank president's office. But the man behind the president's desk is a most unlikely banker.

His balding Irish mug of a face looks more like that of the prize fighter he once was. His syntax in both English and Spanish is reminiscent of Casey Stengel. And, most startling of all, he wears a clerical collar.

He is the Rev. Daniel McLellan, M.M., a 50-year-old Maryknoll missionary whose larger-than-life career has earned him the flamboyant if somewhat inaccurate title of "the loanshark priest." Here in Peru, he probably stands slightly behind the beloved John F. Kennedy but ahead of Lyndon B. Johnson on the list of well-known North Americans.

FINANCIAL PIONEER

As was inevitable in the case of a priest who turned from theology to banking, Father McLellan's activities have excited just about every emotion except neutrality. But, his supporters and foes all agree, he is a bona fide financial pioneer whose influence has been felt from the boardrooms of Lima's biggest banks of the windiest crags of the Andes.

Specifically, Padre Dan, as the Peruvians call him, was the almost singlehanded originator of Peru's credit union system and one of the principal spark plugs behind its network of savings and loan associations. More recently, he has been the first money man in Peru to get into the cooperative housing field and has just pioneered the first program here of group life insurance for savings and loan depositors.

Today, thanks largely to Father McLellan's efforts, Peru boasts the most advanced credit union and savings and loan systems in Latin America. The McLellan-inspired Peruvian Federation of Credit Unions composed of 535 regional unions, can muster a combined membership of 218,638 members whose deposits total around $24 million. And Lima's El Pueblo Savings and Loan Association, where Father McLellan holds down the president's chair, has 18,600 depositors whose savings add up to $8.5 million.

EL PUEBLO 5 YEARS OLD

These figures might sound like relatively small potatoes in the big business worlds of the United States or Europe. But they are nothing short of remarkable when one considers that 12 years ago a credit union in the modern sense did not exist in Peru and that El Pueblo, which opened its doors 5 years ago as one of the first two Peruvian savings and loan associations, is today only 1 of 19 such organizations in the Lima area.

It was precisely this lack of developed financial institutions that a decade ago turned Dan McLellan toward his unique form of missionary work. When asked why a priest should become a banker, he says simply: "You can't do a very good job of saving a man's soul if you're going to leave his body in hell."

To Father McLellan, the real measure of his myriad financial enterprises is not their size and scope but their social byproducts—"the number of lives we can prolong, the number of people we can put into decent homes, the number of poor people we can turn into capitalists with a credit rating."

SOCIAL EFFECTS WIDESPREAD

Those who would seek to take this measure can find the evidences in every corner of Peru. Perhaps the most fitting place to begin the search is several hundred miles from Lima in the ancient town of Puno on the inhospitable shores of Lake Titicaca 2½ miles up in the Andes.

It was there 16 years ago that the saga of Dan McLellan had its beginnings. Into that rarified air where white men must fight for every breath came Father McLellan, then 34 years old and charged by his Maryknoll superiors with restoring the religious faith of Puno's impoverished Indians.

Behind him were a working-class boyhood in Denver, a brief fling at the prize ring before he decided on a clerical vocation, the years in the Maryknoll Seminary in suburban New York and a stint in the order's Hawaiian missions.

"None of it had prepared me for the poverty I ran into in Puno," he says in retrospect. "If someone gave me a million bucks as a throw away, it still would have been just a spit in the ocean."

For the next 5 years, Father Dan worked at building his mountain parish, all the time trying to hit on a way of helping the Indians whose mud hut and scratch farming existence had spawned one of the world's highest tuberculosis rates.

Then, one day in 1955 after diligent study of some financial text books, he called seven leading townsmen together and told them he proposed to start a credit union that would give people the opportunity to accumulate savings and provide lending money at rates far below the usurious charges of the marketplace money lenders. It took a lot of talking and convincing, but the credit union did get started—with 23 members who put up a total of $24.

SAVINGS MUSHROOM

From this beginning, which many Peruvian historians believe was the country's first credit union, the Puno institution quickly snowballed into the biggest thing of its type in South America. Before long, thousands of Puno residents had accumulated savings of about $90 each (a sizable sum in the high Andes), and the bank was doing a loan business in excess of $1 million.

And hand in hand with this expansion of credit came great changes in Puno. Today, the town is still far from a garden spot; but it has many things it had never seen before: hundreds of homes with indoor plumbing and hot water, buses, a radio station, X-ray equipment in the hospital, a refrigerator plant, an electric oven bakery.

FAME SPREAD

So rapidly did all this happen in Puno that the fame of the credit union and the priest who had inspired it soon spread to Lima. As a result, in 1958, the head of the Maryknoll Missions, acting on a request from the Cardinal of Lima, relieved Father McLellan of all normal pastoral duties and gave him a new assignment to spread the credit union movement throughout Peru.

Father McLellan got Peru on the road to thriving credit unions with a $2,500 loan from the Maryknoll Mission back in the States. The money financed a secondhand car that took him all over the country, and before long, new credit unions began to sprout.

In the jungle-rimmed Amazon River port of Iquitos, to cite one more example, roughly 70 percent of all savings in the town today are in its credit union and have been used to finance everything from the equipment in the local hospital to the canoes with which the semi-aboriginal neighborhood Indians ply the river.

As the movement spread, Father McLellan guided its growth into a sophisticated institutionalized network that now bears as much resemblance to the primitive organism started in Puno as a transatlantic jet to the Wright brothers' plane.

RESERVE COOPERATIVE USED

In addition to the Federation of Credit Unions, which provides professional advisory and research services, there is a central credit cooperative where the individual credit unions can deposit and borrow money. At the moment, this central cooperative is being reorganized into a cooperative bank that will be able to expand its activities by having as members not only credit unions but cooperatives of all types such as those for consumers and farmers.

While all this has been going on, Father McLellan, to the surprise of many, has quietly been disentangling himself from the credit union movement. Last year, he gave up the presidency of the federation after holding it for almost 5 years; and his only major post within the movement today is as treasurer of the central credit cooperative.

"I'd rather move out too soon than stay too long," he says in explanation. "If you leave when everyone thinks you're doing great then you're always welcome to go back. And besides, there comes a time when the kids have to be on their own."

This talk of the kids being on their own points up a unique facet of Father McLellan's way of operating. From the Puno days on, he has stayed with each of the enterprises started under his tutelage only until it was running to his satisfaction and he had trained others to take over.

GOVERNMENT SOUGHT AID

At that point, he invariably moves on to something else—from the credit unions to the savings and loan field, for example. He started El Pueblo in 1961 at the invitation of the Peruvian Government after an earlier savings and loan association, the country's first, had difficulty attracting depositors.

"It was the same problem that the banks in the States used to have before the war," he says. "You put up a bank that looks like a church and then everyone's scared to death to go near it."

Father Dan's solution was to go after business through a campaign of aggressive, personalized promotion and by offering as much interest as the "till could bear"—in some cases up to 9 percent, a figure that even he concedes is "a wee mite risky."

But the effort paid off. From a start of $4,000 in deposits 5 years ago, El Pueblo today is the second biggest savings and loan association in the country. And its success has been one of the biggest factors in bringing all the others into being.

SAVINGS RESULTS NOTED

But in this area too, the things that Father McLellan talks about most animatedly are the "side effects": the number of school tuitions, weddings and vacations that have been paid for out of El Pueblo savings accounts and the 3,564 housing units that have gone up in Lima as the result of loans from his bank.

All these accomplishments have come about in the face of opposition that might have deterred anyone but an old prize ring scrapper. At one time of another, he has "done mighty battle" with such diverse forces as the Peruvian banking community, which looks with horror on his undignified competitive methods; the Peruvian Government bureaucracy, whose rules and redtape have been circumvented repeatedly by the impatient priest, and some U.S. officials, who take a more conventional view of aid to underdeveloped countries.

He, in turn, has frequently dripped acid in his criticism of U.S. aid programs in Latin America. Specifically, his ire has been directed at he U.S. practice of giving aid on an exclusive basis rather than channeling part of it through people's organizations.

He also chafes at Washington's insistence on technical expertise, saying: "Some expert in Washington devides that X country can afford a housing project where each house will cost Y dollars and no more. I can show you some of these projects where after the Y dollars were spent. I had to put out mortgage money to put doors and roofs on those houses.

COMPUTER SPIRIT SCORED

"I object very much to saying we've looked over your situation, put it through the computer and found that Y dollars represents the most you can aspire to. More than technical know-how, more than expertise, we have to export a sense of opportunity to other countries."

For their part, U.S. aid officials generally affect a pained silence in the face of Father McLellan's taunts. Privately some dismiss him as a blowhard more given to self-aggrandizement than real accomplishment. But many others secretly admire his freewheeling ways and say frankly that he has filled many a void where the U.S. Government, for reasons of politics and diplomacy, cannot enter.

"When you get down to the bare record," observes one such official, "you find that almost everything Father Dan has done was a first either in Peru or in all of Latin America. And he was doing most of it a good while before the Alliance for Progress came along and said these were precisely the things that Latin America needs.

BUILDING INSTITUTIONS

"The Alliance keeps talking about the need to build institutions. Well, if that's what we're after, McLellan has built more institutions around here than any other 10 guys going."

Father McLellan, himself, puts it a little differently: "I'm just a priest running a modern, functional kind of parish. My job is to help a guy get into the position where he can go to church with his neighbor instead of letting the neighbor go off to mass and then breaking into his house to steal a loaf of bread."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 9, 1966]

Friend of Peru's Indians: Father Dan Still on the Job

(By Smith Hempstone)

Lima, Peru.—Father Dan McLellan, a 50-year-old Maryknoll priest, came to Peru in 1950 after 3 years' work in Hawaii. Posted to Puno in the rugged, poverty-ridden 12,500-foot-high altiplano, his reception was slightly less than enthusiastic.

Puno is one of the toughest areas of Peru. Its Indian population, the descendants of the once-proud Incas, have been reduced to abject poverty in an overpopulated countryside incapable of sustaining them.

Long abused and looked down upon by white and mestizo Peruvians, the Indians of Puno have become a target for leftist agitation. Radio Moscow beams Quechua-language broadcasts into the area on a regular basis.

SULLEN, UNRECEPTIVE

The balding, pugnosed machinist's son from Denver found his parishioners sullen, unreceptive, and distrustful.

How he won them over is a story that has been told before but deserves retelling.

He answered Communists taunts by rolling up the sleeves of his cassock and offering to step outside with his hecklers. There were no takers. Father Dan in his youth had been a promising amateur boxer as well as an all-State high school football center.

He performed in the bullring, played on the municipal soccer team, learned to speak Quecha, and established a community welfare service.

He conducted a home economics course, set up a small medical dispensary, ran a demonstration model farm, and studied magic so that he could soften the hearts of the parents by doing tricks for the children.

ACCEPTED FRIEND

Gradually the people of Puno came to accept this one-man Peace Corps as a friend.

Father Dan, who is a skilled carpenter and electrician, saw that one of the worst problems facing the people of Puno was debt slavery. With an average annual income hovering around $100 per year, they had insufficient funds to meet emergencies.

In the 85 miles from Puno to the Bolivian border, there was not a single bank. In any event, Indians are unable to obtain small loans from banks.

Thus they were thrown into the hands of usurers charging interests from 30 to 50 percent a month.

One Quechua friend of Father Dan's had borrowed 300 soles (about $12) to bury his father.

IN DEBT FOR LIFE

At 30 percent monthly interest, he had repaid the amount of the loan three times by the end of 1 year yet still owed the same principal and was, for practical purposes, in debt for life.

Yet Father Dan knew that the Indians had small savings buried in their homes, idle funds earning no return. He proposed to his parishoners that they form a credit union. Was it a difficult job?

"It took me 6 months of talking," Father Dan recalls.

At the end of that 6 months 23 Indians scraped together $24 to form the San Juan de Puno Credit Cooperative in 1955.

By early this year, when Father Dan stepped down from the presidency, his National Federation of Credit Cooperatives had ballooned to 503 cooperatives with capital of $13.7 million and credits of nearly $37.7 million, the largest group of its kind in South America.

LOSSES NEGLIGIBLE

Father Dan, a poet and light-plane pilot in his spare moments, now devotes most of his time to the savings and loan association which he helped to found in 1961 with 53 members and $4,101 in cash.

The association's 18,584 members now have cash deposits of nearly $10 million. With the help of a $1 million International Development Bank loan, the association has loaned $12 million to build 3,570 homes in the Lima area last year.

Borrowers, most of them of what Father Dan calls the upper lower class, pay 20 percent down and have 20 years to pay the balance. Bad-debt losses have been negligible.

Father Dan sees his credit cooperatives and home loan activities as a means to his basic end: The enrichment of the spiritual life of the people of Peru.

POLITICAL ACUMEN

He puts it this way:

"Man is neither pure spirt nor pure matter, but a mixture of both. These people are laden with economic problems. Their poverty deprives them of the time and peace of mind necessary to draw closer to God. If we can help them to raise themselves from their own misery, God has a chance to reach them."

Part of Father Dan's success unquestionably is tied to his political acumen.

Signed photographs of the late President Kennedy and of Vice President Humphrey adorn his air-conditioned Lima office and he has had equal success in interesting Peruvian politicians in his work.

All three of the 1963 Peruvian presidential candidates sit on his boards and he has been decorated by the Peruvian Government.

His next project?

"Well, I just don't know now," grumbles Father Dan, "but some of my boys have been talking about starting a commercial bank. The banks here charge 15 to 18 percent interest on loans. We figure we might just be able to undercut that a bit."

With Father Dan's gift for saving soles as well as souls, the odds are he and his "boys" can do just that.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Mr. Frank Boyden of Deerfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, recently I was most honored to play host at a rather unique luncheon here in the Capitol. The guest list included some of the most distinguished names from this and the other body, as well as a number of prominent citizens in and out of public life. What they all have in common is an association with our guest of honor on that occasion.

The guest of honor was a constituent of mine, Headmaster Frank Boyden, of Deerfield Academy, in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts. To those who know about Frank Boyden, there is little I can say about him that they would not already know. To those who do not know about Frank Boyden, well, they probably would not believe it anyway.

Frank is in his 86th year. Yet his eye is sharp, his mind keen, and his handclasp as firm as a football player's. For 64 of his years, he has been headmaster at Deerfield—the only job Frank ever had and the only headmaster Deerfield has ever had.

In the normal chain of events, when a school enjoys such a worldwide reputation, and the unquestioned stature and traditions that are so characteristic of Deerfield, it is the result of many generations, if not centuries, of growth and development. Such institutions normally are around for hundreds of years, maturing slowly, nursing and developing the idea that must underlie every great school.

The exception to this rule has been Deerfield Academy. No such ancient origins can be claimed for Deerfield. It is not among the hallowed company of such schools as Eton in England and Heidelberg in Germany. It is a late comer. And the almost incredible fact emerges that everything Deerfield Academy is today, is the direct result of the energies, the vision, and the fantastic dedication of one single man, Mr. Frank Boyden.

Under the firm and driving hand of Frank Boyden, Deerfield has grown to its present stature from the dusty obscurity of just another country school. In little more than half a century, Deerfield Academy has been snatched from the jaws of doom, nursed, pulled, dragged, led, and built into the institution it is today. The man responsible is its headmaster, Frank Boyden.

In its March 19 issue, the New Yorker magazine devoted its profile section to a biography of Frank Boyden, written by Deerfield alumnus, John McPhee. Perhaps because of Frank's 86 active years, and perhaps because of the almost unbelievable pace he has maintained for all of those years, the article runs to some considerable length. Rather than attempt to place it in a single issue of the RECORD in its entirety, I have unanimous consent to include a portion of the article at this point in my remarks.

The excerpt follows:

THE HEADMASTER

When Frank Learoyd Boyden, who was soon to become the new headmaster of Deerfield Academy, arrived at the Deerfield station, he was only 22. He walked downhill into the town for the first time, and he nodded, as he moved along, to women in full-length skirts, girls in petticoats, and little boys wearing long-sleeved shirts and bowler hats. Deerfield, Mass., was essentially one street—a mile from the north to the south end—under shade so deep that even in the middle of the day the braided tracery of wagon ruts became lost in shadow a hundred yards from an observer.

Twenty years would pass before the street would be paved, 6 years before it would be strung overhead with electric wires. Houses that had been built 200 years earlier were the homes of farmers. Some of them tilted a little, and shingles were flaking off their roofs. Though the town was reasonably prosperous, much of it seemed slightly out of plumb.

Deerfield Academy, the community's public school, was a dispiriting red brick building that appeared to have been designed to exclude as much sunlight as possible. A century earlier, there had been more than a hundred students in the academy, but now only 14 boys and girls were enrolled for the approaching year, 2 of whom would constitute the senior class. In one way, this decline was not discouraging to Boyden. He wanted to put Deerfield behind him as quickly as he could, for he wanted to go to law school and eventually to enter politics. He had been graduated from Amherst 2 months before. He knew that the people of Deerfield had offered the headmastership to other members of his class, but he was confident that he would get the job, because he was the only person who had applied. He had no money. Deerfield would pay $800 a year.

To save enough for law school, he intended to put away nearly every cent. He knocked at the door of a white frame house that belonged to Ephraim Williams, a trustee of the academy and the great-great-grandnephew of the founder of Williams College. "Mr. Williams," he said, "I'm Frank Boyden." The day was Tuesday, August 12, 1902. The temperature outside was in the high eighties. But Ephraim Williams, a retired cavalry officer with one leg and a walrus mustache, stood in his front parlor with his back to a blistering fire. He had a shawl over one arm. He explained that he had built the fire as a precaution, because he never knew when he might suffer a chill or a fever.

In this atmosphere, Boyden met other trustees as well. One of them said to him, "It's a tossup whether the academy needs a new headmaster or an undertaker." They frankly did not know whether to hire him or close the school, but if he wanted the job he could have it. In the village store, meanwhile, the town loafers had been assessing Boyden's style. In the recent past, they had seen plenty of new headmasters, and this one impressed the town about as little as the town had impressed him. He was, for one thing, 5 feet 4 inches tall. With his hair parted in the middle and with rimless spectacles, he looked forbidding but hardly forceful.

Boys in that part of the State had been known to pick up schoolmasters and throw them out the window. It is still remembered that one of the men in the store that day said, "It won't be very long before they drive that young man out of here." Nothing is left of that scene—not even the store itself. Up the street, however, in the white frame house that once belonged to Ephraim Williams, lives the headmaster of Deerfield Academy. He has been the headmaster for 64 years.

During Boyden's first 40 or 50 years in this position, he so concentrated on developing the character of the school that even after Deerfield had reached the highest peerage of American independent schools its students still slept in farmhouses and watched Saturday night movies in a barn. Some New England prep schools were established in imitation of English public schools, but Deerfield is an indigenous institution. Boyden had been there 20 years before he added its boarding department, and since then he has tried not to allow Deerfield's gradual development from a local school into a national school to detach Deerfield from the advantages of its origins. The sons of rich people and of celebrated people compete to go there, and Deerfield accepts plenty of them, but it has a higher percentage of scholarship students than, for example, Andover, Exeter, Lawrenceville, Hotchkiss, Hill, Kent, Choate, Groton, St. Mark's, St. Paul's, and, for that matter, virtually every other major preparatory school.

The average Deerfield scholarship is higher than the scholarships of nearly all other schools, and local boys still go to the academy for nothing. Boyden is now in a position to select his student body from among the top 10 percent of applicants, and his only competition in this respect comes from Andover and Exeter, but at first he had difficulty drawing students even from the town of Deerfield.

With a borrowed horse and buggy, he went out into the fields of the surrounding Pocumtuck Valley and talked to young farm boys until he had persuaded them to go to school. He promised them days off at harvest, and in some cases he even paid for substitute farmhands. He continued to recruit students in this way for something over 20 years, and in successive bursts of generosity he gave up much of the personal money that he had meant to save for law school. Nonetheless, he went on reading law at night, having no intention, until he was in his late forties, of making education his permanent career. His school evolved naturally, gradually, and surprisingly. He had no plan and no theory, but he proved himself to be an educator by intuition.

College professors and college presidents became aware of his work and sent their sons to him. Others did the same. By the late 1930's, it had become clear that he was one of the greatest headmasters in history, and for many years he has stood alone as, in all probability, the last man of his kind. He is at the near end of a skein of magnanimous despots who—no matter whether they had actually founded the places or not—created enduring schools through their own individual energies, maintained them under their own absolute rule, and left them forever imprinted with their own personalities. At the other end is the prototype—Thomas Arnold, of Rugby.

In the United States, Frank Boyden was for years the youngest in a group that included Endicott Peabody, of Groton; Father Sill, of Kent; Horace Taft, of Taft; Samuel Drury, of St. Paul's; George C. St. John, of Choate; Alfred Stearns, of Andover; and Lewis Perry, of Exeter. The rest are gone now, and in some cases their successors are, too. Meanwhile, younger headmasters in remarkable numbers have developed under Boyden at Deerfield.

At the moment, the heads of 29 American prep schools are former Deerfield masters or students. Some headmasters similarly trained by Boyden have served their schools and have retired. But, in his valley in western Massachusetts, Frank Boyden, who is 86, continues his work with no apparent letup, sharing his authority by the thimbleful with his faculty, traveling with his athletic teams, interviewing boys and parents who are interested in the school, conducting Sunday night vesper services, writing as many as 50 letters a day, planning the details of new buildings, meeting with boys who are going home for the weekend and reminding them of their responsibilities to "the older traveling public," careening around his campus in an electric golf cart, and working from 7 a.m. to midnight every day.

If he sees a bit of paper on the ground, he jumps out of his cart and picks it up. He is uncompromising about the appearance of his school, which has, in recent years, at last developed a physical plant that is appropriate to its reputation. The new academy buildings have been developed in consonance with the 18th century houses of the town, a number of which the academy has, over the years, acquired. In all, 33 of the town's old houses have been preserved. Two or three are used as dormitories. The front rooms of others have been turned into shrines of the American past and the back rooms into faculty apartments. As a municipal museum, Deerfield is of the nature and importance of Williamsburg, Va., with the difference that the buildings of Williamsburg are replicas and the houses of Deerfield are originals.

The Deerfield street is still the same quiet mile it was in 1902. Farmers still live along it. On the site of the old, sunless schoolhouse is the main building of the academy, and around and beyond it are 19 other buildings—classrooms, dormitories, laboratories, gymnasiums, dining hall, hockey rink, infirmary, theater, art gallery.

The academy is on a kind of peninsular plateau that was formed when the Deerfield River, which flows through the valley, shifted its course in another age. On three sides, steep banks slope to a lower level, where there are perhaps 75 acres of athletic fields. Hills rise to the east and west, and there are long views of farmland and tobacco barns to the north and south. It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful setting for a school or a more attractive school in the setting. What seems incredible, though, is that all of it—both the visible substance and the invisible essence of it—was developed by one man.

Increase in Wheat Acreage Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the recent 15-percent increase in wheat acreage allotments by the Department of Agriculture for next year's crop was welcomed by wheat farmers. Restricted to limited acreage as they have been for many years to keep from building up even greater surpluses, this increased acreage will be helpful.

However, increasing wheat acreage does present some problems and possible serious ones, too. Cash prices for any food commodity are always low when there are abundant supplies. Even with the exports double and triple what they were just a few years ago, we will still have a carryover of wheat as of July 1 so close to 600-million bushels or an amount equal to 1 year's total consumption within the United States.

Increasing wheat production may be necessary to meet greater export demands—much of it sold for foreign currencies or given away for famine relief. The farmers want to do their part in providing wheat to hungry people all over the world.

Most farmers are aware, however, that when they increase acreage unless the Government continues its subsidized export program, this new acreage could mean more surpluses and lower cash prices. Mr. President, the Washington Post on May 7, 1966, had an excellent editorial on this subject entitled "More Wheat: Who Pays?" The writer of this editorial indicates far more knowledge and understanding of wheat farmers' problems than most people in Washington. I ask unanimous consent that it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MORE WHEAT: WHO PAYS?

President Johnson's order increasing the wheat acreage allotment by 15 percent for next year is a prudent recognition of the immediate demands of world hunger. It is important to have an adequate reserve to meet not only domestic requirements but also such extraordinary needs as that caused by the drought in India. But the administration must not permit the American farmer to become the fall guy in this operation. Only recently has agriculture begun to recover from the income disequilibrium of the last decade. The country's efforts in international humanitarianism cannot justly be conducted at the expense of the farmer.

Despite assurances that farm income will be augmented by the new allotments, there are some reasons for apprehension. Higher revenues from additional wheat production will not necessarily mean a fair return on labor and very large investments. A larger wheat carryover will be bound to affect market prices—if not actually to depress them, at least to prevent them from rising proportionately.

Such a development will point up the inherent disadvantage that so often afflicts the farmer. In return for governmental protection against disaster, he has largely relinquished his ability to benefit from scarcity economics. Alone of major producers he is not in a position, because of Government food stocks and selling practices, to enjoy rising prices as demand increases. The Government thus has a special obligation to accompany the new exhortations to the farmer for increased wheat production with equivalent efforts to make sure that this production obtains a fair reward.

There also is another apprehension about the expansion of wheat acreage. World food needs ar theoretically great enough to tax the resources of all producers. But in practical terms world hunger cannot now be translated into effective demand—that is, the ability or willingness of governments to finance the food needed. There is no guarantee that the present demand will continue for long. Wheat could quickly again become surplus—especially if new higher yield techniques are used on the additional acreage. The administration must be prepared to cut back acreage quickly, if necessary, to avoid undermining farm income.

In short, the situation calls for delicate management. Farmers will welcome the opportunity to meet greater needs in wheat. But now that overdue improvements in farm income have been attained after such great travail, the administration will need to exert extra care to avoid reversing the trend and penalizing the producer.

Army Reserve Call Request Overruled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I read with great interest an article on the overruling of the Army's request to call up the Reserve. I want to call attention to this informative report by placing it in the RECORD. It is written by an outstanding young newspaperman from my district, Mr. Mike Miller, who covers the Pentagon for Scripps-Howard newspapers.

[From the Knoxville News-Sentinel, May 6, 1966]

HIGHER DECISION: ARMY RESERVE CALL REQUEST OVERRULED

(By Mike Miller)

WASHINGTON, May 6.—The Army's Chief of Staff recommended a Reserve callup to help the war effort in Vietnam but was overruled by the President and Secretary of Defense.

This was disclosed today with the release of Gen. Harold Johnson's testimony before the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. General Johnson testified February 21 that he recommended a Reserve callup but was turned down by higher officials. The testimony did not reveal when he made his recommendation.

However, General Johnson said he has no quarrel with the final decision and "can appreciate the other point of view." He said U.S. policy is not to widen the Vietnam war and that a callup could give the impression of a belligerent nation to a jittery world.

NO CHANGE FORESEEN

Officials said today that General Johnson agrees the Active Army can be expanded instead. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has defended the decision not to call reservists.

Officials also said they can foresee no changes in the world situation or the Vietnam war which would require a Reserve callup this year.

General Johnson testified that the decision against his recommendation to call reservists was made at "an echelon higher than mine for reasons I would say are known to those decision authorities. There are problems other than military problems involved here, on balance."

DECISIONS FROM TOP

He said that McNamara agreed that a callup would be the fastest way to provide the increased force desired.

Representative GEORGE ANDREWS, Democrat, of Alabama, said the Joint Chiefs had been recommending a limited Reserve mobilization for a year but that President Johnson and McNamara still chose to increase draft calls.

General Johnson's reply to a question of whether the Joint Chiefs unanimously recommended a callup was deleted from the published testimony.

JUNE IS READY DATE

The Army chief testified that his recommendation was to call skilled individuals and some trained units, including engineer construction battalions. He said they could be fully equipped immediately.

Army Secretary Stanley Resor testified that he had made no recommendation on a callup but that his Department was studying it.

Officials say the Army's 150,000-man Strategic Reserve Force of high priority units should be combat-ready by the end of June. All untrained men in the units will have started training and the units will be in shape for a callup if needed, they said.

Man of the South: 1965 Award to Harry Flood Byrd, Sr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, each year the editor and publisher of Dixie Business magazine, Hubert F. Lee of Decatur, Ga., selects the "Man of the South." The 1965 award went to Harry Flood Byrd, Sr., the distinguished former senior Senator from Virginia. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lee's announcement of this award to former Senator Byrd be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, along with an editorial from the Atlanta Journal which pays tribute to Senator Byrd.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

THE MAN OF THE SOUTH FOR 1965

Nostalgic memories of Harry Byrd's Virginia turn back the years gently to 1919 as I begin my 20th "Man of the South" report in Dixie Business.

I rode on a troop train from Camp Knox to the now-long-forgotten Army Balloon School at Lee Hall, Va.

Governor Spotswood couldn't have been more excited in 1816 as he led his band of "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" to colonize the valley of the Shenandoah * * * as I was as we rode across Virginia * * * then only 18.

Ten years later in 1929, before beginning Dixie Business in November, I traveled through the valley again, as sales manager for the Homer Baums, making, selling, and applying roof paint.

And again in 1937, when we worked on the big bicentennial special edition of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, which was published September 8, 1937.

The Staunton Leader and News-Leader in 1940 got out a big Augusta County issue, which I helped on. Gen. E. W. Opie, publisher, is on the honor group on page 3, from which the "Man of the South" is named each year.

I also helped on the 75th anniversary special edition of the Virginian Pilot which came out June 26, 1940.

So, as an admirer of Harry Byrd, Sr., for nearly all my adult years, I can admit my partiality. He was to have been named to the honor group when he planned to retire in 1958.

When I think of former U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., I remember what Col. Roy LeCraw said when he was making a great record as president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce:

"You are alright, Hubert, but you just can't be controlled."

Harry Byrd just couldn't be a conformist * * * when principle was involved.

He had, in Horatio Alger style, taken an unwanted newspaper and make it wanted and made money in the doing.

He had, about the time the late Mr. Bernard Baruch bought Hobcaw Barony in South Carolina, leased 100 acres of orchard land in partnership with an Episcopal minister, Rev. William D. Smith, the start of the Byrd Orchards.

His uncanny business ability, raising apples, led him to buy his first orchard in 1912 and in 1913 to buy out Reverend Smith's interest.

Everything Harry Byrd put his hand to do succeeded.

In 1915 he began his half century of truly distinguished service.

He was a towering success in three fields * * * newspaper publishing, apple growing, and statesmanship.

Harry Byrd was bound only by his conscience. No one could control so conscience-bound a man. Harry Byrd had all the money he needed.

[From the Atlanta Journal]

SENATOR HARRY BYRD

Senator Harry F. Byrd has resigned from the U.S. Senate and the Senate will be less for it.

Senator Byrd was a Virginian and represented the conservative attitudes of that State and his generation in the Senate for 32 years. He was particularly careful in his point of view as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

This Senator provided balance in a country which has lost a lot of its old-fashioned regard for thrift and its belief in building for tomorrow on firm foundations.

He was the watchdog of national spending and his was an increasingly lonely voice protesting extravagance and undue haste in legislation.

The Senate is supposed to be the body which assures that haste is made slowly, that due consideration is given all phases of new laws, and which tempers the sometimes rash desires of the people and their Representatives in the lower House.

The zeal of the reformers and the pragmatism of the last two administrations have combined to try to make a rubber stamp of the Senate, with fair success.

Senator Byrd is one of the last holdouts and upholders of senatorial prerogatives and dignity.

The country will miss his caution and wisdom.

Big Guy or Little, Common Man or Uncommon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently KWTO radio in Springfield, Mo., carried an excellent editorial by News Director Milton D. Peters. Mr. Peters' editorials are consistently among the best I have heard, and I believe he and the radio station are to be commended for the public service they perform by such enlightened editorializing on the air.

The editorial follows:

BIG GUY OR LITTLE, COMMON MAN OR UNCOMMON

(Written by Milton D. Peters, Apr. 16, 1966, KWTO, Springfield, Mo.)

People write in and say "I'm just a little guy, but here's what I think." You know, just a little feeling of wanting to do what's right makes the little guy a big guy, makes the common man an uncommon man. In our society you can qualify in either category. Either by being quiet or by voting at the polls or with a 5-cent envelope.

Every job that is tackled requires tools. Our tool for democracy is the vote. The tool of the legislator, the forger of democracy is thought. In order for democracy to work, it was intended that we vote on their thoughts that working together, for each other, our system of government will prevail. When any part of the process is threatened or thrown out of balance, the system is in danger of being lost.

Only the most unintelligent cannot tell right from wrong, a lie from the truth. The more intelligent we are the easier it is for us to take the truth and bend it a little to make it do what we want it to. The tools of using truth to do other than what it was intended for are: the half-truth, the half-told story, pressure (political or economic), and the liberal use of the world's most used drug, "false optimism"—"Don't worry, everything is going to be all right."

As was intended, our vote and our opinion must be the tool to keep democracy in balance. There has been no better time in the history of our country to decide whether we are big guys or little guys, uncommon men or common men, to make known our opinion on what is going on around us. The less we care, the less our opinion matters.

Federal programs threaten us like an avalanche. Some good, some bad. Some proposed because they fulfill a need. Some because they will get votes. Some outright mockeries of democracy—all expensive—some are well planned. Others will have the middle aged spread long before maturity. Like squeezing your hand in a can of putty, they will ooze out in cost and bureaucratic bickering until they are as uncontrollable as a greased octopus.

The percentage of programs that are passed every year without a vote of the people increases. As our country and its problems get larger and larger, our part should get larger and larger in making decisions about those problems; it doesn't. The power of the people, their towns, their States, gets smaller and smaller. As we get smaller, the Federal Government gets larger and more powerful. Then they can pass more programs, that concentrate more power in Washinngton; the power to give, the power to take, the power to enforce.

Should our money be used as a threat to make us do things the Government forces us to do without a vote? Highway funds withheld if voluntary guidelines are not met on wages, or if arbitrary guidelines are not met concerning advertising. Money is used as a threat to schools if they do not shift students across town to meet Government orders. Ten thousand hospitals must submit periodic reports to show they are obeying orders or their money is cut off. Money is a medium of exchange; not a weapon of enforcement.

Should the Supreme Court rule on subjects that are voting matters? Isn't prayer in the schools a matter of opinion? Isn't the use of a poll tax for State elections a State matter to be voted on by the people of a particular State?

Should the Government spend $1 out of every $5 for education? Or should the money and the power to disburse it be given back to the State who best knows their own problems and how to solve them? Should $1 out of every $5 be spent by the Federal Government for medical care? The medicare program was meant to be paid for by social security. The new proposal is to pay for it out of the Treasury. Because the program doesn't look so good when the social security rate jumps 7 percent in 1 year. This way the true cost of the program can be hidden from everybody.

Maybe this is what we all want. If this is the path, that given the chance, we would all vote for. Then the next logical step to look for in the long list of new corps, is an enforcement corps, a special corps to back up the Justice Department and the Attorney General's staff. This one will really bring down the unemployment figures. They could have a man at every polling place to enforce the Federal laws, one in every grocery store to explain labels, another at every store that sells tires or mufflers; but if they do this, then to really be honest they would need someone to be where bonds are sold, or saving accounts started to explain that the cost of everything has been increasing so much that the interest they should earn will not even keep up with the amount the worth of the dollar decreases—so in the long run, they could lose money.

These new words and phrases, "corps," "war," "enforcement," "guidelines," and the conditions they represent do not sound like the reasons our ancestors left Great Britain and King George the Third, or the other tyrants of Europe to come to America for.

Whether the motives of our leaders are pure and white or planned and premeditated we are rushing toward a federalism that would have made Caesars blush with envy. The desire of our ancestors for political freedom is one of the major reasons we are here. Unlike them, we have no new country to settle to try to set matters right, our ancestors gave us the tool to keep their faith in our system, a vote in a booth or with a 5-cent stamp makes things the way you want them.

The Late Abraham Shamos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I note with sadness the passing of one of the eminent members of the New York City bar.

Abraham Shamos was a member of a prominent law firm in New York City and a resident of my district. I had the privilege a number of years ago of serving under him when he was the chairmen of the City Court Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

He was a fine person, a good lawyer, and a credit to our community, and we shall miss him.

The New York Times of Tuesday, May 10, had a short obituary, and I include it as follows:

ABRAHAM SHAMOS, SENIOR IN LAW FIRM

Abraham Shamos, senior member of the law firm of Guggenheimer & Untermyer, 80 Pine Street, died yesterday at New York Hospital. He was 59 years old and lived at 120 East 89th Street.

Mr. Shamos was a member of the boards of Hebrew University of Jerusalem and of the Associated Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations of Greater New York, and secretary of the American Friends of Hebrew University.

He was also a director of the Bolivia Railway, and a former chairman of the City Court committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. He had served on the association's grievance committee.

Mr. Shamos graduated from Emory University at the age of 17 and from the Columbia Law School, where he was editor of the Law Review. He joined the law firm in 1927. He was a protege of the late Samuel Untermyer, then a partner, and of the late Louis Marshall, also a distinguished lawyer.

What We Really Want at U.N. Is Not Victory, but Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, on April 29, Lord Caradon, chief British delegate to the United Nations, delivered an address before the Commonwealth Club of California on the subject "What We Really Want at U.N. Is Not Victory, but Success." Lord Caradon, who has served as a Colonial Governor, speaks from a wealth of experience in colonialism. His remarks, as published in the Commonwealth follow:

"WHAT WE REALLY WANT AT U.N. IS NOT VICTORY, BUT SUCCESS," SAYS BRITISH DELEGATE LORD CARADON

(From address by Lord Caradon)

Future peace and prosperity of the world will not depend only on the balance of terror, but increasingly on the search for international understanding, conciliation, and agreement.

You are looking at a rare bird. You may never again see a British Colonial Governor. Why? Because we have come far on the road set for ourselves, of bringing these countries to self-government.

I often tell the U.N. representatives of the Soviet Union that we in the British Commonwealth have brought into the councils of the world nearly three times the population of the U.S.S.R. All these countries—with four exceptions—decided by their own vote to remain in the Commonwealth. The exceptions are Burma, Ireland, South Africa—and the United States.

Members of my service—the colonial service—can now look back on a journey almost completed. We taught what we knew. We are criticized for teaching Western parliamentarianism and the Whitehall system to people of a different heritage.

If we sought to teach them something second rate, we might feel apologetic. But we take pride in having taught what we thought was best for ourselves.

Every one of these countries, before we left, already had a freely elected Parliament to which all the people had by their vote contributed. We also taught the precepts of a nonpartisan and incorruptible civil service; that good government must be based on good order.

TAUGHT RULE OF LAW

I happened to be in an Arab town just after one army retreated and the other had not yet come up. For 5 hours there was no authority. The lid was off. People broke out of jail and sought out their enemies to kill them. They looted the town—stripped it clean in a few hours. When you see the complete absence of authority you don't easily forget it.

We taught the rule of law.

When I was Chief Secretary in Nigeria I was attacked by a man with a knife upon entering my office. The knife was knocked from his hand and the man fled. A day or two later he was caught.

BRITISH DECLARED CYPRUS POLICY

On the day of the trial I made my way through the crowd which had gathered outside the court. I found that I was the only non-African in the courtroom. The baliff was an African; the judge and the attorney were African. The African judge, on hearing the case and my evidence, pronounced the maximum sentence—15 years in prison. Africans are capable of holding court and administering justice without discrimination.

Not everything we taught will be maintained. The countries now independent will make their own decisions. But don't think for long they'll accept much less.

In 1958, when I was Governor of Cyprus, we had been trying without success to reach an agreement between Greeks and Turks and we now decided to declare our own policy and carry it out whatever the result. Often when you take a firm decision, others shift their ground.

The Turks said, If you mean what you say, we will support it. A month or so later Archbishop Makarious said he would settle for an independent Cyprus instead of union with Greece. But the Greek Government said they would take it to the U.N.

I didn't have much hope. Yet our chief U.N. delegate, Sir Pierson Dixon, was making progress. One by one the countries of the world came to our support. It became increasingly clear the Greeks would not get their two-thirds majority.

NOT A VICTORY

Dixon sent me a telegram the day the resolution was to come before the Assembly. He said that a phrase had been running through his mind—"What we really want today is not a victory but a success." He asked the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey to come see him. Couldn't they come to some compromise rather than insist on victory over one another? The three men talked, for over half an hour, while the General Assembly waited. At the end the Greek and Turkish representatives shook hands and each pledged his personal honor to work toward a successful solution.

GREEK, TURK WALKED IN TOGETHER

They couldn't sponsor another resolution if they had already sponsored one remaining on the table. They searched for a nation which had not as yet pledged support for the resolutions. Mexico agreed to sponsor the alternate resolution.

To the amazement of the Assembly, the Greek and Turkish representatives walked in together. Very shortly we had a settlement which left an independent Cyprus. Unhappily, 2 years later, strife broke out again.

POVERTY A WORLD DANGER

Work done at the U.N. is not always done in public debate. There are constant negotiations going on among the missions every day. And what we dearly want in today's world is not victory; we badly need some successes.

The dangers of the world need to be examined. They demand not only national action but international action. It is only by international action that world dangers can first be confined and then the causes of conflict removed.

Poverty is such a danger. This is a world where a billion people are at or below the starvation level. The gap between the have's and have-not's is growing. And the world's population is expected to double in 40 years. More than 80 percent of U.N. money goes to narrow the gap between the world's rich and poor.

PEACE NOT ENOUGH

There's a problem of race. Forces of African nationalism have expanded south to the Zambesi River. South of the river, no black African has a say in the government of his own country. There is the force of African nationalism north of the river and the force of white supremacy to the south.

Repercussions in the world may be so great that we can't hope for a national solution. We must seek international answers. The whole of Africa may be in war and the whole of the world be involved.

No one disputes a British responsibility for Rhodesia. We took the issue to the U.N. for international backing. Our policy—to bring the rebellion to an end; to set Rhodesia on the road of democratic self-government; to obtain a Rhodesia satisfactory to the people as a whole and not just one race or faction.

Peace is not enough. It is of no use telling a starving man who sees no hope for himself and no future for his children that what he wants is peace. He is far more likely to want revolutionary change.

NEW THING IN THE WORLD

There is a new motive of international service. Now, whenever there is a dispute, there is a small team of men led by the Secretary General ready to bring a new motive to the dispute—the motive of international interest in peace and the advantage of the common people concerned. It is in this new motive that many of us place our trust.

Today no one brings a dispute into the U.N. until it's such a mess that there is no further national advantage to be extracted.

But there is a new thing in the world—an organization directed to international action and to keeping peace in the world.

This new international design deserves the understanding and support of us all.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question (Arthur O. Pritchard, Jr.): Does the United Kingdom foresee involvement in Vietnam war?

Answer. Your country carries burden of leadership. Britain's first obligation is to support Malaysia against Indonesia. But on these difficulties your Government has had no problems from my Goverment. My Government has been criticized at home for its position in support of your Government.

Question (Philip N. McCombs): Effect on peace and U.N. of France's withdrawal from NATO?

Answer. No immediate impact on U.N. France's decision misguided, mistimed. But maybe this major alliance needed some review—now we'll all have to do it.

Question (R. Cathcart): Why doesn't U.N. take firm stand in Vietnam?

Answer. It's a forum for expressing views rather than action. Security Council has not acted—why? Mainly because principal participants in Far East are not members: China, North and South Vietnam.

Question (Donald J. Hawley): Peace in foreseeable future for Israel and Arabs?

Answer. No. But U.N. has prevented expanded conflict.

Question (William L. Hudson): Why should United States support Rhodesian embargo when Britain continues to trade with North Vietnam?

Answer. I don't believe United States-United Kingdom relationship is one of bargaining for support in different parts of the world. I don't believe we meet together and say, if you'll give us a hand in one part of the world we'll give you a hand in another. We believe we are taking right action in seeking Vietnam solution by negotiation. You have done what you think is right in Rhodesia. That's why foreign policy should be conducted.

Question (Stephen Adams): What will U.N. do about Chinese representation?

Answer. Possibility of seating Red China must be recognized. My Government believes efforts should be, not to keep her out, but to bring her in. There would be trouble, but U.N. is place for trouble.

Question. How can you say colonial era is over when today's great colonialists—U.S.S.R. and Red China—are still hard at it?

Answer. We do see a new colonialism. But I'd hope East European nations are moving toward greater autonomy. In U.N. they've greater tendency to speak own minds. In Far East too it may be possible to divert tendency toward an Asian empire.

The Conservationist Plot That Failed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, those of us who are involved in the effort to solve the major water problems of the West have been opposed at many turns by self-styled conservationists who imagine that they alone know what is best for the country. In opposing the Colorado River Basin project, on which hearings are being held this week, they grasp first at one straw and then another to make their case against the only sound and feasible solution yet found for the serious water deficiencies of Arizona, California, Colorado, and the other States of the West and Southwest.

They talk, for example, about the practicality of nuclear power, as against hydroelectric power, without really having the facts. They talk about steam power without considering the unique advantages of hydro power. They assume the role of experts without being experts.

Recently, we began hearing a new line of attack. We were told that Bridge Canyon Dam and Marble Canyon Dam should not be constructed because the waters behind them would obliterate archeological finds of the greatest importance—perhaps the most significant finds in all the Southwest in many years.

The way these opponents of reclamation work can be revealed by a recent exchange of correspondence they had with an anthropologist at Cornell University. What one discovers in this exchange is not that the fact of archeological importance prompted measures to protect the area, but rather that the opponents of the Colorado River Basin project hoped to find yet another reason to defeat it.

Probing for this kind of ammunition was Mr. Eugene R. Weiner, chairman of the recent Grand Canyon Workshop, a Reader's Digest-Sierra Club publicity stunt staged at the rim of Grand Canyon. In a letter to Dr. Henry F. Dobyns, of the Department of Anthropology at Cornell, Mr. Weiner sought any information he could obtain to show that significant archeological sites would be inundated by these proposed dams. Unfortunately for Mr. Weiner and his colleagues, Dr. Dobyns came back with a reply totally inconsistent with the case they wanted to make.

Dr. Dobyns not only rejected the invitation to speak against this important and badly needed project, but he offered instead to give supporting testimony. In fact, he is scheduled as a witness this week in support of the Colorado River Basin project.

Because this exchange reveals the extent to which self-styled conservationists are going to trump up a case against a a project needed so badly by the people of the West and Southwest, I will insert Dr. Dobyns' reply, without objection, at this point in the Appendix:

CORNELL UNIVERSITY,
Ithaca, N.Y., April 6, 1966.

Mr. EUGENE R. WEINER,
Chairman, Grand Canyon Workshop,
Denver, Colo.

DEAR MR. WEINER: In response to your letter of April 2 inquiring whether I can give give you any information from my studies in the Grand Canyon area which would strengthen your case against construction of Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon Dams, and whether I could testify at congressional hearings tentatively scheduled for the week of April 18 in opposition to the dams, I fear that I must gravely disappoint you.

I have in fact conducted a certain amount of archeological research in southern tributaries of the Grand Canyon. Prof. Robert C. Euler, of Prescott College, has conducted even more and has carried out some archeological surveys in Bridge Canyon itself. Both Dr. Euler and I have conducted ethnohistorical and ethnographic research among the Hualapai Indians whose reservation occupies a long stretch of the south rim of western Grand Canyon including the south rim portion of the damsite.

On the basis of my archeological and ethnographic research among the Hualapai Indians, and my familarity with the western Grand Canyon area, as well as long years of residence in scientific research in the State of Arizona, I would be very happy to testify at the congressional hearings on the proposed Bridge Canyon Dam strongly in favor of the construction of Bridge Canyon Dam. I hold absolutely no brief for maintaining the western Grand Canyon system unchanged. I know many reasons for the construction of Bridge Canyon Dam for the economic and social progress of Arizona and for the Hualapai and Havasupi Indians.

The construction of Bridge Canyon Dam, the installation of power generation facilities there, the creation of a large recreational lake would constitute the major single foreseeable economic foundation for a fair social, cultural, and economic integration of much-discriminated-against Indians into the U.S. body politic. I cannot help but feel that those of you who are opposing the Bridge Canyon Dam project are carrying on the traditional white discrimination against the Hualapai Indians, and in effect are attempting to hold them in economic, social, and political subordination.

As far as "very valuable anthropological sites" being flooded by the artificial lake that would be created behind Bridge Canyon Dam is concerned, this prospect does not worry me in the least. In the first place, while there are sites bearing evidence of prehistoric Indian occupation of the south rim canyon areas, these sites on the whole are not large and will provide limited evidence as to the prehistoric patterns of life.

In the second place, the areas involved fall into the jurisdiction of the U.S. Government and the Federal Antiquities Act. This means that should dam construction and lake filling occur, funds will be provided to contract with universities and other institutions to carry out salvage survey and excavation in these sites before they are flooded or otherwise destroyed. So that it is much more likely that the scientific record would be recovered in the near future under circumstances of dam construction than otherwise.

For the same reasons I would not fear that the scientific record would be lost, which may otherwise be the case.

Furthermore, since Professor Euler and I have worked with the members of the tribal council of the Hualapai tribe for a number of years, I am confident that the Hualapai tribal government itself would insist upon an efficient salvage archeology program which would be integrated into the recreational facility development centered around the economic possibilities of Indian development of the recreational lake shores.

Not being familiar with the history or the purposes of the Grand Canyon Workshop in Denver, I have no way of knowing what your motivations are in opposing the construction of Bridge Canyon and Marble Canyon dams. As I have indicated briefly above, I am strongly in favor of the construction of Bridge Canyon dam for a good many reasons that are to me extremely important. I would, therefore, like strongly to urge you, and the oher participants in the Grand Canyon Workshop to reconsider your opposition to the construction of this dam, in terms of active discrimination against a much-discriminated-against and underprivileged tribe of American Indians, and sling your support to the construction of the Bridge Canyon dam in order to facilitate the social, cultural, and economic integration of the Hualapai Indians into the United States. This is an event which is long overdue, in my opinion, and I would like to see these long suffering Indians given a chance in enjoying true equality under the American political system.

Very sincerely yours,

Henry F. Dobyns.

The 1791 Polish Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, May 3 marked 175 years since a notable day in the political history of the Polish nation—the day when the Poles freely adopted their great Constitution of 1791. This document still represents for millions of Polish people their finest expression of great aspirations for a better national life.

The Constitution of 1791 was an example of a national act of self-regeneration and development. It was thus not only a case of a progressive step toward a responsible, representative and effective government for the Poland of that time, it has stood for later oppressed generations as a symbol of their great political achievements of the past.

This year's celebration was of special significance because 1966 also marks the 1,000th anniversary of the birth of the Polish nation.

Although years of tyranny have settled upon Poland at the hands of conquering neighbors, the Polish people have never lost their spirit of independence.

Although Poland today is not free, her people have hope. The Constitution of 1791 is an act of hopeful men which it is proper to recall in asserting our wishes that Poland will soon again be free.

Joseph Barr, Under Secretary, U.S. Treasury, Explains the Participation Sales Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, Joseph Barr, Under Secretary, U.S. Treasury, was invited to testify before the House Rules Committee for the purpose of outlining the main advantages and the necessity of favorable action on H.R. 14544, the Participation Sales Act.

His testimony in simple, factual language cleared several obvious misrepresentations published in regard to this much-needed legislation.

Excerpts of his testimony follow:

Participation Sales Act

My purpose is to summarize the major arguments in favor of the participation sales bill, to sketch briefly the working of the bill as it is proposed, and to answer some of the questions that have been raised.

The main issue here is whether we are to continue to make direct loans, using either the taxpayers' money or money we borrow through the Treasury, and to tie up that money for years in a portfolio of direct loans that we will continue to hold. The alternative is to find an effective way to mobilize financing from the private market to take the place of Federal funds and thus to release the Government's money for other uses.

As you know, the Government has been selling directly, for a number of years, assets in the form of direct-loan paper which it holds. You have heard some of the disadvantages of the direct asset sale program: the limited market of some of the assets, the competition in the market among the various agencies selling their paper, and the conflicts that arise between direct asset sales and Treasury debt management activities.

Perhaps the greatest criticism of direct asset sales is that it is not doing the job; that is, despite the direct sales, the Government's portfolio of direct loans is still increasing. At the end of fiscal 1961, the portfolio held $25.1 billion in direct loans. At the end of fiscal 1965, the figure was $33.1 billion. Despite major efforts to reduce it, the portfolio will hold an estimated $33.3 billion on June 30 of this year, assuming completion of the sales budgeted for this year.

That is more than $33 billion of the taxpayers' money immobilized in direct loans—most, if not all, of which could be financed by the private market.

The question boils down to this: Shall the Government operate as a bank—using the taxpayers as unwilling or unwitting depositors—and, after making direct loans, hold those loans for their full term; or shall the Government, having demonstrated initiative and imagination, as it should, in establishing lending programs, show still further initiative and imagination in devising means to enable the willing private market to take over the financing of the programs wherever feasible so that the Government's funds—meaning, of course, the taxpayers' dollars—are freed for other purposes?

This legislation provides for the pooling of direct loans made by the Federal National Mortgage Association, Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans' Administration, the Farm Home Administration, College Housing, Public Facilities, the Small Business Administration, Office of Education, and the Export-Import Bank. It authorizes FNMA to sell shares or participations in those pools, releasing the Federal funds tied up in them.

The pools may be of different types—a mixture of the loans of a number of agencies and programs, or a group of loans made under only one program. The pools and the participations in them can be tailored to suit the market; that is, the loans going into the pool and the maturities of the participations can be established so as to be most advantageous to the market at any particular time. This is one of the advantages of participation sales over direct sales.

All of the assets will go into pools at their face or par value. There will be no necessity, and hence no effort, to assign value to the particular assets according to their individual marketability or their yield. In cases of mixed pools, receipts from sales will be apportioned according to face value. This does not involve a subsidy of lower-yield assets by higher-yield assets. In the case of loans with interest rates which are arbitrarily fixed at a below-market level, the subsidy is already present as authorized by the Congress. It exists whether the loans are pooled or not. Pooling does not add to it, nor does it shift the burden, since in either case, it is ultimately paid by the taxpayers.

This legislation will take assets of limited marketability, when sold directly, and through pooling and the sale of participations transform them into highly marketable securities. That is the function of the participation sales technique. The reason is that the participation certificates are not limited in their appeal to those who have an interest in a particular program or type of loan. The participation certificate is a negotiable instrument, guaranteed by the Government, which will be of interest to almost all investors.

The experience of the Export-Import Bank in selling participations in pools of its own loan paper and the experience of FNMA in selling shares in pools of FHA and VA mortgages have proven it.

The participation certificates are not backed by the full faith and credit of the United States. That backing is reserved for obligations issued by the Treasury.

However, the guarantees standing behind participation certificates are such that the certificates are equally secure. Each agency will guarantee its loans to FNMA in the act of pooling them. This will make possible the FNMA guarantee which will stand behind the partitcipations. At the same time, an appropriation act of the Congress will be required before any loans can be pooled. The appropriation, along with the agency guarantees, will stand behind FNMA's drawing rights on the Treasury. Thus, the real guarantee will derive from the agency and from an appropriations act of the Congress.

It is anticipated that neither the FNMA guarantee nor the FNMA drawing right will be invoked, but these additional guarantees are necessary to make the participation certificates attractive to the broadest possible market.

The effect of the sales of participations on the market and on the economy is a matter of interest here. Bear in mind that the effect of the participation sales technique is to create a broadly marketable security. The certificates will be attratcive to many kinds of investors—individual, business, and institutional. Buyers will be found in many fields of activity throughout the market. Precisely the opposite is usually true in direct sales of assets. For example, home mortgages placed for sale are chiefly of interest to people and institutions in the home mortgage market. A direct sale of government assets in such a field disrupts activity in the field by absorbing the available credit. The participation sales technique will have the opposite effect, in that participations based on a pool containing home mrotgages will be bought by buyers throughout the market. The effect on the mortgage market will be slight.

Competition between participation sales and sales of Treasury securities will be minimal, because in most cases, the one will take the place of the other. Funds raised through sales of participations will eliminate the need for raising certain funds through Treasury borrowing. Further, no important inflationary or deflationary effect is ascribed to the sale of participations.

Participation certificates will cost a quarter to three-eights of 1 percent more in their yield than Treasury borrowings, according to recent experience. Part of this differential is due to the fact that participations are taxable by the States, while Treasury securities are not. Nevertheless, the additional cost of participations, is there, and the administration has made no attempt to hide it, although it is expected that the differential will decrease as participations become more widely known.

The extra cost of participation sales is substantially less than the cost of selling the assets directly. Because of limited marketability, many of the Government-held assets have to bring a higher yield in order to sell.

The significant fact is that the estimated cost of $10 to $14 million, which will result from the budgeted $4.2 billion of participation sales in fiscal 1967, is the cost of freeing $4.2 billion of the taxpayers' money which is now tied up needlessly in direct loans.

In the final analysis we must ask ourselves whether the alternative of borrowing the money through the Treasury, which is implied in citing this interest-rate differential, is a realistic alternative. It is true that we can sell Government bonds somewhat cheaper than we can sell participations. It is also true that we could raise taxes. Either of these actions would raise money. But neither of them would stimulate greater private participation in Federal lending programs, and neither of them would reduce the Government portfolio of direct loans. Neither is an attractive alternative.

Participation sales, on the other hand, have many advantages, of which two of the foremost are that they involve private credit to a greater degree in our lending programs and reduce the amount of taxpayers' money which is tied up in direct loans made under those programs.

Throughout the brief history of this bill, the administration has tried to preserve existing congressional controls over the lending programs. The administration has been very agreeable about accepting proposed amendments—including those from the minority—designed to strengthen congressional control.

As the legislation stands now, only those agencies specifically listed will be authorized to pool their loans. Each block of loans will have to be approved in an appropriations act before the loans can be pooled. This means that there is a general limitation on use of the participation sales technique in the act itself and a specific limitation which will be applied through the decisions of the Appropriations Committees.

Federal credit programs operate generally under two types of limitations: a limit on the amount of new loans which may be made in a given year; or a limit on the amount of loans which may be outstanding at any given time. These limitations will not be disturbed by this bill. An agency having additional funds on hand as a result of participation sales will not be authorized to make additional loans if it does not already have that authority. Thus, congressional control will operate at both ends of the participation sales process.

If, as it will in some cases, possession of receipts from participation sales will enable an agency to make further loans, this fact will be taken into account during our deliberation on the appropriations act, and our decision to make an appropriation will constitute a decision to permit the agency to use the funds accruing from sales as authorized under other laws already in force.

We have heard the term "blank check" used here to describe the appropriation which we will make in authorizing an agency to pool some of its loans. We must recognize that the Administration cannot usually predict what the yield will be on a sale of participations sometime in the future. We must also recognize the necessity for appropriating whatever amount will be needed to service the participations that are to be sold—otherwise they would not be considered fully guaranteed. To that extent, if we wish, we can refer to this appropriation as a blank check. But the phrase has very misleading connotations. We will be appropriating only the sums necessary to meet the payments on participation certificates above and beyond what will be paid in by the borrowers. The sums involved, while they cannot be fixed, can be estimated within reasonable limits. The appropriation will not provide funds for any other activity whatsoever than meeting the service costs on the participation certificates.

The Administration has come forward with legislation which will accomplish very desirable purposes. It will accomplish those purposes while preserving strong and effective congressional controls over our lending programs. It will not authorize any expansion of our programs without our direct concurrence. It is very complicated legislation, and the many questions raised about it are quite understandable. But I believe the questions have been answered more than satisfactorily. I think we should proceed now to enact the legislation.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, today the Rumanian people all around the world celebrate their national holiday. The Rumanian organizations throughout the United States, including my own city of Cleveland, will gather to commemorate this occasion and rededicate their efforts to secure true freedom for their captive homeland.

On May 10, 1877, after approximately four centuries of Ottoman domination, the Rumanians proclaimed independence. This was recognized officially by the reigning powers of Europe a year later at the Congress of Berlin. Nearly 70 years of prosperity followed. Then came World War II and subsequent Soviet armed intervention. The Soviets installed a puppet regime in March of 1945 and have remained in control ever since. Individual freedoms were abolished and private property has been systematically confiscated by the State.

Nevertheless, the yearning for freedom cannot be extinguished, and in the course of the past year significant developments have been noted. During the 20th U.N. General Assembly Rumania voted independently from the Soviet bloc. Some time ago the Rumanian Central Committee proclaimed that Rumanians need be loyal to no other center of world communism than Bucharest, and this declaration has not been challenged. The spirit of nationalism is growing and is reflected in economic advances and cultural liberalization.

In spite of the attempts of the Soviets to change the anniversary date to May 9th, Rumanians have resisted the revision of their tradition and continue to celebrate May 10th privately, lest they invite fierce retribution from the Communist powers.

Today we pay tribute to the Rumanians for their courage and strong spirit as we join in remembering this day of freedom from the Turks and look forward to the time when May 10 will be commemorated also as a day of freedom from the Communist oppressors.

Rumanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, in a world of multiple sorrows, one of the most onerous and sad is the deprival of human freedom. This is true whether on the individual or the national scale. Thus, when we can see the glimmer of the flame of future liberty for an oppressed people, it is always a moment for pleasurable contemplation of the continual striving and occasional success of the ordinary people for their freedom.

On the 10th of May we are being given such an opportunity. This day will mark the 89th anniversary of the declaration of Rumania's independence. On that day in 1877 the nation of Rumania emerged from centuries of bondage to a foreign empire, guided by a despotic regime, and adhering to a creed alien to the Christian heritage of Rumania. At that time, over eight decades ago, the striving for national self-determination and freedom had succeeded against terrible odds.

The intervening years have presented a mixed picture of domestic reform and progress and danger from rapacious larger neighbors. The upshot of the tragedy of recent history has been the well known imposition by 1947 of a puppet Communist regime upon the defenseless Rumanian people. This copy of Russian totalitarianism is still in power today.

However, tyranny cannot forever suppress human progress. The local Communist dictators have recently been showing unmistaken and ever increasing signs of paying attention to Rumanian national aspirations.

There has been a drive to escape from the confines of the economic control of Russia. Rumania has served notice that she will not continue to be the granary of the bloc, but will develop all her potential for the good of her own people. Furthermore, the contacts with the West have been increasing, thereby restoring some of Rumania's traditional affiliation with the Latin branch of Western civilization.

Mr. Speaker, freedom has not yet returned to the citizens of Rumania. Nor is she yet fully independent. But, there are many encouraging signs. Thus on this anniversary of her independence it is fitting that we stop to note that the march of liberty seems to be again underway in Rumania, although it still has a long way to go. I wish to personally extend to the long-suffering Rumanian people my deep sympathy for their plight and my hope that in the not too-distant future full national liberty will be restored to them.

Safety on the Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, committees in both the House and Senate are taking a good, long, and, I hope, practical look at the problem of safety on the highways. I submit for the Record and hope that it will draw the attention of the Members working with this subject, a very effective editorial which appeared on April 28 in the Tri-City Advertiser, published in Dolton, Ill.:

SAFETY ON THE HIGHWAYS

The news media have been covering, with a great deal of emphasis, the arguments going on about the safety features of our automobiles. Strong measures, under Federal law, are being urged to stop, as the President said on T.V., this anarchy, on the highways.

As an amateur in the field of safety features of automobiles, we would scarcely be qualified to take place in the debate now going on. Revelations by one who obviously probed the situation thoroughly, reveal some strong allegations on the subject with quite a bit of evidence being submitted to indicate our auto makers might not be on the ball, so to speak.

On the other hand, one manufacturer said in print that it might be better if the whole matter was left in their hands because it appears that, while some errors in the manufacturing process may have occurred, the industry has built some very fine automobiles over the years.

Coming out of this debate is always the mention of the huge toll of lives lost in highway auto accidents and comparing this with the loss of lives in Vietnam. That tends to, in some measure, indicate that war is less costly in human lives than auto driving. The figures show that. The only difference in this comparison is that anyone may, of his own free will, stay off the highways since there is nothing to compel him to drive. The soldier in war has no such choice—he has to go whether he likes it or not.

While admitting that improved safety in automobiles is very much to be desired and probably needed, we are inclined to think that the greater deterrent to danger on the highways would be improved thinking on the part of some of our careless, and sometimes reckless drivers.

By way of illustration we would call your attention to a brief survey we made recently in the course of a day's business. We took an average week's report by the police and found there were some 16 traffic accidents. None was serious. They are referred to as, "fender benders."

Of the 16 accidents seven were pure carelessness where the drivers reported they could not stop in time to avoid a rear end collision; in four instances parked cars in parking lots backed into other cars; one did not see a train coming; one did not notice a car after a stop at a stop sign; one ran into another car while making a left turn; one was hit by an unknown car and the only arrest was a driver who was going too fast over an overpass on a wet road.

Certainly, those who have the opportunity to check into these matters, will agree that this survey is somewhat typical.

Looks like there is another area of auto safety to be explored.

Speech of Mrs. Roma L. Arndt, Mayor of Walnut, Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, recently it was my pleasure to attend a special observance in Walnut, Iowa, recognizing the contribution being made by the Peace Haven Home to its senior citizens. As a part of the event, I presented an American flag to the home and listened to one of the finest speeches on the subject of small rural communities I have been privileged to hear.

Mrs. Roma L. Arndt, mayor of Walnut, spoke eloquently on the effort necessary to make a community grow and prosper. Many of our small communities need to hear these words of encouragement and I am placing her speech in the Record so that my colleagues might use it to encourage others.

MAYORAL ADDRESS

Capricious April, freshly showered and gowned in green as spring's young guest of honor—has been appropriately designated as "Senior Citizen's Month." For if we keep well and cheerful we are forever young in spirit, even when years would count us old.

The youthful, adventurous spirit and determination of our forefathers founded and furthered this vast, magnificent Nation—and too, this peaceful, self-respecting town.

Walnut's beginning, like the Nation's, was a hesitant one, with a few straggling settlers arriving in the early 1860's. But with the advent of the railroad in 1869, it spurted to a booming, thriving town. Business was fluent and business houses numerous. The town eventually boasted of over 1,000 population.

Walnut was incorporated in 1878 and continued to prosper despite three major fires in which the east and west sides of Main Street and the school were completely destroyed. Her inherent pioneering spirit was evidenced in the way she pulled herself "up by the bootstraps," dusted herself off, and started all over again.

But eventually, in the 1940's, she was dealt a stinging blow from which she has never been fully able to recover. Walnut lost the Rock Island Railroad. Adding insult to injury was the fact that paved highways and modern cars were taking her residents to the city to do their trading. Following graduation, her youth went elsewhere to seek more affluent opportunity. Walnut was suffering a marked decline. The surrounding rich agricultural lands, originally responsible for her birth, were all that sustained her now.

Still surviving was that strong, but intangible thread of her indomitable spirit. Spurred by an enthusiastic few, the Walnut School was reorganized in the 1950's. The brick structure erected after the school fire in 1913 boasted of two new additions, the latter being less than 5 years old. That intangible thread again became vividly tangible when this new, modernistic Peace Haven Home for the retired was erected here. Costing nearly a million dollars, more than $80,000 of this amount was raised through local donations. The 85-unit, 1-story structure opened its doors on July 1, 1964.

The Nation too, was wrought from turmoil and tempered by strife. It has been said we learn from history that we learn nothing from history and it would seem so, for we know history repeats itself.

But just as we as individuals must constantly strive to uphold our personal beliefs and ideals, so this Nation has been engaged in numerous struggles to maintain its American ideals of freedom and democracy. The War for Independence, the War of 1812, and the Civil War were waged to preserve democracy within our boundaries.

Then there were the wars of intervention. In 1898 Ezra Gumbert, our local Peace Haven resident, participated in the Spanish-American War to aid another country in preserving its independence. And again today our boys in Vietnam are devoting themselves to that same purpose.

During the period of American occupation in Cuba—from August 12, 1898, to May 20, 1902—the military was engaged in providing food, restoring roads and damaged public buildings, installing sanitation facilities, administering customs service, supervising tax collection, and helping to prepare the people for eventual self-government.

Again today our boys in Vietnam are engaged in similar services, for they combat not only the ogre of Communist aggression, but combat disease, ignorance, and antiquated methods by providing medical and sanitation facilities, teaching their use and value, and instructing the people in establishing self-government.

Just as Walnut's senior citizens pulled themselves up by their bootstraps, so did our Nation's pioneers. And from their labors they mined the precious heritage they bequeath to their succeeding generations—the valuable gift of experience.

Henry Brooks Adams noted that "All experience is an arch, to build upon." Like the architectural device of the arch, experience lends strength.

May we, the youth of today, build a lasting, magnificent edifice upon the basic, substantial arch so ably constructed by our forebears.

For the shining example and rich heritage of their enduring contributions, God bless our senior citizens.

Respect the Law; It Respects You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Stark County Bar Association observes Law Day each year by staging an essay contest in the high schools.

This year I had the pleasure of attending the meeting at which the prizewinners read their essays on the subject, "Respect the Law; It Respects You."

In a time when we hear so much about disregard of the law in our schools, it was inspiring to listen to these fine young Americans.

I have leave to include the prize-winning essays with my remarks, as follows:

RESPECT THE LAW; IT RESPECTS YOU

(By Bruce M. Larrick, McKinley High School, first prize)

One of the basic principles of the democratic system possessed by the people of the United States is faith in the rule of the majority with protections for the rights of the minority. The National and State constitutions are literally permeated with guarantees for the rights of individuals, the main examples of which are the freedoms of speech, press, religion, and assembly, along with the right to equal protection under the law and the right to equal justice in the courts.

All civil laws, with very rare exceptions, have been enacted in order to provide for an ordered society in which every citizen is able to do as he wishes as long as he does not violate the sacred rights of others. Even when an unjust law is enacted, there are many ways to combat that seeming injustice through the processes which have been provided for the individual when he is dissatisfied with the decisions of his representatives. Good examples of this are the public rights of recall, initiative, and referendum, and the entire process by which laws are contested and judged in the courts of the land.

A citizen should not feel helpless before the law. In fact, it is almost possible to say that the law is helpless before the inviolable rights of the individual. The law has been put into effect by the representatives of the majority, but it is not ineviable or unchangeable. If it were, this country would still be living by the legislation of the 1790's. The lawmaking process in the United States is never done, and it is because of this that the law must and does respect the rights of the individual. It is because of the elasticity of the law that excesses of authority and abuses of civic responsibility by public officials have never reached such magnitude that the democratic system of government has not been altered to such an extent that it is no longer a democracy. The tools that the people have to combat injustice are so many that injustice should not exist in this country in any proportion at all.

What most citizens fail to realize is the fact that along with their rights and freedoms go their duties. The duty to obey laws, the duty to vote in elections, the duty to serve and defend their country, the duty to respect the rights of others, the duty to inform themselves on issues of government and community welfare, the duty to serve on juries if called, the duty to assist agencies of law enforcement, and the duty to practice and teach principles of law enforcement in their homes are just a few.

George Washington aptly stated the responsibility of every American citizen when he said, "The very idea of the cover and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government."

Every time that a citizen disobeys a law that has been instituted by the people, for the common good of the people, and is enforced by a government of the people, he has done irreparable damage to the foundations upon which that very citizen's freedom is based. Therefore, when a citizen believes that a law is unjust, he should not just casually disobey it, he should use the orderly processes provided by the self-same system which might have infringed upon the rights of that individual.

When a principle has been made into law, it is the duty of every single person to obey it, no matter how unjust, how misconceived, or how corrupt it is. If one law is ignored on principle, it will be possible to ignore another on a different principle, and another, and another, until every law would be null and void in the eyes of the people, even those laws punishing the most heinous crimes. Anarchy would reign where once there was an ordered set of laws and an established code of human conduct. Without these laws and codes human liberty would not exist, and there would not only be no unjust laws, there would be no laws by which injustices could be corrected and human life protected. In order for the law to respect the individual, the individual must respect the law from which he demands respect.

"Let every man remember that to violate the law is to tear up the charter of his children's liberty."—Abraham Lincoln.

RESPECT THE LAW; IT RESPECTS YOU

(By Kevin Sykes, Lehman High School, second prize)

Probably no finer words have ever been written on the subject of law than those of Ulpian, a great Roman lawyer who lived over 17 centuries ago, when he defined justice as "the constant and perpetual wish to render everyone his due." By explaining the most important feature of the law in this way, this man of the past has made the respect of the law for the individual inherent in its definition. For the active desire to give each person what he deserves can be recognized simply as the ultimate gesture of respect for individual worth.

The question of an individual's respect for the law, however, cannot be decided so easily. An explanation may be partially derived from the words of Benjamin Disraeli, a Prime Minister of Great Britain in the 19th century: "When men are pure, laws are useless; when men are corrupt, laws are broken." Thus is stated the universal truth that law, by its very existence, is admitting the antagonistic existence of crime, a force which neither respects nor obeys it. Obviously then, the real obligation for the respect of the law lies not with the criminal, who by his very nature is in opposition, but with the common, law-abiding person, who receives the benefits of justice. Ideally this phrase "law-abiding" would be applied to every person not actively involved in crime. Unfortunately, however, corruption is present beneath the most respectable facades. This is not a new development, for it has existed at least from the earliest days of written history.

One of the best known stories of the truly ancient school of literature was written by a forgotten Egyptian author about 2000 B.C. It is the tale of the eloquent peasant, a poor man who is cruelly robbed by an official. With the confidence that the law is on his side, the peasant takes his case to court and so eloquently defends himself that the king grants him justice. The long courtroom dialog contains a timeless indictment of corruption and a vivid description of the responsibilities of those who hold public office.

In this case both the peasant and the official were "rendered their due." Of course, the corrupt officeholder had, through his own disregard of the law, commanded so little respect that he received but a comparable amount from the law in return. The fact that this man, one of the "law-abiding" persons of his society, had neglected the law for his own selfish reasons is of primary importance here. This is the attitude which has existed for centuries and which now flourishes in our modern society.

There are innumerable examples of individual lack of respect for the law. A man parks his car and does not put a nickel in the meter. A student glances at his neighbor's paper during an exam. "Oh, it's all right. Everyone does it." A woman hurries home, slowing down her automobile but never stopping for stopsigns. Some teenagers remove a sign from along the road. A man accelerates his car to 10 miles per hour above the speed limit. "It's all right. Everyone does it." A businessmen alters a few facts on his income tax return. Some potential teenage club members pick up items in a store for initiation. A man caught speeding slips the arresting officer a $5 bill. The policeman takes it. "It's all right. Everyone does it." A public official offers a contract to a specific company for a small personal profit. Some teenagers "borrow" a car for the evening. At a fire a group of firemen rescue some goods and cash—for themselves. "It's all right. Everyone does it."

Yes, everyone does it. There are few persons who do not display some petty vice. But how far can this be permitted to go. It is not all right. Few criminals begin with major crimes. It is such little things as these which can lead a person to more significant wrongs. Yet, it cannot be said that all persons who commit these disregarded misdemeanors will advance to greater crimes. To be sure, most of them will not. But by ignoring the law, even in this minor way, people are sanctioning its abuse in general. Although these "good citizens" would never admit it, their actions evidence their lack of respect for the law. These are the same persons who cry of corruption in government and crime on the streets. They do not understand or they will not understand what effect their own attitudes can have. The law cannot protect them when they constantly antagonize it. They will be "rendered their due"; the law owes them little more.

The laws of our society are not perfect, because they are devised by men with similar imperfections. However, because the laws are flexible, they can change as men become more enlightened, or perhaps, as they regress. This is the decision that must be made: to go forward, or to go backward; to move toward the state in which laws will not be needed, because men are pure, or to move toward the state where laws cannot survive, because men are barbarians. This is the decision, and it will be made by the respect which individuals show for the law. Law strives for justice, "the constant and perpetual wish to render everyone his due." Man can receive no more than he gives.

RESPECT THE LAW; IT RESPECTS YOU

(By Sandra Gastin, McKinley High School, tied for third prize)

The goods produced in this country are second to none because the United States is continually seeking new and more efficient methods of production. America may now proudly proclaim that it is half a generation ahead of the rest of the world in the development of an industrial society. Unfortunately, the American people have tasted not only the pleasures but also the terrors of this new sort of life. Urban industrial life creates communities of the "left behind" who suffer unemployment because of their illiteracy and incapacity to fulfill job requirements.

Tension gradually mounts among the oppressed; and when an unexpected incident becomes the spark of full-scale violence, mobs thrive and a riot is born. Consequently, within the past few years the Nation has witnessed a number of unfortunate destructive demonstrations centering around civil rights and community problems. The tragedies of Harlem, Rochester, and Los Angeles are omens of what we will have to cope with in the 1970's and 1980's if no efforts are made to prevent such disasters. The question arises, therefore, what can be done to prevent any further urban racial eruptions. To be specific, what legal steps can be taken by the law to establish justice and maintain peace?

Recently, the civil rights and race problems have grown alarmingly out of proportion, and the police have become immediately involved. Critics have consistently demanded that police and judges not to be biased when dealing with minority groups. At times, police have been accused of prejudice and therefore of causing the riots. Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker refuted such criticism by stating: "I think that the charge of police brutality is being used throughout the United States in every locality where it serves the purpose of these individuals making the charge." The brutality charges are only an excuse for the basic problems that have led to the violence. Police have become the physical object against which people believing themselves to be oppressed can vent their frustrations. With respect for policemen dwindling, Americans are weakening the power that protects them. The actions of the police are in most cases justified because they are acting under the authority of the Government and law.

What triggered the riots cannot be pinpointed. Specialists after investigating the reasons for the uprisings, concluded that a variety of factors were intermingled. Much may be attributed to the summer weather which was both very hot and dry. Prior to the disorders in Harlem, the Negro unemployment rate in June 1963, was two and a half times greater than that of whites.

A majority of the rioters were young people who were caught up in an explosion of violence against authority—any authority. They were merely trying to prove they belonged to something. Others were mentally unbalanced, fed up with suppression and hatred, and they found in the riots a chance to release some of their emotions. Demonstrators, just letting off some steam, caused the citizens and cities involved millions of dollars in damages. Indeed, no one, not even those who claim that Negroes are inferior and inclined to lawlessness, benefited from the riots.

The upheavals which occurred across the country were never expected. Whenever such crises arise in the future, the best deterrent is to use strength to suppress the opposition. The most suitable solution, however, would be to prevent a riot before it gets started.

Providing job training, better housing, and improved schooling are essential to eliminate discrimination. More recreational facilities should be built for the public. New jobs must be created to compensate for the unemployment rate. Police officers should be trained in how to deal with situations in which race is involved. These steps must be taken before there will be urban peace.

But legislation, indeed, will provide more than anything else the initiative upon which all of these steps depend. Certainly, legislation for civil rights in the past has been the main force in changing the position of the Negro in this country. The use of public accommodations without facing insult or indignities is a blemish of the past for the Negro. For the first time, all Negroes have a true opportunity to cast a ballot and participate in voting.

Discriminating employment practices are now being eliminated, while discrimination in housing is on the verge of being prohibited by Federal law. Indeed, the American Negro has been offered new and broader horizons of freedom with an opportunity to contribute in a positive manner to the development of a harmonious industrial urban community. As a consequence of the law's attempt to provide the Negroes with a more equitable environment and just treatment, they will respect the law in response to its recognition of their problems. In doing so, they will demonstrate the relevance of the admonition: Respect the law—it respects you.

RESPECT THE LAW; IT RESPECTS YOU

(By James Anasis, McKinley High School, tied for third prize)

I once heard it said that law is the greatest of all human inventions because it gives man mastery over himself. When I first heard this statement I thought little of it but as time passes and I see our present system of law functioning this one statement keeps reverberating in my mind. One question that instantly leaps forward when I think of this, is just how does the law give man mastery over himself.

Taking the word mastery we find it to be defined as "control over something." How then can law give man control over himself? By establishing a fictitious society I think that this question can be clearly answered. Society X is established with no laws or codes of ethics. The people are free to live and act as they please. Reasoning alone will tell us that this type of society cannot endure. In a society of the type mentioned above all men would be slaves with each catering to the desires of someone who was stronger.

Thus if a society which contains no laws makes man a slave unto himself and others it is only logical to conclude that in order for man to be free and have mastery over himself he must be governed by some form of law.

In my opinion, anything which has the power to give man mastery over himself should also warrant his deep respect. The next question then is, How do we and how can we exhibit this respect. One way in which we can show this respect is by upholding and protecting the law at all times. The key phrase here is "all times." This means not just when we feel that we personally will benefit from this support but whenever we are in a position to sponsor such action. Too many people today have the attitude that if something requires a little extra effort on their part then let another person do it.

With great disgust and shame I think of the number of stories I have heard recently where murders, robberies, and assaults have been committed in broad daylight with numerous witnesses around. All of these witnesses, yet not a single person raised a hand or voice to help or even try to obtain aid for the victim. Why didn't anyone help? There was no help or concern for the flimsy excuse which is being offered more and more each day "I didn't want to become involved."

If the founders of our great American heritage had felt this way then today instead of being a Nation of free people, we would be as arbarious and slave-like as the people I described in my fictitious society X.

As we can perceive, the law cannot protect us unless we protect it. If we have no regard for the law we become slaves unto ourselves and others. Who respects a slave who is in servitude merely because he is too lazy or just doesn't care enough to respect or protect anything that will free him from the bonds of servitude? Most people will agree that this slave is either ignorant or just a plain fool. If the actions of the slave are so foolish then why do millions of so-called intelligent people act in a similar manner each year. Each time a person breaks the law he is like a slave adding heavier links into the chains that bind him.

Unless each and every one of us respect the law and work to protect it how can we expect the law to protect us. In conclusion I might say that without the cooperation of the citizens there can be no law and without the law there can be no free citizens.

The Other Enemies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, peace in troubled southeast Asia depends upon victory against poverty, disease and despair, the Dallas Times Herald believes.

An editorial, which appeared on April 26, 1966, quotes Vice President HUMPHREY on efforts this country is taking to win the "other" Vietnam war—the struggle to improve social and economic conditions among the people of southeast Asia.

The Times Herald states:

> No amount of military power can achieve lasting peace and stability in Asia until the economic and social ills upon which the seeds of communism germinate are also eradicated.

I know others will want to see the contents of this editorial and I herewith submit it to the RECORD for publication:

WAGING THE "OTHER WAR"

Vice President HUMPHREY, in an address to newspaper executives in New York, emphasized the "other" Vietnam war—the struggle, somewhat belatedly undertaken, to improve social conditions among the people of southeast Asia. Peace in that troubled sector, he told the annual meeting of the Associated Press, depends upon victory against "poverty, disease, and despair" among the struggling populace as much as it does upon military defeat of Communist forces.

HUMPHREY stressed the dual nature of the "enemy" in this cruel and sometimes abstruse conflict. On the one hand, the obvious one, it is the Communist troops of the Vietcong and North Vietnam. But on the other, it is the misery, hunger and backwardness of the peasants who have been buffeted by generations of turmoil—most of which they do not understand in political terms.

Fortunately, a strong effort to win this "other" war is finally underway through the Agency for International Development, whose Deputy Assistant Administrator, Walter G. Stoneham, was in Dallas last week recruiting volunteers for this less newsworthy but equally vital struggle. "We are attacking the roots of revolution," Stoneham said here, "agrarian discontent, frustrated thirst for education, health problems, urban-rural gap, inflation."

This battle will only really begin in earnest after the fighting has ended—and it must go on, unglamorously, for years after peace has been established. AID's grassroots assistance program can, of course, make only limited headway until the military security of the countryside has been achieved. But bullets and bombs alone will never conclusively win this struggle. No amount of military power can achieve lasting peace and stability in Asia until the economic and social ills upon which the seeds of communism germinate are also eradicated.

While resisting overt armed aggression, the United States also is embarked upon what the Vice President termed "the second great task before us: the desperate need to narrow the gap between the rich and poor nations of the world."

Rumanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, today, May 10, we commemorate the anniversary of Rumanian independence. After centuries of oppressive domination by the Ottoman Empire, the people of Rumania had at long last achieved their much-desired freedom and national independence.

The Rumanian people today are a people living in a state of national oppression. Since 1945, they have known nothing else but the tyranny of communism. At the end of World War II, the Rumanian people had hoped that they would be able to share with all freemen in the fruits of victory, a victory which many had hoped had brought mankind to a new era of peace.

But they were mistaken in their expectations of the future. The hopes of all freemen were soon crushed as we observed with profound concern the destruction of freedom throughout all Eastern Europe by a new world tyranny, communism. One after another, all the states of Eastern Europe had fallen victim to the military power and coercive ideology of the Soviet Union. Their freedom was destroyed and all the hopes of man for a better future were dissolved.

In recent years we have observed profound changes taking place in the Communist world, changes that have affected Rumania. Forces of diffusion of power have been at work, eating away the once total power the Soviet held over the East European states. Within the vortex of these political changes, Rumania has been able to wrench herself to a degree from the Soviet hold. And in the last 2 years we have witnessed a gradual gravitation of the country toward the West.

These are hopeful changes, and on this anniversary of Rumanian independence let us all express a common wish that the forces of Rumanian unity with the West will increase and that in the course of time the Rumanian people will enjoy the national independence that they so richly deserve.

Airline Prosperity Is Not Simple

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, this past week, Chairman Charles S. Murphy, Civil Aeronautics Board, in a speech in my congressional district outlined the underlying reasons for the complexity of airline fares that we have today. He told the National Transportation Symposium:

> Most of the special fares offered by the airlines stem from the economic characteristics of the industry—and are designed to attract additional traffic, to shift travelers from the peak periods to the slack, to fill empty seats, or some combination of the three.

Chairman Murphy's talk, which follows, is a detailed outline which I think all of my colleagues will find extremely interesting:

AIRLINE PROSPERITY IS NOT SIMPLE

(Remarks by Charles S. Murphy, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, before National Transportation Symposium, San Francisco, Calif., May 4, 1966)

I want to talk to you about the multiplicity of airline fares and the whys and wherefores thereof.

I want to say something about the underlying reasons for the various fares—to describe some of them briefly and some of their results. I wish to say something about their advantages and disadvantages. I wish to express the view that we do not know nearly as much about their effects as we should and to suggest some possible lines of inquiry about them, and finally I wish to come to the conclusion that it is better to have a variety of different airline fares than it is not to have them.

A number of humorists have been made some funny remarks lately about the complexity of our airline fares. Notwithstanding all this levity, there is a reason for the multiplicity of fares and a very good reason.

The basic reason for the variety of airline fares lies in the nature of the economics of the industry. The various fares have two main purposes: One, to build up the total volume of passenger traffic. In this respect, air transportation is much like many other industries in that an increasing volume of business is highly desirable to keep the industry healthy. To achieve the increasing volume of traffic, it is simply good business to provide attractive fares to bring in new customers.

The second basic reason for the variety of fares is to even out the passenger loads between peak periods and slack periods. In this respect, the economics of the airline industry are quite distinctive in a number of ways. There is naturally and normally a big fluctuation in the volume of passenger traffic between seasons of the year, between days of the week, and even between hours of the day. Essentially, an airline must be able to accommodate the passengers who wish to travel with it during peak periods. This means that it must have airplanes and other facilities adequate for this purpose. If it has enough airplanes and enough available seats for the peak periods, it will almost certainly have more than enough for the slack period. It can readily be seen that this leads to underutilization of capital equipment and various forms of economic waste.

Many passengers have a considerable amount of flexibility with respect to the timing of their travel. They can go on Wednesday rather than Friday or in the middle of the day rather than during the commuters' rush hour in the morning. By offering lower fares in the slack periods, reducing the peaks and building up the valleys. This in turn reduces the amount of flight equipment needed and provides for better utilization of flight equipment on hand.

There is one other very distincinve characteristic of airline economics that plays a key role in the most productive fare structure. That is the empty seat. Once an airliner taks off for a scheduled flight between two cities, to all intents and purposes the transportation represented by every seat on that airliner is produced. If a seat is not occupied, that transportation goes to waste. This kind of waste is mostly associated with the slack travel periods, although some of it occurs in peak periods as well. It is obviously not possible to fill every seat on every airplane on every trip. However, we should be diligent to try to minimize the empty seat waste as much as is reasonably possible.

I believe we will find that most of the special fares offered by the airlines stem from the economic characteristics of the industry indicated above. They are designed to attract additional traffic, to shift travelers from the peak periods to the slack periods, to fill empty seats, or some combination of the three. All of these objectives are, in my judgment, entirely praiseworthy. To examine the fares in relation to them, we might start by identifying generally some of the normal peak periods. The seasonal peaks vary somewhat in different markets. For example, in the Florida market, the seasonal peak is in the winter. In most other markets, the seasonal peak is in the summer. There are several peak travel days at most of our holidays. As to days of the week, in most markets there is a peak Friday afternoon and evening and another Sunday afternoon and evening. On most days, there is a peak demand in most markets in the earlier hours of the morning and again in the late afternoon. As we examine the special fares, we find that a number of them are related to these peak periods, or perhaps I should say disrelated.

Let's turn now to some examples of the various special fares. First, let's look at some fares that vary between different parts of the year and seasonal markets.

For a number of years, off-season fares have been offered from late April through mid-December in the east coast-Florida markets. Taking New York-Miami as a typical example, the regular all-year jet coach fare for a round trip is $143.80. In the off-season period, the same trip can be made for as little as $90, a saving of 37 percent, provided travel takes place on Tuesday or Wednesday, the slackest days of the week in terms of passenger demand. The comparable fare for travel on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday is slightly higher at $94. These fares are geared to normal tourist travel and are designed to guard against diversion of other types of traffic. For this reason, the passenger must stay in Florida at least 6 days, and must complete his trip within 22 days.

Another market which has a distinct seasonal pattern in its fare structure is the North Atlantic market, which is by far the largest international market of all. Here, traffic peaks rather sharply for about 10 weeks—outbound from the United States in the early summer, and inbound during August and September. In order to shift some traffic away from these peaks, the carriers offer lower fares throughout the rest of the year. For example, the round-trip New York-London economy class fare during the peak season is $484.50. During the remainder of the year it is $399—a reduction of 18 percent. The carriers also offer promotional fares on the Atlantic—a $300 round-trip excursion fare (New York-London) for trips of from 2 to 3 weeks duration, a $270 fare available to agents to build a complete packaged tour, and reduced fares for group travel. These fares are similarly limited so as not to be available during what we call the "peak of the peak" season, or on heavy weekend travel days of Friday through Sunday.

As a final example of seasonal markets, we can now look at the Pacific where a seasonal pattern is to be established for the first time with new fares scheduled to take effect 3 days from now. Taking west coast-Tokyo as an example, a fare of $760 will apply for round trip economy class travel during the months of March through November. During the very low traffic months of December through February the fare will be $703. In an effort to develop new sources of traffic, the carriers will offer an expanded pattern of group fares. Here again, the fares will not be available during the peak summer travel periods.

Let's look briefly at some examples of fares designed to shift traffic between different hours of the same day. Perhaps the best known and most general kind of fare for this purpose is the night—or offpeak—coach fare. Here the carrier offers a reduction from the normal fare to induce people to travel at times when traffic would otherwise be slack. The carrier profits from increased utilization of his equipment and facilities and the passenger has the benefit of a lower fare service. Night coach fares are traditional in some markets, including the Florida markets, and have recently been introduced between New York and San Juan. They have not been offered in the transcontinental market. This reflects the fact that nighttime travel in the transcontinental markets has not been considered off-peak but on the contrary as a desirable travel time. Of course, these situations tend to change with changes in technology, and Delta Air Lines has recently instituted a night coach service with reduced fares between Atlanta, New Orleans, and Dallas, and points in California.

One of the more interesting examples of a special fare available at particular hours of the day is Eastern's shuttle between Washington and New York and between New York and Boston. Because these services are used so extensively for business travel, early morning and late afternoon flights are in great demand. To ease this peaking, Eastern offers reductions approaching 20 percent from the regular fares, Monday through Friday, on all other flights—to be specific, on all flights except those operated prior to 9:45 a.m. and between 3 p.m. and 7:45 p.m. These reduced fares also apply all day Saturday and up to 2:45 p.m. on Sunday, at which time the full fare comes into effect. The net result is that roughly half of Eastern's shuttle service is priced as offpeak.

Now I would like to talk some about a group of special fares that we might refer to as promotional because their main objective is to encourage new business. Such fares as this are frequently related to peak and slack periods in that they are not available during certain peak periods. When such a fare is not available during a particular period, we say the period is blacked out for that fare. That, of course, adds another complication and frequently an irritant. However, just because one can have cake and ice cream part of the time, it does not follow that he has a constitutional right to have cake and ice cream whenever he wants it. These promotional fares do present some real travel bargains to persons who are in a position to use them.

Perhaps it would be useful at this point to distinguish between the two basic components of the air travel market. One of these is business travel. The other is other travel. Other travel consists of such things as vacation and other pleasure travel, family travel, and travel for various personal reasons. The business travel has several distinctive characteristics of importance for our purposes. It is not particularly elastic in its response to changes in fare levels. Most of it will take place anyway, and the fare is regarded as a cost of doing business. It is paid for with pretax dollars which means that upwards of half of the fare is reflected in a reduction in income taxes. Time is usually of the essence. This business travel market is the mainstay of the industry and our air transportation system must be tailored to serve it.

The nonbusiness market is considerably more elastic in its response to fare changes. Much of this travel is discretionary. Much of it has a reasonable alternative by surface modes of travel. It is paid for with after-tax dollars. Price is frequently more important than time. This is the market at which promotional fares are principally aimed, and in aiming at this market the carriers seek to avoid undue dilution of the business market. This does not seem to me to be inequitable. Although the businessman might typically be paying more than the nonbusiness traveler who adjusts his schedule to take advantage of the special fares, the businessman is not only getting a better product which meets his demands, he is also getting this product at a lower price than would be possible if the airlines did not have the benefits of the nonbusiness travel created by the special fares.

Some of the major promotional fares aimed primarily at the nonbusiness market are as follows:

1. Family fares which provide a one-third discount for the first accompanying member and a two-thirds discount thereafter.
2. Standby fares for young adults between the ages of 12 and 22, at a 50-percent discount from regular jet fares.
3. Round-trip "Discover America" excursion fares at a 25-percent discount from the jet coach fare, available to all comers on a firm reservation basis, provided that the round trip is not made in the same calendar week and is completed within 30 days.

These fares apply on a systemwide basis within the contiguous 48 States on the trunkline carriers. The young adult fare will shortly be extended to Hawaii at a 25-percent discount from economy class fares. All are available year round except for limited blackout periods. The "Discover America" excursion fare and the family fare are not available from noon Friday to noon Saturday, nor from noon Sunday to noon Monday. The excursion fare also is blacked out during certain peak travel periods and around major holidays. The youth fare is available at any time except around major holidays. All local service carriers have comparable family fares, some offer standby fares and various sorts of young adult fares, and so far several have chosen to offer the round-trip excursion fare.

All but one trunkline carrier has "Visit U.S.A." fares which apply to visitors from abroad. Generally, these fares provide for travel over each carrier's entire system at a flat charge with a requirement for one or more stopovers. Tickets are valid for 90 days on most transcontinental carriers, for 30 days on carriers whose systems are more regional in scope. The predominant fare is $220 in jet coach service although on the smaller trunklines it ranges from $130 to $175. Virtually all local service carriers have comparable fares in effect. These carriers also have a joint "Visit U.S.A." program which permits travel on one ticket over an itinerary traversing any or all of the local carriers.

It is a little too early to tell just how effective the "Discover America" excursion fares will be in developing new business. However, I am frank to say that I have high expectations. Although the Board will not receive industrywide reports on the young adult fare until July, all indications are that it is proving to be very popular. American Airlines recently stated, for example, that it carried its 100,000th passenger on April 19, a scant 3 months after the fare became available, and that it expected the month of April alone would see more than 60,000 passengers traveling at this half fare. Experience with the liberalized family fare plan has been quite impressive as a harbinger for the future. After only a scant 6 months, some carriers reported that the number of full fare paying passengers had doubled and, possibly of even greater significance, the size of the family group was noticeably larger.

Some of the most challenging questions relating to promotional fares revolve around the standby or space available concept. This might be thought of as the most direct or purest form of the approach to the empty seat question. As a rule of thumb, we might consider that the added cost to an airline of putting a standby passenger into a seat which would otherwise be empty is about 20 percent of the basic fare. If the passenger in that otherwise empty seat pays half fare, the net revenue of the carrier is increased by 30 percent of the basic fare. If it were that simple, it would be all to the good, but there are some complications. You can fill a seat with a half-fare passenger who otherwise might be a full-fare passenger. Also, the boarding of standby passengers is complicated and presents some very vexatious problems and sometimes results in some very vexed people. However, the potential advantages from standby fares are so great that one cannot lightly pass them by or abandon the whole idea even in the face of substantial problems. We might briefly examine some of the experiences with these fares so far.

The first and perhaps the greatest is the standby fare for military personnel in uniform traveling at their own expense. Since March 1963, they have been able to travel on all our domestic airlines at half fare when space is available. I think it is generally agreed that this has been good for the men in uniform and good for the airlines. One of the most substantial advantages of this service is the morale factor of making it possible for military personnel who are separated from their families by many miles, to return home periodically to visit at a price within their reach.

Traffic data furnished by the carriers about a year ago indicated that military standby traffic then represented approximately 5 percent of total traffic and something less than 3 percent of passenger revenues. The carriers believe that this fare is accomplishing the purpose of enabling them to obtain more efficient utilization of capacity, and that it is contributing to their profits. In fact, the initial proponent of these fares, American Airlines, estimated that during 1964, the military standby fares contributed a net profit of over $2 million to its operations, after making allowances for self-diversion and added costs.

We get right many letters expressing the view that military personnel should get a reserved seat or positive space to travel at the 50-percent rate. While this would be highly desirable, it simply is not a practical possibility. I should say that we get very few such expressions from the military men themselves. All reports indicate that they adjust very well to the space available concept, taking the bad along with the good without undue complaint and cooperating fully with the carriers in making this kind of service work as well as possible.

The recently introduced young adult fare which I mentioned earlier is not free from controversy and does present some special problems as well as some special advantages. For the time being, I think we must continue to regard it as experimental. I hope that the difficulties connected with it will be manageable, for it has values which are well worth saving if that can be done. However, I also hope that whatever problems there may be with the youth fares will not be considered synonymous with any and all standby fares. The possibilities with space available fares are such as to warrant other types of exploration as well.

We do have carriers that are experimenting with various other forms of standby fares and with some most encouraging results. One such carrier is Frontier, which now offers standby fares to all travelers on other than nonstop flights in several of its markets. In February, traffic in these markets was up 99 percent over last year. Without the standbys, the increase was 49 percent as compared with a 32-percent increase in other markets. Clearly this is a popular service, and one which may be generating some additional regular fare traffic as well. According to an in-flight survey which it made, Frontier estimates that some 10 percent of these standbys had never flown, and that an astonishing 55 percent would not have made their trip—at least by air—had the half fare not been available.

Another local service carrier, Allegheny Airlines, offers no-reservation service at discounts of about 30 percent on certain flights between Philadelphia and Boston, Providence, Pittsburgh, and Washington. This service is essentially like Frontier's in that it is designed to fill otherwise empty seats on regular fare flights, as opposed to Eastern's shuttle which is a separate and distinct operation.

Finally, I understand that Pacific Southwest has recently put in a standby fare between here and Los Angeles. Up until now, these popular commuter services have provided for normal reservation procedures, although they are often compared to our shuttle service on the East coast. I expect that other carriers in this market will follow Pacific Southwest's lead.

There are many other promotional fares, although generally less widespread in scope—some for first riders, some for senior citizens, some for "Visit U.S.A." type travel by U.S. residents coming from beyond the carrier's area of operation, some for groups of varying sizes, and some of the more conventional round trip excursion variety. However, I will forgo any more detail since it should be obvious by now that our airline fare structure really is complicated. It is quite possible to simplify it. We can simplify it just by doing away with all special or discount fares and retaining only the basic fares. Better yet, we can allow each passenger to simplify it for himself just by asking for a ticket at the basic fare without any of this nonsense about all these special fares—no fuss with discounts at all.

Some may say and do say we should lower the basic fares for everyone instead of having the various special fares and discounts. This presupposes that you could in some fashion afford to lower the basic fares if the discount fares were abolished. But this is not necessarily true. In fact, it would be my guess that if the discount fares were abolished, the basic fares would have to be higher than they otherwise would be. That is to say, I expect that the increased earnings by reason of the discount fares make possible lower levels of basic fares.

My suggestion on the whole would be that all of us recognize the affirmative values of what we have and be thankful for them. We must recognize that to get the maximum benefits from our air transporation system we must put up with some inconvenience. You cannot have it both ways. If we are to get the most efficient and economical results from our air transportation system, we will have to continue to have a variety of fares.

I do not find anything startling or terrible about the concept that one must shop for a bargain in air travel in a fashion similar to shopping for bargains elsewhere. This is normal in our American private enterprise economy. We all can think of some analogies. I won't talk about shopping for ladies' dresses because I don't know anything about that. I did have an experience recently shopping for automobile insurance. It just happens that the premiums on my automobile insurance are in an amount comparable to the fare for a transcontinental round trip by air. Recently, I got mad with my insurance company and wanted to change. I spent most of 2 days shopping for insurance with some other company and finally gave up in frustration and just kept the insurance where it was. I can tell you it is a lot simple than that to buy an airline ticket.

I am hopeful that better techniques can be developed to facilitate the purchase and sale of air travel tickets. Western Air Lines has developed a gadget they call dial a fare which helps quite a lot to simplify the problem. Possibly some means can be found to use computers to determine the correct and best fare for any particular air journey by any particular person or group. Additionally, as sales personnel and the traveling public become increasingly familiar with various fares, I am sure the problem will tend to grow less.

Finally, I should say that I consider that we are in an experimental period with special fares. It is an exciting period—with all its problems. We find different judgments, different views about many questions. I hope that we can deal with these differences with reason rather than emotion, and that we can continue to improve our already very remarkable system of air transportation and make it increasingly available to our people.

Some people think that we are doing too much experimenting. Others think that we are not doing enough. These views are exemplified by two persons who commented recently on transatlantic fares.

In a recent Washington speech, a high official of the Italian airline, Alitalia, expressed the opinion that the transatlantic fare structure is so complicated that it is difficult and costly to administer and sell. He stated that his company strongly favors an overhaul which would eliminate the group fares, narrow down availability of current excursion fares, and reduce the basic economy fares. He would retain a seasonal differential. On the other side of the coin, another person high in the ranks of European aviation recently expressed to me his view that an across-the-board reduction in the basic fares should be avoided since it would reduce yield and increase the problem of seasonal and directional peaking. He believes that more attractive promotional discounts, with appropriate directional and seasonal restrictions, is the sounder approach.

We do need to improve greatly our techniques for evaluating the results of experimental fares. I hope that we can make a substantial contribution in this regard at the CAB, and I urge all those interested in the economics of air transportation to give major attention to research in this field.

My own feeling is that we are doing just about the right amount of experimenting at the present time. We can expect a changing pattern. Some experimental fares undoubtedly can be improved. Others perhaps will be discarded. New ones will be introduced. From time to time, perhaps steps can be taken toward simplification, but all in all, in my judgment, when we stop experimenting we will be condemning the airline industry to a slow death.

Today the airlines are doing just fine, I am happy to say. Trunkline traffic in March was up 26 percent over March 1965—skipping distortions caused by strikes, the greatest year-to-year gain in over 10 years. Load factor was up 3.5 percentage points—the greatest improvement in more than 2 years. I won't say that this is due solely to the variety of special fares now available to the would-be air traveler. But I am fairly certain that these fares are partly responsible for the industry's new records—records which it is achieving one month and breaking the next. Airline prosperity may not be simple, but I believe this is a situation where complications are helpful both to the industry and to the public interest.

Expropriation of U.S. Property by Venezuela

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, very shortly, the Congress will be considering a new authorization which will include substantial amounts for aid under the Alliance for Progress.

In the light of these perennial giveaways, I think it is significant that the Congress be made aware of certain actions taken by some of our aid recipients, which are a slap in the face to those Americans whose tax dollars make up this aid.

Following is a letter I received from Mr. Benjamin S. Dowd, president of the Chemical Natural Resources, Inc., of New York City:

CHEMICAL NATURAL RESOURCES, INC.,
New York, N.Y., May 2, 1966.

Re the expropriation and confiscation by the Government of Venezuela of the properties of citizens residing in 26 States of the United States.

Hon. DURWARD G. HALL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HALL: Your attention is respectfully called to the above subject so that in the event Venezuela should again wish to be considered for aid of any type from the U.S. taxpayers it should be denied it.

Venezuela, disregarding international law, which holds the properties of foreign nationals should not be expropriated without prompt and adequate compensation, expropriated, confiscated, and wantonly vandalized properties in Venezuela owned by investors from these 26 States. Every means to arrive at an equitable settlement was exhausted during negotiations in Caracas from 1959 to 1962. After that, suit was instituted in the United States. Venezuela pleaded sovereign immunity as its defense and thus prevented the real issues to be heard. This has been in the courts during the years 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966. The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to review this matter. The Department of State has supported Venezuela from the inception of these grievous illegalities.

Dr. R. Lepervanche Parparcen, one of Venezuela's leading and most highly respected lawyers, and former president of the OAS, and one of the few, who can still speak out in Venezuela, recently publicly stated in Carcas: "We who were born in Venezuela; we who have lived in Venezuela all our lives;

we who are subject to the laws of Venezuela, know there is no justice to be obtained in our courts in Venezuela."

If this is the treatment given to the natives of Venezuela, what treatment could be expected for Americans in those same courts? Nevertheless, the Department of State still recommends that this matter be returned to those Venezuelan courts.

Presently, the sons of some of these robbed investors are in Vietnam fighting to protect the properties of the South Vietnamese, while the confiscation of their own properties by the delinquent Government of Venezuela is defended and condoned by their own Government.

During these delaying legal maneuvers Venezuela has obtained hundreds of millions in aid, increased sugar quotas, increased oil quotas and investment guarantees, all at the expense of American taxpayers. Until Venezuela makes redress to these investors from 26 States of the United States, Venezuela should receive nothing from the United States, including investment guarantee for projects in Venezuela.

Thanks for any efforts in their behalf and best regards.

Sincerely,

BENJAMIN S. DOWD,
President.

Back Door Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I am continually disturbed over the trade our country carries on with Communists by way of the back door. I call to the attention of my fellow citizens a very informative discussion of this situation, and place the article in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 10, 1966]

BACK DOOR TRADE: U.S. FIRMS DEAL MORE WITH RED BLOC VIA FOREIGN UNITS

(By J. Russell Boner)

LEIPZIG, EAST GERMANY.—American companies are selling more to Communist countries than anyone would ever guess from the trade figures.

They are accomplishing this through the back door, via subsidiaries in Europe. Thus, sales and profits from dealing with Eastern European nations are buried in the consolidated corporate reports of U.S. companies and are reflected in export figures from European nations, rather than in U.S. trade totals. Moreover, these sales may obtain fresh impetus from a bill proposed by President Johnson last week to liberalize trade with East European nations.

Examples abound of heavy selling to Eastern Europe by U.S. subsidiaries abroad.

Victor C. Squitieri, Jr., manager of Honeywell, Inc.'s commercial controls division for continental Europe, says, "Of the commerical equipment we sell (in East Germany) about 60 percent is made in West Germany and counts as German exports." Only 40 percent shows up in U.S. trade figures. International Business Machine Corp. reports that its sales to the Communist bloc come almost entirely from its Western European plants.

No one knows exactly how much U.S. trade is carried on through overseas subsidiaries. But talks with companies doing business behind the Iron Curtain indicate commerce of this type is rising faster than direct U.S. trade. Direct trade itself is moving up briskly. Last year U.S. imports from Red nations rose some 40 percent from 1964, to $141.5 million. U.S. industrial exports to Red nations rose, too, Government officials estimate, though the overall export figure slipped to $222.6 million from $339.2 million in 1964, because massive grain shipments of 1964 weren't repeated last year. Based on these figures, America's trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc accounts for only 3 percent of all East-West trade.

All the evidence indicates these statistics don't even begin to show the volume of U.S. trade with Red nations. Italy's Fiat, for instance, has just negotiated with the Russians to build an auto plant in the Soviet Union with a capacity of more than 2,000 units daily. The cost would be in excess of $800 million. Fiat officials say that U.S. companies may be asked to bid on more than $50 million worth of equipment for the plant. But the shipments to Russia would be through Fiat, and all sales would be lumped into Italy's exports to the Soviet Union.

U.S. EXHIBITORS OVERLOOKED

The U.S. trading role has been taken over by overseas subsidiaries to such an extent that some Communists apparently aren't aware they're dealing with American companies. The East Germans, eager to indicate American de facto recognition of their regime, claimed that 68 American firms were represented at the recent Leipzig fair. The number was heavily bolstered by the inclusion of over 30 U.S. publishers represented in two small booths by Dutch and Swiss exhibitors. Yet, astonishingly, in their listings the East Germans failed to identify as American more than 20 publicly held U.S. companies, including subsidiaries and ventures of such giants as Ford Motor Co. and H. J. Heinz (both counted as British), Honeywell (West German) and General Electric (French with Machines Bull).

The Communists aren't the only ones overlooking the American role in sales behind the Iron Curtain. "Britain Wins Moscow Order for Landing Aid System" reads a London Times headline. The story deals with a $280,000-plus Russian order for an instrument landing system to be installed by Standard Cables & Telephones, Ltd., at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport. Nowhere does the story mention that SCT is a British subsidiary of International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., New York.

Even U.S. banks apparently are establishing back door branches to help U.S. corporate customers abroad conduct trade with Communist nations. They are homing in on Vienna, a key financial center in East-West trade. Last November, Bank of America opened an office in the Austrian capital, and Chase Manhattan Bank is currently negotiating to acquire an Austrian bank there.

There are many reasons American companies are selling the products of their European subsidiaries behind the Iron Curtain. Some are matters of simple economics: Lower transportation costs or easier adaptability. Others are of political origin, involving tariffs and clearances.

Caterpillar Tractor Co., for instance, has a perfectly straightforward reason for preferring to sell Eastern Europe customers its D4 tractors made in France. "It costs $600 to ship a D4 from Grenoble," says Stephen G. Weckel, Caterpillar's Eastern European representative. The freight bill to ship one behind the Iron Curtain from Peoria, Ill., the company's U.S. headquarters, is over $1,200.

IBM equipment made in Europe is simpler to sell to the Reds because both East and West Europe are on a 50-cycle electrical system. Equipment sold in the United States is designed to operate on 60 cycles.

In many cases the sale of products made entirely in Europe can mean avoiding bothersome clearance procedures through the U.S. Commerce Department. In the final quarter last year, the Department rejected export licenses for $1.8 million in goods, or 4 percent of the total applications for shipments behind the Iron Curtain. Not all the products for which licenses were required appear to be strategic goods. For instance, official clearance was required for $4 million worth of cotton seeds shipped to Albania.

Even where shipments are approved, the licensing procedure can pose a psychological barrier to trade. Mr. Weckel reports that last September Caterpillar concluded a deal to sell some $250,000 worth of big crawler tractors and wheel-loaders to Czechoslovakia, but did not get a go-ahead from the U.S. Government until last month. Mr. Weckel contends that the Communist representatives are very unhappy about having to sign forms pledging not to use the equipment for strategic purposes. And "its embarrassing to the customer once they have done it to have to wait 6 months to a year for U.S. Government approval," he adds.

Communist lands often balk at direct trade with the United States because of the difficulties they encounter in selling goods to America.

"Exchanges must be made on a reciprocal basis," argues Vasile Eustatiade, a representative of Rumania's Masinexport. "We have to achieve a balance between imports and exports."

COMPLAINTS OF DISCRIMINATION

But this is difficult to accomplish. Gerhard Beir, East Germany's deputy minister of foreign and inter-German trade, says his country is stymied in selling to the United States because of "discriminatory treatment of our products." These include, he says, such things as high tariff barriers, the barring of East German businessmen from the United States, and a requirement that U.S. importers stamp "Made in the Soviet-Occupied Zone" on East German products, including even Christmas tree ornaments.

The high tariff complaint is voiced by most Eastern bloc nations. Only Poland enjoys most-favored-nation treatment in dealings with the United States. (So does Yugoslavia, but that country is considered a Western nation by the U.S. Government in its trading statistics.)

President Johnson has asked Congress to empower him to extend the most-favored-nation treatment to Red nations at his discretion. Under present law, these nations must hurdle the 1930 Smoot-Hawley tariff to sell in the United States. The average Smoot-Hawley rate on durable products is about 45 percent of their value, against a comparable rate of 12.2 percent for nations covered under the 1962 Trade Expansion Act.

Many U.S. companies have begun working through Western European agents or representatives who can use or convert bartered Eastern European goods into hard currency in their own lands. This money, in turn, can be switched easily into dollars.

Gunter Diederichs, a representative of Franz Kragh, Bremen, West Germany, says his firm sells U.S. Flue-cured tobacco to the East Germans, receiving goods to exchange. In turn Kragh sells these goods in Western Europe and pays the tobacco growers in dollars.

Gordon S. Planner, director of Dominions Export Co., Ltd., London, handles Red bloc trade for a growing list of British-based U.S.-owned companies. Last year Dominions sold the Communist about 200 British Ford tractors and Ford-powered tractors.

Dominions actually sells more Communist-produced goods, such as fertilizer, furniture, toys, and chemicals, in Britain than it does Western goods to the Reds. Because of this favorable flow of foreign exchange through Dominions, Mr. Planner says, the Communists are receptive to hard currency deals for products his company represents. As the Dominions experience indicates, it's much easier to sell Communist goods in Britain than in the United States; in fact, Britain has a trade deficit in its dealings with the European Communists.

The back-door approach doesn't by any means suggest that American businessmen are being sneaky. Right now there's more pressure than ever before for a lowering of barriers to East-West trade. This year, for the first time, the U.S. State Department dropped opposition to U.S. exhibits at the March fair held here in Leipzig and rated as the most important trade fair in the Communist world.

A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE

The frank and open attitude in discussing trade relations with newsmen displayed by representatives of American firms and products here indicates a vast change from recent corporate misgivings about East-West trade. A year ago Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. dropped plans to give Rumania technical information to build a synthetic rubber plant. Senator FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, charged then that the cancellation was due to pressure from U.S. rightwing groups and to attempts by Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. to exploit the deal with the Communists for competitive purposes.

In fact, the increasing commercial contacts with Eastern Europe are viewed by many as beneficial to U.S. political aims. "Trade negotiations and trade relations can provide us with useful opportunities to influence attitudes in these countries in directions favorable to our national interest," argues a report to the president of the Special Committee on U.S. Trade With Eastern European Countries and the Soviet Union. This blue-ribbon group was headed by J. Irwin Miller, chairman of Cummins Engine Co., of Columbus, Ind.

Despite President Johnson's plea for liberalization of East-West trade, it's unlikely that the suggested measure will be enacted in this session of Congress. Even though the climate for liberalization may be better than it has been, this is not the sort of legislation anticipated in a congressional election year.

Many Americans still strongly oppose trade with the Red bloc, contending that it only serves to strengthen communism to America's detriment. The prolonged Vietnam conflict, plus indignation over a plan by Western European companies to sell $150 million worth of steel finishing mills and other equipment to Red China, could strengthen the opposition to freer trade.

Thus it appears that for the present, at least, the main American approach to the Communist bloc will continue to be through the back door.

Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, May 10 stands as a symbol of proud history, for its marks the 89th anniversary of Rumanian independence.

We are proud of the many contributions which the American citizens of Rumanian extraction have made to this country and it is with pride that we note the courage of the Rumanian people, as reflected in their history.

It is unfortunate that this holiday cannot be celebrated within the boundaries of Rumania, whose history is so steeped in love of freedom. However, despite the hardships which history has dealt Rumania, the people there have not lost their love of liberty or their desire for national independence.

Those of us who cherish the privileges and responsibilities of freedom share the hopes and confidence of these people for the future independence of their country. Today we join with Rumanians who are captive in their homeland, in hoping for the dawn of a new time when freedom will return to their country.

A Tribute to the Peace Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I call special attention to this letter which appeared in the March 3, 1966, San Francisco Chronicle. Written in response to criticism of our Peace Corps volunteers, it is a deeply felt defense, and a fine tribute as well, of these young men and women who for 2 years work in concert with people of other nations to improve the conditions of life in that country.

The social and political awakening of young people in the United States is a phenomenon that we are only beginning to realize. Their spirit and concern was sparked to a great extent by President Kennedy who spoke often and fervently about our ability to change that which is ill in the world. This conviction is to be encouraged, not stifled. I have unanimous consent that the words of Prof. L. H. Mouat, of San Jose State College, be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

EDITOR: I have no intention of soiling the memory of one who has passed away, but because the Chronicle has seen fit to print an article by Lucius Beebe, that if unanswered may soil the character of thousands of dedicated Peace Corps volunteers, I believe it a matter of justice and fairness on the part of the Chronicle to permit a simple reply to this diatribe. We have three dozen Peace Corps volunteers from San Jose State College, among whom is my son. They are entitled to a defense.

Mr. Beebe ("Peace Corps as a Low Morale Influence," Chronicle Sunday Punch, February 24) quotes Dr. Banda of Malawi as asking the Peace Corps men to leave his country "unless they mend their ways and assume a fastidiousness of person at least acceptable to the presumably backward natives they are trying to reform." Dr. Banda accuses the Peace Corps men of "mixing too freely with the Africans at the village social level, going native with the African women—meddling in African politics."

It is altogether faulty logic for Mr. Beebe to make sweeping generalizations from this one report to the status of the Peace Corps volunteers all over the world; but it is unsportsmanlike conduct for him to fill the rest of his column with indefensible vilifications such as "the ratty Peace Corps volunteers," or that they are "of a lower order than the inmates of the local leprosarium," or that their conduct is akin to "rolling among the pigs in the village gutter," or that they are "a gaggle of bearded jungle apes," etc. This is monstrous injustice.

The Peace Corps volunteers are not rejects. The selective process is as rigorous as any in the country including the screening for employment in the FBI and the State Department. Their training prior to assignment is extremely rigorous both in course content and in personal discipline. When they are assigned they "consort with the natives" because they are concerned with the brotherhood of man. Less altruistically, it might be mentioned that their salary of $75 a month does not permit them the luxuries of other Americans who can easily get jobs as teachers, engineers, and advisers in the same countries at 10 times this salary. My son writes that in the interior villages in Africa there is no running water and no gas, electricity, or cars. Under the circumstances it is not too likely that one can buy razor blades at the local emporium. As for "going native with African women," I am sure that there has been no such complaint about our soldiers abroad or even about our tourists, now has there?

Finally, let me say that our Peace Corps volunteers are among that breed of American that puts love of fellow men above love of self. They are among the few who did not ask what their country could do for them but what they could do for their country.

L. H. MOUAT,
Chairman, Department of Speech, San Jose State College.

Los Angeles Music Festival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr BELL. Mr. Speaker, the occasion of the 20th anniversary celebration of the Los Angeles Music Festival provides appropriate opportunity for paying well-deserved tribute both to the festival and to its outstanding music director, Mr. Franz Waxman.

One of the finest examples of the cultural and artistic excellence found in southern California, and a major contributing factor to the growth of the arts there, has been the Los Angeles Music Festival, sponsored by the Los Angeles Orchestral Society and the committee on fine arts productions at the University of California, Los Angeles. For 20 years the festival has enriched the lives of many thousands of people privileged to attend its performances. It has brought to the public music of extraordinarily high quality and imagination. The finest in contemporary music has here been presented and subsequently achieved prominence.

The years of the festival have brought to the podium such distinguished conductors as Robert Craft, Eugene Ormandy, Walter Piston, Igor Stravinsky, Roger Wagner, William Walton, and, of course, Franz Waxman. Performing for the enjoyment of music lovers has been an impressive and wide-ranging array of soloists including Adele Addison, Dave

Brubeck, Oscar Levant, Andre Previn, and Rudolf Serkin. Four world premieres, eleven American premieres, and forty-eight west coast premieres have taken place here. Included among them have been outstanding modern works by Igor Stravinsky, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Franz Waxman, Arnold Schoenberg, William Walton, Arthur Honegger, Gustav Mahler, Leonard Bernstein, Serge Prokofieff, Carl Orff, Dimitri Shostakovich, Hector Berlioz, Walter Piston, and Benjamin Britten.

The quality of the superb orchestral pieces selected for 1966 presentation are symbolic and a tribute in themselves to 20 years of excellence. This year, with a program ranging from Stravinsky's "Persephone" through Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" to "The Song of Terezin" by Franz Waxman, the opportunity to hear music outstanding both in its conception and its performance will once again be afforded to those privileged to attend.

Just as the cultural significance of Los Angeles is greatly indebted to its musical festival, so is the festival indebted to its distinguished, able, and extraordinarily talented founder, mentor and music director, composer and conductor Franz Waxman. Through his selfless and inspired efforts, the festival has attained international prominence.

Mr. Waxman's personal fame also is worldwide, and justly so. International recognition was first accorded Mr. Waxman over 20 years ago, when Jascha Heifetz played Waxman's fantasy composition on themes from "Carmen." Then, in 2 consecutive years, Mr. Waxman was awarded an Oscar for outstanding film musical compositions. His place in musical history was assured by his composition, the oratorio, "Joshua," one of the most resplendent of orchestral and choral works; it has been accorded the same level of greatness as the oratorios of Stravinsky and Honneger.

Although a Los Angeles artist, Waxman's efforts have by no means been limited to Los Angeles. He has conducted orchestras throughout the world.

It was the desire to promote cultural excellence such as this throughout the nation that prompted passage of the National Arts and Humanities Foundation.

No sooner will the 20th anniversary celebration be over than Los Angeles and the world will eagerly await the 21st season, and the 22d, and the rich rewards brought by fine music year after year.

Tribute to Joseph E. Talbot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I think it is appropriate that the Congress of the United States express its deepest sympathy to the family of Joseph Edward Talbot who died of cancer on Saturday.

Many of you will remember Mr. Talbot as a dedicated and highly effective colleague who served as a U.S. Representative from Connecticut during the 77th, 78th, and 79th Congresses. More recently, Mr. Talbot was a member of the U.S. Tariff Commission, where his knowledge of law and talent for leadership made their mark during the past 13 years.

Mr. Talbot embarked on his long and remarkable career in public service following graduation from Yale Law School in 1925. A Republican, he was a judge of the Borough Court of Naugatuck, Conn.; State representative from Naugatuck; State treasurer; and workmen's compensation commissioner in the Fifth District of Connecticut.

It is indeed with great sadness that we confront the loss of an old friend and dedicated American.

Federalizing the Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of discussion recently concerning the various guidelines and requirements which the Office of Education has placed upon local school districts in connection with the receipt of Federal funds.

One of the most interesting articles which I have seen on this subject is one prepared by Mr. Thurman Sensing, executive vice president of the Southern States Industrial Council entitled "Federalizing the Schools." Because there is so much interest in this, I am including Mr. Sensing's article herein with my remarks and commend it to the reading of the Members of the House. The article follows:

FEDERALIZING THE SCHOOLS

(By Thurman Sensing)

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, recently told southern educational and political leaders that his Department of Government is not attempting to impose a formula of racial balance on the public schools. But school officials, who are having to wrestle with Federal guidelines on integration, will be excused if they laugh.

It is clear from the comments of school officials that the South once again is the target for the extremes in social and political theorizing. School systems, which badly need an opportunity to settle down in new arrangements, again are being subjected to extraordinary demands for change that can only disrupt the educational process. Apparently no plans exist for moving against discrimination in the Northern States this year, but numerous plans are being implemented in the southern part of the country.

Nor are the schools the only public facilities that are under heavy pressure from the Federal bureaucracy. Hospital administrators and physicians in this region are seriously concerned about their professional independence in view of zealots who are demanding that every hospital room be a laboratory for social change. The interest of the patients and of good medical practice are being threatened by demands to place patients in rooms in such a way as to achieve maximum integration.

Federal inspectors and supervisors are tightening the screws on schools and hospital officials, insisting on the most rigid compliance with arbitrary directives. In at least one case, a Federal spokesman has warned in South Carolina that failure to follow Federal guidelines to the letter could result in a Federal Teacher Corps being sent into the State.

In a goodwill effort to comply with the Civil Rights Acts, great emphasis has been placed by the States on freedom of choice. That is to say, students have been given a free choice of which school they want to attend. But apparently that is not good enough for big brother in Washington. Federal officials have indicated that the test of freedom of choice will be how many students actually transfer. This is an absurd and unjust attitude. It means that freedom is restricted, not by the State but by the Federal Government. It suggests that any student who decides to stay in the school he is attending is letting down the cause of integration.

The facts of life are that Negro parents are under pressure from protest groups to transfer their children, even where the parents believe that their children would receive the best education in the schools they already are attending. For example, in many communities schools that have been used by Negro communities have exceptionally strong vocational training programs. It is obvious that many of the youngsters in these communities will be going into the trades and not into college. The parents want them to get a sound preparation for blue-collar employment. But the protest organizations, backed up by the Federal Government, want them to transfer to schools where they will learn Latin, French, and other subjects that make little sense in terms of the students' real needs.

By setting quotas in schools and hospitals, the Federal Government will not improve education or medical service to patients. On the contrary, service by schools and hospitals is bound to decline to the extent that there is political interference with their operation.

In the schools, forced transfers of teachers and principals will destroy that feeling of friendly cooperation and joint activity that gives spirit to a school and results in higher standards for students. It will make the public schools more than ever an impersonal place, where the emphasis is upon a black-and-white checkerboard pattern in the classroom rather than upon academic achievement. Indeed one can be sure that maintaining a fixed racial balance in every school soon would lead to Federal scrutiny of grades received by students to make sure that the grades of one color group are not better than the grades of any other group.

The Next 25 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago Mr. Edward P. Cliff, Chief of the Forest Service, addressed the spring meeting of the American Forest Products Industries on the occasion of the silver anniversary of the American tree farm system.

In reviewing the significant progress made since 1941 in the evolution of forestry repairing and rehabilitation of our forests Mr. Cliff pointed out that this period was the most important in history but then he noted that the next quarter century, starting this year, will be of even greater importance because of the tremendous pressures on our open lands which will result for an exploding population.

His look into the future and his plea for cooperation from all concerned in meeting this tremendous challenge is of significant importance and I believe should be of interest and concern to each of us here. Accordingly, I insert at this point in the RECORD, Mr. Cliff's remarks:

It is good to be here to help celebrate this important milestone in American forestry. Twenty-five years may not be a long time in terms of the life of a tree or a forest—but the years 1941 to 1966 span a most significant period in the evolution of forestry.

These first years of the tree farm story have been marked by striking improvement in our national timber situation. Of equal importance, these years span a period of awakening public appreciation and interest in conservation matters. They have been years of progress as well as of change for the forest products industries. Looking back today from this vantage point in history, I think you leaders of industry should be well pleased with much of what you see. We, your colleagues in public life, congratulate you for your role in making it possible to base this 25th anniversary occasion on a solid foundation of achievement. I am pleased that the State forestry organizations have assisted in developing the American tree farm system through the cooperative forest management program.

Looking ahead to the next 25 years we might begin by asking ourselves if the job is essentially done now. Would the far-sighted originators of the tree farm movement be equally motivated—yes; even compelled—to renew and strengthen this program in 1966? Are the needs for forestry programs as urgent now as was the case a quarter of a century ago? What shape would the tree farm program take to be most effective in the next 25 years if it were to be formed anew today? These are valid questions I think—the type of questions that need to be pondered on silver anniversaries.

Fortunately, we have a lot more reliable basic information at hand to help us look ahead than was the case on the eve of the second World War. A torrent of facts and information is pouring out from thousands of machines and experts of all kinds. Much of it relates in some way to our work and to our mutual objectives. Today the challenge is not so much to find vital information as it is to sift out and use the most relevant items.

For example, we can be quite certain that dramatic population growth will continue in these next 25 years. Yet in the early years of the tree farm movement, prominent economists and demographers were forecasting a stable or even declining population as one of the problems to be faced in the United States.

We also can be quite sure that our gross national product and standard of living will continue their strong upward trends—in fact, a current problem is to "cool down" the economy enough to keep it under control.

We know a lot more about the shifting patterns of wood use in this country than we have ever known before. We have at our finger tips a wealth of information, including the report "Timber Trends in the United States," published last year. We know more about the specific problems we face—such as a general decline in timber quality and short supplies of prime logs of preferred species. Through our increasingly effective research programs we know more about how to attack our problems.

It would be interesting to know how many more people today are gathering and interpreting data which bear on forestry programs than was the case even a few years ago. From what I have seen of this work, I am confident that timber will continue to be a resource of basic importance to the national economy and that more and more people will be competing for forest resources to meet a widening variety of needs.

Time and again, our past experience has demonstrated that an abundant supply of wood is essential for industrial growth. We must bring this lesson to any discussion of what the future holds for American forest products industries. The spectacular growth of the southern pine plywood industry is only the most recent in the long sequence of examples which prove that industrial growth and strength flow from an adequate resource base. The booming pulp industry also leads me to think that our projections of future timber demands will be fully realized—that demands for industrial wood will about double the 1962 level by the end of the century. The unprecedented growth of the Nation's economy in these past 5 years or so now points to new heights of GNP—well above projected levels.

The main point that I want to make here today is that we cannot and must not complacently assume that abundant supplies of merchantable timber will automatically continue to be available when and where needed in these next 25 years. Nor can we assume that those timber supplies can always be acquired at reasonable costs in the species, size, quality, and quantities essential to wood-using industries which are faced by increasing competition for markets.

To answer my own question, Yes; there is a need for a tree farm movement today—fully as much as there was 25 years ago. I would go so far as to say there is a need for just about every such effort that we can find to strengthen and continue the upward trend in American forestry. This is true despite the accomplishments and encouraging progress in forestry such as we honor here today. There is indeed reason to celebrate in looking to the record of the past 25 years—but let me worry with you a little about the job that still lies ahead.

I'm sure that competition is a way of life for people in the forest industries. You accept and build upon the competition within your ranks whether it be mill against mill or lumber versus plywood; after all, this is the essence of a free enterprise system. Most of you have also faced up to the increasing competition from steel, aluminum, plastics, and all the other competing materials. This too is an economic fact of life that you recognize and deal with—incidentally, one I am sure will become increasingly important in the years ahead.

But there is another arena of competition that also deserves your special attention—more attention than is evident to me at this time.. I am referring to the competition for land and resources; patricularly forest land and forest resources. It is in this area, I think, that we will very likely see decided just how abundant industrial timber supplies will be 25 years from now and long after that.

In the past few years we have witnessed a dramatic upsurge of public interest in matters directly concerning the management and use of forest land. For example, outdoor recreation and natural beauty are two subjects that have captured the attention and enthusiasm of millions of Americans. Conversely, more and more of our people are growing up with less and less firsthand knowledge of how timber is grown, harvested, and milled to meet their needs. They are increasingly urban people—sincere people, many of whom are genuinely distressed and upset by timber cutting. This situation will grow in significance.

We should keep in mind that almost half of the people living in the United States today were born since the tree farm system was established. For many of them, it is much more logical to get excited about wilderness and wildlife, or natural beauty and wild rivers, or environmental pollution and outdoor recreation etc., than it is to wonder about where the wood needed by American industries will come from. With increasing leisure and education and disposable income, it is logical that many people would feel this way—even without strong organized efforts to capture and direct those interests and enthusiasms. And let us not forget that the political power wielded by these intelligent, young, urban Americans is going to be a most dominant force in the years ahead.

We don't need to strain our imaginations to picture what all of this will mean. All we have to do is look around because it has already begun. For example, at the American Pulpwood Association meeting last February in New York, many of us heard George Armstrong suggest that as marginal farmlands go out of agriculture, nontimber values will receive increasing attention.[1] This is happening as forest land is acquired for recreation, residences, hunting, esthetic values or other reasons. He also pointed out that as farms are combined into larger units, there will be a tendency for woodlots to be cleared. This would come about either in converting the land to pasture or crop use, or by the buyer or the seller cashing in the merchantable timber at the time of sale. These are especially important forecasts because about 30 percent of the Nation's commercial forest land is still in farm ownership—some 151 million acres.

Our research findings support the general idea that "timber supply inhibiting" ownership characteristics and land use trends can be expected to substantially reduce yields of timber from nonindustrial private lands. Numerous studies have disclosed the wide variety of purposes for which many tracts of timberlands are owned. Timber production is simply not the dominant purpose of many owners. Studies reveal rather conclusively that investment for forestry purposes is not taking place on the majority of small holdings. No doubt your knowledge and experience also bear this out. We must face the fact that on a substantial acreage in this type of ownership, timber production will not double, or even increase significantly, in the years ahead. Constraints on timber harvesting seem sure to increase on many small forest tracts.

Much productive forest land is being converted into urban or suburban residential or industrial areas, highway complexes, parks, reservoirs, and so forth. These uses permanently remove part of our resource base as a source of future timber supplies. This is especially true in the Midwest, New England, the Middle Atlantic States—very few parts of the country are unaffected by this trend.

There have been some offsetting trends. In some areas tree planting under the soil bank and other programs and reversion of abandoned farmland to tree cover have increased forest acreage. The cropland adjustment program authorized by the Agricultural Act of 1965 may stimulate some tree planting, although most of the land affected will probably lie in the great grain producing areas of the country and will not be put into trees. In the meantime we see substantial

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areas of choice hardwood bottomland being drained and cleared in the South to produce soybeans and other annual crops. No, I don't think we should count too much in the long run on conversion of cropland to timber production to offset the loss of forest area we see going on all around us.

We need to try and relate this knowledge to the future overall timber supply and demand situation. All of you, I'm sure, share my pleasure with the improved timber situation and outlook that is revealed in the timber trends report. Yet, since this study was completed, events have caused me to become increasingly concerned about one of the most basic assumptions. Although the timber trends report did emphasize the importance of making allowances for nontimber uses of forest land in setting long-range timber growth goals, it was not possible to make a quantitative analysis of this factor.

In short, the timber trends projections of timber supply do not include an allowance for "leakage"—in any ownership class. They assume that about the same acreage of commercial forest land—amounting to 509 million acres in 1962—will continue to be available throughout the century. Yet we see evidence of leakage and we know that pressures and promotion of non-timber uses on forest land will continue, and probably increase dramatically.

I could spend quite a bit of time telling you of these growing pressures on national forest lands because we experience them everyday. Individuals and organizations are pushing hard on many fronts to tie up public lands and resources for uses and activities that would limit or even prevent timber harvesting. These pressures run the gamut from opposition to clearcutting, to modification of harvests in timbered landscapes, to setting aside forest areas through legislation. These same pressures apply to State and other public lands—even the industrial lands are not immune.

The point today, however, is that these pressures are also building fast on nonindustrial lands in private ownership. We don't have any good way to measure or forescast these impacts in terms of reduced timber yields, or acres set aside, or in any other units that would be useful to analysts. Yet we know that about 60 percent of our commercial forest land is in these farm and miscellaneous private ownerships. And we know that total demands for industrial timber are likely to double in the foreseeable future. But do we know for sure that timber production for industrial uses will double? And if not, what are we going to do about it?

As you look ahead to these next 25 years then, let me suggest that you give serious attention making certain that adequate timber supplies will continue to be available when and where and of the quality needed by the American forest industries. In New York last February I pointed out that probably less than half of the pulpwood harvests can be supplied from lands now owned by forest industries and public agencies. The same thing is generally true with regard to the total timber harvest. Right now about half the industrial woodcut comes from the miscellaneous and farm ownerships. In the future, industry must continue to rely heavily on this source of supply. The big question is just how near these lands will come to meeting their proportionate share of the timber needs of this country.

I believe that we all have a big job to do to get as much of this land as possible committed to management programs that will produce increasing amounts of good quality timber as well as producing the other benefits and uses that landowners want and expect. Among other things, the American tree farm system can and should aid in promoting a better understanding of how timber production can be compatible with recreation, wildlife, natural beauty and so forth.

A good start has been made but 67 million acres in tree farms out of 367 million acres in private ownership is not enough. More tree farms are needed—little ones as well as big ones—the more the better. And as more and more are signed up, the job of making sure that they are well managed grows larger and more important.

Of course you do not have to do the job alone. Fortunately there is a fairly wide array of private, State and Federal efforts aimed in this direction. I am glad that industry leaders have spoken out recently in support of strong State forestry organizations. You can do much in giving substance to those words—especially in helping State foresters promote multiple-use management on private lands. I hope I have made it clear that we in Forest Service think there is more than enough for all of us to do in meeting the challenges that I have outlined here today.

Personally, I am optimistic that through teamwork and sustained effort we will be able to accomplish all that needs to be done.

The forest products industries of America have a decisive role to play in this next quarter century—not only in extending and strengthening the tree farm system and similar programs, but in supporting State forestry organizations, consulting foresters, and the cooperative forestry programs that have been established during this past 25 years. It is in this way that our efforts can be most effective in reaching toward our mutual objectives.

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[1] "Pulpwood Production—Agriculture or Industry" speech by George R. Armstrong, College of Forestry, State University of New York, American Pulpwood Association meeting, New York City, February 1966.

Long-Range Mass Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the May 9 New York Times editorial noting the successful development and operation of the urban mass transportation program.

This is important to the New York City area because it has enabled us to make some progress in meeting the growing transportation needs. Personally, I have watched with great interest the program's development because when I was first in Congress I introduced on February 10, 1960, a measure which was designed to found this needed program. The accomplishments of the urban mass transportation program during its 2 years of existence have been striking; we are now asking for its expansion. The New York Times editorial follows:

LONG-RANGE MASS TRANSIT

The success of the Federal urban mass transportation program these past 2 years is bringing justified demands that it be greatly expanded. Governor Rockefeller's suggestion to this effect won warm support from four other Governors of Middle Atlantic States at the recent Trenton meeting. Similar tribute for the program has come from the House Banking and Currency Committee, which has voted to continue it on a long-range basis, with an appropriation almost double that requested by the President. The action accurately evaluates an investment that has proved timely and richly rewarding.

The program's most striking accomplishment is the contract just signed by the Federal Government and the Pennsylvania Railroad for the establishment next year of hourly train service between New York and Washington in new high-speed electric cars that will make the run in less than 3 hours. This will make the train trip competitive with air travel, when allowance is made for time spent between the business districts of the two cities and their airports. It will be faster than automobile travel.

If the result is a return to the rails of a major part of the traffic lost in recent years to planes and automobiles it will be a boon to travelers between this city and the Capital. Airways and highways between the two are badly overcrowded. A shift in traffic patterns might delay for several years the need for a costly new jet airport in the metropolitan area. The Government hopes to extend the high-speed rail program to Boston but the condition of the New Haven Railroad roadbed may force a go-slow policy on that innovation.

The New Haven's commuter service is also being carried on with financial help from the Federal mass-transit program. This help has now been extended until the end of the year; by then New York State and Connecticut should have worked out with the merged Pennsylvania-New York Central an agreement that will keep the commuter trains running permanently with new and improved equipment.

These are among the benefits already derived from a Federal program that has involved an expenditure of only $90 million a year—a pittance compared with the more than $4 billion it is spending in 1966 to build and maintain highways, and the nearly $1 billion it is spending on airways and airports. The House committee's decision to increase the Federal expenditure for urban mass transit from the $95 million requested by the administration to $175 million—and to place it on a continuing basis—is in the right direction. The only question is whether it goes far enough even now.

Military Might Alone Cannot Win in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, because of the continued crisis in Vietnam, and because the situation has only worsened during the past 6 months, I would like to call to the attention of the Congress a special report which I sent to the newspapers on December 2, 1965, during the adjournment period. I believe that the course of events since that time only serve to emphasize the correctness of my position at that time—which has not changed.

The material follows:

MILITARY MIGHT ALONE CANNOT WIN IN VIETNAM

Because of the growing concern of the American people about the fighting in Vietnam, I would like to make clear my own position as a citizen, and a Member of Congress, on this vital matter.

First, let me stress how important this problem is. A great and growing number of American young men, your sons and mine, are fighting and dying in Vietnam. There will be close to 200,000 there by January 1, 1966. In another year that number will probably be doubled. If the Chinese enter the fighting, as they did in Korea, then 500,000 to a million American soldiers will be involved in Vietnam. If we carry on a land war against China. There is no limit to the number of men we will need to send.

There is a chance, small now but growing every day, that this may become a nuclear war and that Russia will become involved. If this happens, then every citizen of this country—young and old—faces possible death in a nuclear finale to human progress.

At the present level of the fighting, we are spending close to $10 billion a year on Vietnam—wiping out the tax cuts passed by this administration and making highly improbable the continuation of domestic efforts to improve the quality of life for the citizens of this country. At this spending level, a year from now we could face major tax increases, rationing of scare commodities and major Government controls on production.

Every citizen should be deeply concerned about this. Every citizen should seek the best information available from his Government, and from every other source, on why we are engaged in Vietnam and what our goals are there. This is your war—your Government has ordered your sons to fight it. You will pay for it with your money and, possibly, your life.

I have made many speeches about Vietnam. My purpose has been not to force my view on anyone but to present the facts as I have observed them, to suggest courses of action that I think are reasonable, to encourage every person I can to think the problems through for himself and then to speak and act on his convictions. As long as this country is a democracy, this is the proper way for every citizen to exercise his rights.

Now, what are my own views on this problems? I accept and support the basic objectives set forth by the President—that we intend to resist and defeat any military solution by North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (Vietcong), and that we are willing to unconditionally negotiate a solution to the conflict at the conference table. I do not advocate a unilateral withdrawal of American troops or a surrender of South Vietnam to North Vietnam by negotiation or in any other way.

I strongly support the President's announced willingness to accept the principles of the Geneva Conference of 1954 as a basis for a negotiated settlement. I strongly support his expressed desire to have the South Vietnamese people decide for themselves, through free elections, the form of government they wish and the policies which that government will follow in its relation with its neighbors.

I believe that if every American citizen understood what the Geneva agreements provided, and why they were not carried out, and was willing to support the President's efforts to comply with the spirit of these agreements, the problems in Vietnam could be swiftly solved.

As we have become more deeply involved militarily in Vietnam, I have sought to resist the emotional pressures which inevitably develop—pressures which stifle dissent, which reject the facts that do not conform to the popular views, which prevent us from seeing how we got to where we are, and what we need to do to achieve our real goals. I cannot act in any other way. For 25 years I have been deeply concerned about how to create the conditions for peace and freedom in the world. The sacrifice of American lives, and the even greater suffering and sacrifice of the Vietnamese people, is an ever-present tragedy to me. I must, therefore, exert every power I have to help prevent an unthinking drift by this country into a course which does not strengthen America and does not expand freedom, but only threatens, catastrophe. This has been my fear about Vietnam, and this is why I have spoken out as I have.

While I accept and support the basic objectives set forth by the President for our future course in Vietnam, I do not completely accept the official view as to the nature of this war. Nor do I agree with all of the steps being taken to achieve the basic objectives. Let me explain some of these differences briefly.

The official view of this war is that it is an invasion from the north—that is, from the Communist state of North Vietnam—to overthrow a democratic country (South Vietnam) friendly to the United States and institute a Communist rule from Hanoi. This view is only partially correct. It neglects the fact that most Vietnamese, north and south, see themselves as one people temporarily divided against their will. It neglects the fact that the South Vietnamese Government has been an extremely oppressive, totalitarian dictatorship throughout its existence and has never been freely elected or enjoyed wide popular support.

The official view also neglects the fact that the vast majority of the enemy we are fighting (probably 80 percent) are native South Vietnamese whose motive, as they understand it, is not to expand communism but to secure freedom for South Vietnam. These Vietnamese see the United States as a foreign aggressor (as they did the French before us), and the Saigon government as merely a creature of the United States—completely financed by the United States and unable to stand alone.

Another official view of this war is that it is really aimed at stopping Chinese communism from further expansion. This again is only partially true. North Vietnamese communism is strongly nationalistic and only partly under Chinese influence. It is also under Russian influence, and it seeks to maintain a role independent of both where possible, as well as balancing between them when necessary. Vietnamese for 2,000 years have fought the Chinese, and it is doubtful if any conceivable pressure could make them willingly accept Chinese domination. In South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front not only would resist Chinese Communist control, but does not wish control by North Vietnam or immediate reunification of the two parts of Vietnam. It seeks, instead, a cooperative relationship and possible reunification after 10 or 15 years.

A frequently voiced official view of our role in Vietnam is that we are there to assist and advise the South Vietnam Government—first, in defending itself against aggression and subversion, and, then, to institute democratic reforms, and win the support of the peasants who comprise the vast majority of the population. I have pointed out that we have been working at this for the past 12 years—even since we helped establish the Government in 1954—and in this effort we have failed dismally. The Government has accepted our money—in fact, could not exist for 1 day without it—but has not accepted our suggestions for reforms and has never been able to inspire any substantial support for itself.

As a consequence, we now have been forced to forget what we said so emphatically only a year or so ago—that this is a Vietnamese war, and one which must be fought and won by the Vietnamese. Today, it is basically an American war against one part of the Vietnamese people, with another part—the Saigon government—playing an unconvincing role as our supporter and sponsor.

It is because of the weakness of the Saigon government—its lack of popular support among the peasants—that I have voiced the opinion that all of our sacrifices in Vietnam may have been in vain. The only way that our country can lose this war—or any war—is to end up supporting a government the people do not want and will not accept. To sacrifice our soldiers and the Vietnamese people—and to bring the world to the brink of thermonuclear war—only to end up with this sad situation is, indeed, the height of tragedy.

Because of my reservations as to the complete accuracy of the official views of the war, I differ with the military recommendations on how to achieve our goals. I place far greater emphasis on the recommendations for strengthening the structure of democracy in Vietnam. I would allow, not forbid, the expression of political views and the development of political parties in Vietnam. I would do far more than has been done in helping the peasants improve their economic level. I would use the minimum amount of military force in Vietnam consistent with maintaining our forces there and resisting the takeover by the Vietcong. I would favor reducing or stopping the heavy bombing, rather than extending it. In addition, I would make far greater efforts to bring an end to the fighting, through a negotiated peace, in accordance with terms that would guarantee South Vietnam what it has never had—a government elected by and responsible to its own citizens. Once that has been achieved, I would leave Vietnam to determine its own future, with whatever economic and technical assistance we see fit to give.

This is a very brief summary of my views and of some of the points I have made in dozens of speeches. I have expressed these views because I have a deep concern for the welfare of our country and for the peace of the world. If my own political life must be jeopardized, so be it.

What Price the Great Society?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, "What Price the Great Society?" written by Charles Stevenson, appeared in the March issue of the Reader's Digest at a time when we are called to pass upon appropriations for fiscal 1967. The facts contained in this article are important for the purpose of decision-making on the part of every Congressman:

WHAT PRICE THE GREAT SOCIETY?

(By Charles Stevenson)

"A new chapter in greatness" is how President Lyndon B. Johnson describes the flood of Great Society legislation enacted by the last session of Congress. There's the appearance of something for everybody: poverty programs, rent subsidies, aid for farmers, cities, public schools, recreation, the arts. And the chapter has not ended: even now, as the 89th Congress settles into its second session amid belated realization that there's also a war to pay for, there are pressures for still more for everybody.

The President himself, ordering a stepping-up of his all-encompassing welfare proposals, makes plain that the war in Vietnam will not be allowed to interfere with "building a Great Society at home."

There is less enthusiasm from MIKE MANSFIELD, the dour Senate leader from Montana. Alarmed at the quality of the 321 Presidential requests that he guided through Congress, he has already called for not just a letup but a reappraisal. "We passed a lot of bills, some of them very hastily," says Senator MANSFIELD. "They stand in extreme need of going over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of cost."

What worries men of Senator MANSFIELD's stamp is this: By hiding costs—indeed, not even reckoning them—the administration steamrollered its program through without regard even for our peacetime capacity to pay. Now the economy bears the additional burden of a $10 billion-a-year war. Political history indicates that so long as welfare laws are on the books, the expenditures they authorize will be made—if not openly in the Budget, then deviously through supplemental or deficit appropriations. No amount of budget juggling or rosy claims about future income can erase the certainty that nondefense expenditures and our cumulative national deficit, already at the highest level in history, will continue to go up.

The stated purposes of much Great Society legislation were worthy. But the bills were rammed through Congress with no concern for priorities, price tags, or the cancerous inflation that deficit spending is already causing.

FORGOTTEN REQUIREMENT

Public Law 801, passed in 1956, stipulates: Whenever any unit of the executive branch recommends expansion, costing more than a million dollars a year, of any function, it must set forth "for each of the first five fiscal years the estimated maximum expenditures for all purposes." The intent, as the late Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, declared at the time, was to "enable Congress to consider proposed legislation with a full understanding of the cost involved." But, in a canvass of Congressional committees, I have been able to find among the 321 enacted Johnson legislative requests only three instances in which the administration fully complied with this statute.

Typically, when Chairman John L. Sweeney of the Federal Development Planning Committee for Appalachia went before the Senate Public Works Committee, he admitted that he could not provide even an informed guess concerning any long-range cost of his program. In pushing through its program for aid to elementary and secondary education, the Office of Education held its publicized figure on anticipated costs to $6.66 billion—simply by not estimating the cost of subsidy payments for a fourth and fifth year of the heart of the plan. Had the agency included such estimates for those two years, the figure would have run to at least $10.7 billion.

In defense of the administration's disregard of Public Law 801, the Budget Bureau baldly declares that the "cost projections for individual legislative proposals have seemed to us of little value in many, if not most, cases." Thus, the administration not only hid the costs from Congress and the public; it didn't even bother to figure them out beforehand for itself. Proof is contained in Budget Bureau "Bulletin 66–3," now being quietly circulated among Government agencies. Tardily it directs them to try to come up with some notion of how much we are going to have to pay for each of the new programs already under way.

Let's look at some of the spending projects—and where they lead.

EDUCATION

In World War II, Congress began appropriating small sums to school districts in "impacted areas" where untaxed Federal activity, mostly military installations, overloaded the schools. Once started, the program burgeoned. In 1964 alone, there were handouts for 12,500,000 children in 50 States.

For example, Montgomery County, Md., is an "impacted area." Because many residents work at upper-bracket Government jobs in nearby Washington, it has the second highest median family income in the United States. Yet because they are Government workers, it gets assistance for its schools.

Now President Johnson has inverted the idea of impacted-area aid: school districts where military installations are due to shut down will receive funds to build schools which they had argued were needed to take care of the Government pupils they're now losing.

By a similar process, a $474 million, 4-year subsidy to higher education—inaugurated in 1958 in response to Sputnik—evolved into an authorization to spend $845,350,000 in a single year. The money goes for everything from college libraries to subsidies and guarantees for student loans, the latter despite the ready availability of privately financed, nonprofit student loans. (United Student Aid Funds, Inc., had already guaranteed 82,000 loans for a total of $52 million to students in 685 colleges, and signed up 5,500 banks in 49 States to provide additional aid.)

The House Education and Labor Committee met, deliberated and reported this bill out in less than 20 minutes. "A mockery of the legislative process," declared Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois. In similar procedures, most of President Johnson's legislative requests dealing with education became law. Thus the Government's educational expenditures, which totaled $291 million in 1945, and had soared to $6.3 billion in 1965, will top $8.7 billion this year.

And there's no end in sight, for, as a Housing minority report points out, "Experience proves that once an area or group, however wealthy and self-sufficient, acquires a vested interest in Federal school-aid funds, it will join a powerful lobby for the continuation of those funds."

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

All spending schemes are dwarfed by those dreamed up for cities—where the big votes are. One of the President's urban plums is the $125 million community service program, through which university professors will tell city residents what to do. To provide for massive Federal intervention, the administration created a Department of Housing and Urban Development (DHUD), and rammed through a set of "Big Brother" programs for the agency to handle. Congress passed an $8.2 million omnibus housing bill, after the House Banking and Currency Committee heard friendly witnesses in secret sessions from which all who disagreed were barred. In a cloud of confusion, Congress additionally authorized $6 billion in long-term rent subsidies.

Before his retirement, Senatory Harry F. Byrd, Democrat, of Virginia, calculated that if DHUD grows at the same rate as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has—a reasonable enough assumption—it will be dispensing an incredible $225 billion annually within 13 years. Other estimates vary. But the real point is that no one, in Government or out, knows how much DHUD has already been committed to spend. Nor can anyone be sure as to what areas DHUD will barge into. In its very first press release as a unit of DHUD, the Public Housing Administration announced approval of a loan for construction of 50 low-rent houses in President Johnson's own Johnson City, Tex.—population 625. Urban development on that scale would mean new housing for 1 family in every 4.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT

The scheme to revive the economy of the 11-State Appalachian area got underway last March with a $1,092,400,000 authorization, nearly 80 percent of it for roads. The House Public Works Committee acknowledges that the program is so new that it is "still too early to be able to draw conclusions." Nevertheless, at the President's direction, Congress passed still another law to set up more "economic development regions"—for example, for northern New England, the northern Great Lakes, the Ozarks, a Deep South area, the Southwest's Indian reservation country, the Pacific Northwest mountains.

This new program is concurrent with a revival of the old Area Redevelopment Administration, which was established in 1961 with the hope of creating permanent jobs in a handful of economically depressed communities scattered around the country. However, by pork barrelers' intrusions, ARA soon was ladling out grants for everything from street lights in Miami Beach, Fla., to county buildings in San Diego, Calif.

Congress refused in 1963 to breathe new life into ARA, and the agency was due to expire last June. But the administration had other ideas. A $3.25 billion authorization—2½ times as much as ARA was ever allowed to spend—was pushed through Congress to carry on everything ARA did and more, only under a new agency name, the Economic Development Administration (same place, same phone number). The big difference is that an increase in flexibility makes the new law even more susceptible to abuse than the old one.

This new flexibility permitted the President to announce that not only were the 952 counties that qualified under ARA still eligible for aid, but also 116 other areas which under the earlier criteria had been declared ineligible, plus still another 212 needy areas. All these 1,280 counties—more than a third of the Nation's total, containing 50 million people—are to join the Nation's poor as wards of Washington. This, in addition to the big Appalachia-type regional-development organizations which will embrace who knows how many more millions.

The question: Can the remaining healthy communities of the country possibly continue to pay their own way and pay for the other communities too?

Totaling up. Some of Washington's leading economists, sharpening their pencils after the recent legislative binge, have come up with the following figures, fantastic, yet real: In 1955, Federal cash expenditures totaled $70.5 billion. By last year the outlay had climbed to $122.4 billion. This fiscal year it is expected to range between $132.3 and $135 billion. Even if the war in Vietnam is brought under control, the economists anticipate conservatively that by 1975—just 9 years hence—our spending will total around $204 billion, with more money going into welfare-state activity than into any other function. Such activity will account for 53.6 percent of all Federal outlays. (In 1955 it totaled 18.9 percent.)

Furthermore, State and local governments will have to dig so deep for matching funds to meet Federal-aid requirements that their overall expenditures must also soar—from $72.4 billion, in 1964, to $179 billion by 1975.

Here, then, is the outline of the Great Society's reckless, emotional revolution. Bear in mind that the forecasts are based on extension of already established spending trends. Another projection, by Economist Leonard Lecht for the National Planning Association, shows that if we are to achieve all the national goals that our political mentors have declared desirable, the cost by 1975 will be $150 billion more than the economy can produce.

Isn't it time for us to stop kidding ourselves that politicians' statements of noble purpose, combined with phony "gifts," constitute a substitute for achievement? Isn't it time for us to insist that the politicians make old welfare programs work before they plunge us into a host of new ones? The record shows that the inherent wastefulness of Government-spending programs is invariably compounded by inefficiency. Still more of the same will waste the taxpayers' hard-earned money while risking national ruin by inflation and taxation. And it will turn a nation of self-reliant people into a nation of individuals so dependent on Government handouts that they have neither the will nor the capacity to endure.

Jefferson Belongs to the Ages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the able Representative from the Seventh Congressional District of Virginia, the Honorable JOHN O. MARSH, made a very interesting speech on April 16 at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Charlottesville, Va., the community in which the great American, Thomas Jefferson, resided for many years and where he is buried.

The speech draws an accurate and stirring picture of Jefferson. It is so filled with history and with so much solid and sound doctrine that it has particular meaning in these days when we are fighting to preserve the principles upheld by this early American patriot. For that reason, I ask unanimous consent that Congressman MARSH's remarks on the occasion above referred to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. They are as follows:

Representing Mr. Jefferson's country in the U.S. Congress, I have selected as my subject "Mr. Jefferson's District," because, actually, this congressional district is Mr. Jefferson's country.

Thomas Jefferson was born in this season of the year. In fact, the anniversary of his birth is just 3 days past. Traditionally, springtime in Virginia is one of the most beautiful seasons of the year, and the beauty of Jefferson's country is legendary. He was born on what was then the frontier—a sparse, unsettled, primitive, and sometimes savage land. A child of the frontier, he remained a pioneer in spirit. Jefferson's country was not just Albemarle, but western Virginia. It was the rushing Rivanna, and the tumbling Rapidan; the gracefully bending James and winding Shenandoah.

It was Monticello and Shadwell—the rolling foothills of the Blue Ridge and the climbing ridges of the Allegheny. There were the green fields of the valley of Virginia and the woods and forests of Tuckahoe. It was, and still is, the land of mountain laurel and budding dogwood.

It was western Virginia, where some of the counties were named for the land and nature's wonders, others for the age or taken from the fabric of his past, some for the people who were part and parcel of his time.

Bath, Highland, Shenandoah, Rockbridge, Rappahannock, and Fluvanna have poetry in their names.

Albemarle, Culpeper, Orange, Augusta, Rockingham, and Frederick were ties to the Crown.

Clarke, Warren, Greene, Page, and Madison were men who marched across the pages of American history and shaped their times.

It gave to Washington's army Daniel Morgan's "Long Rifles" and Albemarle's "Monticello Guards."

This country is Virginia's—the Old Dominion's—Seventh District—it is yours, not just mine.

This country left its stamp on Jefferson—on his personality—on his character. It opened the unlimited horizons of his mind. And he left his stamp on this country—and, I believe, its people.

If we claim his name, we must declare his principles. He admonished us to love our country and to serve it. He defined the right of man and bade us to respect them.

He believed in an ordered universe, and that man was a moral creature, who, through his unique power of reason, could chart his destiny—capable of self-government, if he could discipline himself under freedom to accept responsibility.

He respected the rule of the majority, provided there was protected the right of dissent. Allowing for occasional human frailty, which he recognized in himself, he nonetheless practiced what he preached.

Scholars tell us that if we were to assign a quantitative value of 1 day to man's total span of life on this planet from the aeons of time, that the period from the 1650's to the 1960's would be slightly less than 1 minute. Yet it would be a magnificent moment—the age of reason, renaissance and revolution.

Jefferson in his letters, speaking of Monticello, refers to a phenomenon that rarely occurs on land, but frequently occurs at sea. It occurs at Monticello. He describes it as "looming." Looming, in reference to optics and vision, causes objects at a great distance to appear quite large. This happens at Monticello as you look into the distance, and perhaps it was one of the reasons he loved it so.

When we look at Jefferson from the 20th century in an historical sense, this same phenomenon occurs, and in this brief moment of human history to which I have referred, he looms very large.

As this country produced the spirit of this man, so today the people of this country must capture that spirit. Perhaps he would have defined it as the spirit of public service in the affairs of government.

Although Jefferson is an historical figure, nevertheless, he is a man that belongs to the ages. I am confident that he would be very much at home in Virginia today, and I suspect that he would find the forces of change that sweep the world today not unlike those of the age in which he lived. He was never frightened by change, which was evidenced in his remarks:

"I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened; as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

In this, we see how close akin in spirit he was to Lincoln, who in 1863 would say:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

Jefferson was a man of the people, and he was never impressed by positions of power or public office, because he had a humility based on the recognition that he had held high office by the will and choice of many people.

Wayland, in one of his histories on the valley mentions the community of Tenth Legion on Highway 11 between New Market and Harrisonburg.

According to Wayland, at some point in Jefferson's career, in referring to his support from the voters of western Virginia who shared his fierce frontier independence, he would refer to the area as the Tenth Legion of Democracy, hence the origin of the name of this community.

Although he disliked politics as such, evidenced by his remarks in one of his letters to Martha Jefferson Randolph, when he said: "Politics is such a torment, I would advise everyone I love not to mix with it," yet he recognized that in a free society politics is the means whereby you translate citizen action into government. Therefore, if you have good politics, you will have good government.

I think it was during the treaty negotiations following World War I that a French statesman remarked that "war is much too important to be left to the generals." And I submit to you that the state of the body of politic is much too important to be left to the politicians.

If he were here tonight, I think Jefferson would be impressed by the party that bears his name. Yet, I believe that he would reserve his tributes and accolades, not for the head table, but for those who are in the audience who really make representative government work.

Those of us who stand for public office are beneficiaries of the work of many people. Candidates receive the headlines on election day, but credit belongs to those unsung, unnoticed heroes that perform the backbreaking tasks night and day before election day. Such are those who are here tonight. Men and women who not only will give of their time, but of their estate. These are the party's great.

To those of us in Virginia's Democratic Party and who fly under Mr. Jefferson's colors and wrap ourselves in the mantle of his name, I sometimes wonder if we realize the significance of what we say or the consequences of the obligations that we thereby accept.

We must remember that politics is public service, and their are individuals here who have distinguished themselves in the field of politics and public service. Only as we accept our individual responsibilities in State and local governments shall we protect the freedoms that we enjoy.

Everyone is quick to point to and condemn the Federal Government. However, it is a magnificent system. Although Jefferson respected it, he was not over-awed by it. Generally speaking, where the Federal system has not worked, or where it has encroached on the rights of citizens and the responsibilities of States, it has done so because of the failure of individual citizens to participate in their Government and to accept their individual responsibilities. Your presence here indicates that you accept these responsibilities. Many of the pressing and urgent human needs brought about as a result of the changing times in which we live can best be met at the State and local levels of government, but it is going to require work and sacrifice.

Those of us who seek public office, as well as those who now hold office, are not modern medicine men or a 20th century edition of the witchdoctor. We are not answer men that once you put us into office can be expected to solve all the problems that confront our people. These problems frequently defy solution at the county seat, at the State capitol and in Washington, because their solution in a free society ultimately is to be found by individual citizens acceptng individual responsibilities. The unwarranted encroachment of federalism can best be stopped by individuals at the State and local level.

What do I see as the duty of the Jefferson party? I would like to sum it up in a list of party principles to which I think the Jefferson party might subscribe. Foremost, we must get people involved and participating. They must participate in the party of their choice in order that we can have effective representative government. I feel this party and the people who participate in it should be guided by the following:

First, America in these times in all offices of leadership needs men who are dedicated to the common good—I repeat the word dedicated. I believe the criteria is summed up in the words of Holland:

"God give us men.
A time like this demands strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands.
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie."

Two, politics is a form of public service and shall only be as good as you make it by being a part of it. If you will not be a part of it, then you cannot complain about the type of government that you receive or that you get.

Three, public offices are positions of public trust, and we should think principally in terms of performance of duty in these offices.

Four, the political party exists as a means or as a vehicle to express the public will and produce effective representative government and are not an end in themselves. Therefore, we should place less emphasis on party patronage and more on public service.

Five, that the achievement of effective government be sought, rather than the pursuit of power.

Six, political party membership should be inclusive rather than exclusive. With a rapidly increasing population, we must provide the growing number of young people with ways and means to participate in the political process by inviting them into the political structure.

Seven, the election of any person to any office, in an individual sense, is not important, but rather, an expression of an informed public will in the selection of an individual is the important thing.

Lastly, what should be the criteria for membership in Jefferson's party? I submit to you that the test should be the test of reason. Could not the party adopt for determination of its membership the charge that Jefferson would give to the prospective teachers at the University of Virginia, in these words: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is free to combat it."

If we adopt the test of reason, then it also seems to me that this should be the criteria by which we determine the votes of those elected to public office. Therefore, in the Congress, I submit to you that my votes and the votes of the Virginia delegation should be judged on this basis, and that measures should not be supported for the sake of support, nor opposed for the sole purpose of opposition and, I might add, neither should they be judged by the fact that the issue may originate on the opposite side of the aisle or from some place further down Pennsylvania Avenue.

In conclusion, the ultimate goal of Jefferson's party must be the protection of individual freedom. At a time when we see it being crushed behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, I believe this man from Monticello would find common cause with those Americans who seek to preserve it in the Mekong Delta and along the ridges of the Ammanite Mountains in Vietnam.

To Jefferson, the extension and preservation of individual freedom was his greatest cause. If we would be his heirs, then this must be our legacy.

Southeast Water Laboratory Dedicated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 6, I was given the privilege of introducing in Athens, Ga., our senior Senator, the Honorable Richard B. Russell, on the occasion of the dedication of the new Southeast Water Laboratory, a part of our fight to meet and ever increasing national and State problem on water pollution.

The Southeast Water Laboratory was authorized in 1961 under the impetus of the concern of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for study of the health hazard of polluted water.

This brandnew facility has 50,000 square feet of space; has a central structure of two stories with one-story wings on the north and south sides and is of cast-stone facing. It is located in a 12-acre research park across the Oconee River on property donated by the University of Georgia. It is near the Poultry Research Laboratory and the site for the authorized $9 million food utilization research building soon to be commenced. In round figures, the Southeast Water Laboratory will cost $2,500,000 to build and $1½ million to fully equip.

John R. Thoman, Director of the Laboratory, arranged an impressive program with Federal Water Pollution Control Administration Commissioner James M. Quigley presiding and Congressman James Mackay of Georgia's Fourth District also attending.

The address of Senator Russell at this important event was the main feature and I set it out in full for the permanent Record of Congress:

Remarks of Senator Richard B. Russell at the Dedication of the Southeast Water Laboratory of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration at Athens, Ga., Friday, May 6, 1966

This is an occasion rich in significance and promise for the university community, for Georgia and for the entire southeastern region of the United States.

With the dedication of this ultramodern research facility, we are adding a powerful new weapon to the gathering assault now being mounted on many fronts against the growing blight of water pollution.

But the dedication of this laboratory has even broader meaning for our State and section. For it signifies another major milestone in our efforts to establish in the South a scientific and research base that will enable our region to share fully in the challenges and opportunities of this technological age.

We welcome this laboratory to Georgia and to the university. We know it will make a valuable and vital contribution toward further establishing Athens as a regional and a national center of excellence in education, science, and research.

Throughout our history, the rivers of America have played an influential part in the development of a great nation. They have served generations of our countrymen as arteries of commerce and travel. They have provided water for our growing population and for the unquenchable thirst of our rising industrial complex.

But beyond these considerations, most of us have a sentimental attachment for our rivers. We have immortalized them in song, story, and poetry. They are as much a part of our lives as they are of our land.

SICK RIVERS

It is, therefore, with sadness as well as alarm that we must face the harsh reality that our once pristine rivers are afflicted by the sickness of pollution. Indeed, some of our most fabled and historic rivers and lakes are so poisoned by agricultural, industrial and human waste that they have become virtual cesspools. They are uninhabitable for aquatic life, unusable by manufacturing plants, and unsafe for human consumption or exposure.

The experts tell us that six times as much sewage is being dumped into the Nation's rivers and streams today as at the turn of the century. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that a fourth of this sewage is raw—and another third has been only partially treated.

Our cities and towns—with the help of the States and Federal Government—have made a valiant effort to provide adequate sewage facilities to keep pace with their burgeoning populations. Here in Georgia, for example, 111 local government agencies have received Federal assistance for construction and improvement of sewage facilities.

But despite this commendable progress, there are more than 5,000 communities in the United States encompassing more than 33 million people that have inadequate or nonexistent waste treatment systems. The cost to meet these immediate needs has been estimated officially at almost $2 billion. A well-qualified industrial source estimates that another $30 billion will be needed to meet sewage facility needs over the next two decades. This sounds like—and is—a staggering sum. Yet it is about what we are now spending over a 2-year period for the Vietnam war—and with little to show for it except the killing and wounding of some of our finest young men.

THREE HUNDRED NEW PEOPLE AN HOUR

The one certain thing we can say about water pollution is that it becomes more acute and complex with each passing day as we become more urbanized and industrialized. The individual consumption of water has quadrupled since the end of the last century and will almost double the present rate by the end of this one. At the same time, the population surge races ahead at a spiraling pace. Every day the sun rises on 7,200 additional Americans—300 every hour.

It is expected that by 1980—and that is only 14 years away—the demand for water in this country will exceed the available supply by 85 billion gallons a day. By the year 2000, the demand will exceed the supply by the incredible quantity of 350 billion gallons per day.

This does not mean the country as a whole faces the devastating prospect of a permanent water shortage. But it does mean that to meet our anticipated needs in coming years we must use the same water over and over again. This gives critical urgency to the battle to clean up our water supplies and to keep them clean. This is why I consider water pollution to be the most pressing domestic problem facing the Nation today.

The problem of contaminated water has spared no section of the country. Every major river system is afflicted with some degree of pollution.

Fortunately, the situation in the Southeast as yet is not as severe as in some other parts of the country, notably the heavily industrialized Northeast and North Central. I suspect, however, that our good fortune has been due not so much to our good efforts as to the abundance of good water with which nature has endowed our section.

Indeed, the plentiful supply of clean water is one of the prime resources of the South and a key reason why ours is the land of the future.

WATER A VITAL KEY TO INDUSTRY

Any industrialist will tell you that the availability of water is a central factor in the location of most modern manufacturing activities. It follows that the industrial growth of any area will be controlled to a large degree by the quantity and the quality of its water.

Consider these random statistics:

It takes 770 gallons of water to refine a barrel of petroleum, and we Americans consume some 2 billion barrels in a single year.

It takes 50,000 gallons of water to make a ton of paper, and we are producing 35 million tons of paper and paperboard annually.

It takes 25,000 gallons of water to process a ton of steel, and industry is turning out 130 million tons each year.

It takes more water to manufacture a square yard of nylon than it does to grow and to process the same amount of cotton.

In the face of such awesome demands for water by modern industry, it is significant to note that the South has a third greater supply of streamflow water than does the Northeast and North-Central areas. Yet we are now using only about 15 percent of our available supply for both industrial and municipal purposes.

The vast potential for almost unlimited industrial expansion in the South must be evident even to our most hard-bitten critics. But there is a crucial condition to this bright prospect. The condition is that we prudently protect and husband the great God-given resource of clean water with which our section has been blessed.

The Southeast is not without its problem areas. The comprehensive report by the Southeastern River Basins Study Commission in 1963 showed that only two-thirds of the municipalities in the area had waste treatment facilities and that half of these were inadequate. The Commission also found that only about one-third of the industrial plants in the Southeast basins having independent waste disposal systems provided any treatment of their refuse.

PROBLEMS FACING SOUTHERN CITIES

Some of the major urban centers of the Southeast—among them Atlanta, Birmingham, and Miami—are feeling the effects of pollution of their water supplies. The Chattahoochee below Atlanta has been rejected by some prospective industries because of the poor water quality. Certain of our coastal recreational and commercial shell fish areas have been closed at times because of pollution.

These are but some of the mounting but soluble water problems of our region which this Laboratory must attack. Here the knowledge of modern science and the marvels of modern technology will be enlisted in the cause of cleansing our waters and keeping them safe from contamination.

The outstanding team of 150 scientists, engineers and technicians that will be assembled in Athens will have at its disposal the latest and most sophisticated equipment yet to be perfected in this relatively new field of water research.

The Laboratory will focus its efforts mainly in basic research in water quality, in rendering technical assistance in specific pollution problems to Federal, State, and local agencies and to industry, and in training water engineers and technicians in new methods of evaluating and combating pollution.

The research projects of the Laboratory will probe problems that will have national as well as regional significance. Its researchers will attempt to determine what actually is taking place in the streams and lakes of the Southeast and to develop new tools for predicting potential pollution problems before they arise.

With the Laboratory's two environmental chambers, scientists will be able to simulate nature under controlled conditions to find out what happens to water when it is exposed to different pollutants and varying conditions. From the knowledge thus gained preventive and remedial measures can be developed.

These chambers will be among the largest to be found anywhere in the world—and certainly the largest available for pollution research. They and other equipment and instruments will provide this Laboratory with the finest analytical tools known to science.

The problem of water pollution cannot be solved by research alone. This will require a continuing and coordinated effort by government at every level, by industry and by interested groups and individuals. But research can give us the knowledge to understand the problem more fully and suggest and devise new methods and approaches for solving it.

COOPERATION WITH UNIVERSITIES

This Laboratory will, of course, work closely with the University of Georgia and other educational institutions in the Southeast in fields of mutual interest and effort. Its location here on the university campus will facilitate the exchange use of facilities and more importantly, the exchange of knowledge and ideas. I am confident great mutual benefit will result.

We have been fortunate in recent years in bringing to Athens and to Georgia a number of important research activities of the Federal Government. The Southeast Water Laboratory is one of five federally operated research facilities to be located in the Athens area. I take immense pride in each and every one of these laboratories and I shall overlook no opportunity to win new ones.

I am sure I speak the sentiments of Dr. Aderhold and others present when I express concern that the South is not receiving its rightful and fair share of research grants and contracts that Federal agencies award to institutions of higher learning.

The indisputable fact is that the great bulk of Federal research money for institutions—funds that are vital to the support of graduate education and research excellence—is being funneled to a handful of schools in a few annointed areas of the country.

According to the latest figures I have seen, 10 of the Nation's largest and most celebrated colleges receive one-third of all Federal research funds dispensed to educational institutions. All 10 of these schools are located in three general areas of the country—in the Northeast, in an area fanning out from Chicago, and in California.

The Southeast is one of the areas most flagrantly shortchanged in the sharing of the Federal research pie. Although the seven States comprising this region have 10 percent of the Nation's college enrollment, their colleges receive only about 7 percent of the Federal research dollars going to academic institutions. Our proportionate share would shrink a great deal more if it were not for the extensive research activities of the Department of Agriculture in our section.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SOUTH

I noted with disappointment but little surprise that the discriminatory practice of favoring the areas having heavily funded institutions will likely be observed again in the location of the proposed proton accelerator. A site selection group composed of members of the National Academy of Sciences has narrowed the site possibilities now down to six—all but one of which are located in the three favored areas of the country I identified earlier.

Needless to add, the South was eliminated from consideration even though 34 prospective Southern sites were acknowledged by the Atomic Energy Commission to meet the basic criteria for the location of the accelerator. The selection group did not trouble itself to visit a single one of these prospective sites.

It is the declared policy of the U.S. Government that Federal grants and contracts for university research should be more broadly distributed throughout the country. This not only is eminently fair to all sections, but is in the sound national interest.

In the case of the Department of Defense, we are attempting through legislation to reverse the undue concentration of research in a few schools and to broaden the base of the military's university research program. The defense authorization bill passed by the Senate last week includes $18 million to be used expressly to enable more universities throughout the country to participate in research projects sponsored by the Department.

I think it is high time that all Federal agencies began living up to the policy of the Government and stopped playing favorites with a few academic bellcows. For my part, I intend to do everything within my power to see that Georgia and southern colleges participate on an equal footing with other sections in Federal research activities.

The South has come a long way since the grim days of defeat and devastation that followed Appomattox. Our people have overcome many hardships and obstacles in the last century. But we have now entered the sunlight of a new day.

My illustrious and distant kinsman, the late Adlai Stevenson, once remarked that under the settlement of the Civil War the North permitted the South to keep its charm, its mockingbirds, and its beaten biscuits and retained only the money and the power for itself.

We have not yet recovered as much of the money and the power as we would like, and neither are they distributed exactly as we might like. But we have endured, and we have progressed.

Today, with the dedication of this fine facility, we are tasting another fruit of our progress. We are proud to have the laboratory on this campus, and we look forward to the contribution it will make to the accelerating advancement of Georgia and our sister States of the Southeast.

To Commissioner Quigley, I extend my best wishes as the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration prepares to embark on a new and productive era in the war on pollution.

To John Thoman and his distinguished staff of the laboratory, I offer my commendation for past achievements, and my hope and my support for the demanding course ahead.

The fight for clean water will not be won in 1 day, in 1 year, or even 1 decade. But by working together in unity of purpose and in determination of spirit it can and it must be won. This is the legacy we must leave to generations of Americans who are yet to walk the face of this magnificent land.

Foreign Aid: A Curse in Benevolence Cloak

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, within a few weeks the House Foreign Affairs Committee will comply with the administration's demands and produce a foreign aid bill condoning a very costly and dubious program.

Dr. Melchior Palyi, an international economist held in high regard throughout Europe and the United States, discusses the foreign aid program in a very timely column in this morning's Chicago Tribune.

This column is a most pertinent commentary of foreign aid. I insert it into the Record hoping Members will recognize its inherent wisdom.

Foreign Aid: A Curse in Benevolence Cloak

(By Dr. Melchior Palyi)

In the last two decades, scores of billions of dollars have been spent by the United States on economic aid to some 70-odd "emerging" nations—to foster their economic growth and to raise their living standards. To appreciate the social cost to the donor of this dollar outpour, bear in mind that the financing is a burden on our economy and contributes to our difficulties in foreign trade, if only by indirection. But the direct impact on our balance of payments is what really matters.

So far as foreign aid generates exports, it increases the strains and stresses under which our inflation-ridden economy labors. Moreover, such subsidized exports bring little return, if any, in payments, but deter American business from efforts to increase their genuine commercial sales in competitive markets abroad, to the detriment of our payments balance. Lastly, and this is the most significant point, probably well over one-half of American economic aid has been provided in "cash," thus tearing holes in our international accounts. Indeed, foreign aid is responsible for the deficit in our foreign payments that, in turn, is the hard core of the international liquidity problem.

What has been accomplished by our generosity, if that is the right word for the export subsidies disguised as "foreign aid?" Almost nothing, is the answer, so far as the economic and social objectives are concerned. Disregarding a few "showcases" like Taiwan and the Ivory Coast, most recipient countries show no signs whatsoever of a "takeoff" in the direction of growing economic and financial strength.

SAVINGS STAY LOW

They indulge in reckless deficit financing and paper money inflation. Consequently, their aggregate savings stay low; actually, savings vanish in conspicuous consumption and capital flight; empty land and other "hedges" are preferred to earning assets. Inflation sparks public waste and corruption which are reflected in unproductive speculating and squandering in the private sectors. Individuals have acquired huge fortunes, but the lot of the impoverished masses—overwhelmingly landless agricultural proletariats—has not improved.

Instead of progressing toward self-reliance, these artificially bolstered economies are sinking ever deeper into an apparently hopeless morass of budget deficits, galloping inflations, and growing foreign debts. Their progress is stymied by strangulating foreign exchange restrictions, their production hampered by senseless price controls and other bureaucratic interventions, pretending to combat the inflation. Instead of decreasing, the "needy" countries' requests for support keep mounting, due to their growing trade deficits and the rising burden of servicing their external debts.

This is a tragic situation, fraught with great dangers to the security of the Western World. It must be remedied, and it is in our power to remedy both; the recipient economies' deterioration as well as the deficit in our own balance of payments.

Experts within and from without the International Monetary Fund have warned time and again that the inflationary propensity of the "emerging" governments is at the root of their troubles. Yet, we have tolerated and even encouraged such practices. This is the Archimedean point at which a radically new policy has to start. The rule that the respective currencies must be stabilized and the money printing presses stopped, should be the first axiom of foreign aid disbursements, excepting countries directly involved in war—such as Vietnam.

There is no rhyme nor reason in the fact that countries like Brazil and Argentina, endowed with tremendous natural wealth and capable populations, should dangle constantly on the verge of national bankruptcy, while Thailand, with an annual $120 per capita gross national income, is able to maintain a stable currency (that sells at a premium over the dollar), to say nothing of Bolivia and Honduras.

CURSE IN DISGUISE

As provided heretofore, foreign economic aid has turned out to be a curse in the disguise of benevolence. It is our responsibility to turn it into a real boon to the benefit of the recipients as well as of the donor. The way to do it is by attaching one vital string to the donation of "loans" or handouts—by making them contingent on the stabilization of the respective moneys, including the elimination of exchange barbed wires, multiple currencies, and similar restrictive practices.

The result would be twofold. The recipient economies could get started on the road toward sound economic growth. Thereby, they would attract investment-seeking private capital—that would gradually enable them to dispense with our aid, the prime cause of the menacing international liquidity shortage.

Desecration of the Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 1966, I was pleased to join many of my colleagues in introducing a bill to prohibit desecration of the flag.

I feel very strongly that the way Old Glory has been treated in certain demonstrations is a shame and a disgrace, and that those who do not wish to honor the flag and the principles for which it stands should be punished.

In the week since I introduced this bill, H.R. 14846, I have received letters from my district and from all over the country. In addition to this correspondence, the following editorial appeared in the Bristol Herald Courier, one of the leading dailies in my district, on Friday, May 6, 1966, in support of this measure, and I would like to insert it in the Record:

Patriotic Measure

Representative James H. (Jimmy) Quillen is determined that the honor of the American flag not be violated. With others, the Kingsport Republican has introduced a bill in Congress to prohibit desecration of the flag.

Specifically, the bill provides that anyone who "publicly mutilates, defaces, defiles, defies, tramples upon or casts contempt, either by word or act, upon any flag, standard, colors, or ensign of the United States," shall be punished by imprisonment and a stiff fine.

"I do not believe we should permit the symbol of our Nation to be burned and desecrated," Quillen said in introducing the measure.

As proposals go these days, this is a relatively simple one. It calls for no expenditure of money, save the printing of the law. And unlike many of the fuzzy ideas that find their way to Congress, it has in it the essence of good, old-fashioned patriotism.

The bill is not bothered with disposal of worn flags and other honorable uses. It addresses itself solely to contempt, an attitude that ought to be answered. So long as the Stars and Stripes may wave, it demands the honor of man.

Representative Quillen's bill will help insure that the callous, as well as the patriotic, demonstrate proper respect for the flag.

Prism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, television station KID–TV in Idaho Falls, Idaho, performs a valuable public service through a weekly editorial opinion program called "Prism." These editorials deal with a broad range of matters across the social, economic and political spectrum of particular interest to those citizens of their viewing area.

The following editorial, broadcast on May 1, I believe is of particular significance. I would hope, Mr. Speaker, that the Congress would heed the admonition it contains.

Prism

Good evening. There are so many deductions on our paychecks nowdays that it looks like an end-of-the-month listing of all the bills that we owe.

There are the standard deductions like Federal and State income taxes, contributions to the Community Chest or United Campaign, and participation in some type of insurance program. There may be others, too, which are peculiar to individual companies.

Oh, yes, and FICA—that's short for the Federal Insurance Contribution Act. Many of us accept these deductions as being so standard that we have to be reminded of what terms like FICA stand for—but a more complete investigation into what it stands for reveals what a monster it can become and what a burden it can impose.

There is a common misconception that FICA provides for unemployment insurance. It doesn't. Unemployment compensation is provided by the company or business of the employee through a State plan.

FICA, as originally conceived, was a good idea. It provided a limited amount of security for persons reaching retirement age. But a great many people feel the program is getting out of hand.

Last year, we paid in to the FICA program on the first $4,800 we earned. We paid a maximum of $174. This amount paid by the individual was matched by the company or business for which he or she worked.

The matching concept still applies, but this year the amount has been boosted from 3.65 percent on $4,800 to 4.2 percent on $6,600. This means that any person earning at least $6,600 this year will pay $277 into the FICA program. Of this amount, $23.10 will go into the medicare program.

Next year, the rate jumps from 4.2 percent of the first $6,600 a person earns to 4.4 percent. This means an additional $13 will be taken out next year for FICA, boosting the total to $290.

The FICA total will continue to increase, to $323 in 1969, to $356 in 1973, and to $372 in 1987. This, of course, is based only on current legislation. It's likely that the percentage of one's salary, together with the total, will continue to increase.

There is no question in our mind that the FICA program, together with medicare, is of great benefit. But where does it all stop? And in the process, is the program being administered in the best possible way?

To answer the first question of where it all stops, some would say there is no stopping point. Just the other day President Johnson proposed another medicare program—Federal financing of dental care for children under 6. And the President said at the same time that he wants an across-the-board increase in social security benefits. As to how much these proposals might cost, we have no idea. But we think Congress would be well-advised to remember that there has to be a stopping point for everything.

As for the second question we raised about the administration of the program, maybe a story that came over our newswire the other day illustrates our point best. In this instance, the story has to do with the Federal Government's war on poverty.

In this case, a Detroit man began collecting unemployment compensation because he was out of work as a factory worker. Before he went to collect his unemployment compensation and to get help from the Federal Government's antipoverty programs, he was taking home $104 a week. But after the man found out about unemployment compensation, together with the two antipoverty programs, he qualified for, he was taking home $160 a week, all of which was tax free. The man's wife admitted that the extra money "sure made a difference."

Antiproverty programs, unemployment compensation, and the FICA program—all were originally conceived with the valid purpose of benefiting society. But the entire concept of something for everyone, no matter whether the individual has earned it or deserves it or not, reflects on our intelligence as a society—a society in which the individual is rapidly becoming entwined in a mass of Federal redtape which offers everything for everybody without a pause to count the cost.

Thank you and good night.

The Washington Square Outdoor Art Exhibit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 27, the semiannual Washington Square Outdoor Art Exhibit will once again open on the streets around and adjacent to the world famous Washington Square Park in Greenwich Village, N.Y. The sidewalk art show is a valued Greenwich Village tradition with a valid purpose, that of providing a showcase for artists where they can meet directly with a broad cross section of the public. An article in the Villager, a distinguished newspaper in Greenwich Village, on May 5, 1966, best describes the atmosphere of the art show. I hope all my colleagues will take the time to read it.

The New York Convention and Visitors Bureau started the month of May with an announcement concerning "the colorful Washington Square Outdoor Art Exhibit in New York's Greenwich Village" which will open May 27 "just in time for the big Memorial Day weekend," adding that visitors to the show will find "art in just about all its varieties * * * in some 4 miles of streets and byways surrounding Washington Square."

The outdoor show, this announcement continues, "is open to professional artists and novices and visitors are welcome to browse, discuss, discover, and bargain with the artists for their creations."

Visitors frequently total an impressive 150,000 a weekend—more if there's a holiday included—as there is in the spring show with Memorial Day and the autumn show which includes Labor Day. They come and they browse and, proof that they like what they see: they spend their money. The money may be $10 for an etching or $50 for a matted watercolor or—and we've seen it with our own eyes—$1,000 for an oil.

The artists may be from Cornelia Street or from West End Avenue or from a dozen towns in New Jersey or Connecticut * * * they may be from Maine or Montana or from Madrid or Malibu. Pick a letter to your liking and a town that starts with it is quite possibly the town an artist started from when he packed his brushes and headed for New York. The "born" New Yorkers are a small group among the city's 8 million.

As with people who play trombones and people who weigh their words to fit them into a sonnet or a stanza of haiku, people who paint or etch are expressing a personal opinion * * * so, for that matter, are the people who put the flare into the brim of a hat or the fit in the sleeve of a coat. If it's creative it has something not made by a machine; it's hand made—by people. And New York, as a local candidate for elective office keeps reminding us—is for people.

Fittings for windows or parts for lawnmowers can be ordered by telephone or selected from assorted sizes and colors in a catalogue, all with fair success. But judging from the thousands who look and the hundreds who buy in the Washington Square Outdoor Art Exhibit twice a year, a work of art is purchased with some intangible coin that falls between "I don't know anything about art but I know what I like—" and being willing to go without lunch for a couple of months to own an original—of one's choice.

The Convention and Visitors Bureau—and the villager—aren't the only units among New York's 8 million who realize this. The hundred citizens who make up the membership of the Washington Square Outdoor Art Exhibit, Inc.—who serve year 'round without salary or—recently—without even thanks or kind words—know it well. The donors of cash prizes and artists materials and scholarships and travel awards know that the art shown on the sidewalks near and around Washington Square has value.

Let's Keep the Door Open to Closer Contacts With Peking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, our efforts to reach some modus vivendi with the Chinese over the past 8 years have met with total failure because of their intransigence.

The distinguished Columnist Roscoe Drummond argues persuasively in the following column from the April 20, 1966, edition of the New York Herald Tribune that we should nevertheless keep the door wide open in an effort to demonstrate to Communist China and to the rest of the world that we do seek normalized relations and that we do favor peace.

The article follows:

HOW TO ANSWER REDS' "NO": ADVICE TO UNITED STATES ON PEKING—KEEP THE DOOR WIDE OPEN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Both Peking and Moscow are busy returning a repeated "No" to everything the United States is proposing to improve relations.

After the United States offered increased contact between the mainland Chinese and American people and announced that Chinese citizens would be welcome to visit the United States—even without the reciprocal privilege of U.S. citizens being welcome in Red China—Peking said "No."

The reason Peking said "No," they explained, was that there could be no improved relations between Red China and the United States unless the United States abandons Nationalist China to Communist Chinese control.

In other words, widened contact between the mainland Chinese and American people is not accepted as desirable in itself. Peking says: First give us what we want and then we can widen contacts.

The impasse between the Soviet Union and the United States casts a pall over the prospects of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and taking any step toward disarmament.

For a year or more, the United States has been urging Moscow to accept a mutual and inspected cutback in the production of fissionable material. This was rejected by Moscow on the ground that such inspection would be military spying.

But last week we unfolded a plan at Geneva which would disclose any illegal production of fissionable material without getting even near to military secrets.

The Soviets did not deny that this could be done, but still said "nyet." They quit talking about espionage and reverted to the old Soviet line that cutting back production of material for nuclear weapons was not enough, that the best plan is for everybody to destroy all nuclear weapons at once.

Any inspection? Yes, the Soviets said, a U.N. team could watch them being destroyed.

Any catch? Yes, the Soviets would not permit anybody, including a U.N. team, to make a count of a country's nuclear stockpile before the destroying began. End result—we couldn't possibly know whether all weapons had been destroyed.

We are doing absolutely the right thing in trying to draw Red China out of its self-imposed isolation. I say "self-imposed" because the United States has been offering widened contacts for the past 8 years.

Ever since 1958 we have been proposing to Peking a reciprocal exchange of visas for Chinese and American newsmen. Peking rejected it.

Then we offered to give visas for Chinese doctors to visit U.S. medical institutions—even if American doctors were not allowed to visit China. Peking rejected it.

Now we inform Chinese professors and scholars that they can get visas to accept invitations to the United States to visit American universities—even if American professors and scholars are not allowed into China. Peking rejected it.

Apparently, the present Chinese rulers need an "enemy" in order to create enough fear and tension within China to maintain their repressive system. It was the same with Stalin.

But we should keep the door open, even if it can swing only one way.

Some day, Mao's successors may want to come in out of the cold.

The Cinco de Mayo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the cinco de Mayo, or 5th of May, is a date revered by the Mexican people. On that day in 1862, a gallant band of Mexican patriots defeated a numerically superior French force at the town of Puebla and momentarily thwarted the greedy designs of Napoleon III upon their homeland.

Let us look briefly at Mexican history in the 19th century in order to understand more fully the significance of the battle of Puebla. After emanicipation from Spanish control in 1822, Mexico experienced many difficulties. Changes of government were often accompanied by bloodshed and violence. Several European nations continued to cast greedy glances upon the struggling young nation.

In the early 1860's Benito Juarez was able to establish a liberal government. Yet domestic turmoil accentuated the financial difficulties of his government, which, along with other confiscatory measures at home, refused to acknowledge the foreign debts contracted by its predecessors. This, plus claims for compensation of damage incurred during the Mexican civil strife, gave an easy pretext for intervention.

Three powers were interested in Mexico—Great Britain, Spain, and France, but the operation which finally developed was mainly a project of Napoleon III of France. His motives were complex and somewhat confused, but basically he wanted to create a zone of French influence in Mexico and to please Catholic opinion in France by favoring clerical interests in Mexico.

In October 1861, Britain, France, and Spain agreed to joint action which took the form of occupation of Vera Cruz. Spain and Britain, however, had no such far-reaching designs as France, and, in 1862, they withdrew, leaving the French to pursue their grandiose schemes alone.

About 6,000 French soldiers set out from Vera Cruz to Mexico City to the victory they were sure would be theirs. Yet their confidence was unwarranted, for on May 5, 1862, they encountered a courageous band of Mexican patriots at Puebla, a strategic city halfway between Vera Cruz and Mexico City. When the French general reached Puebla, he chose to send his men into the center of Mexican fortifications, over a ditch and a brick wall and up the steep slopes of the Cerro de Guadalupe. Led by the great leader, Ignacio Zaragosa, the Mexicans flung the French back to Orizaba and the coast. Their valor in the face of superior odds and their heroism led to the creation of Cinco de Mayo as a national holiday for Mexico.

Although halted momentarily by the courageous Mexicans at Puebla, the French ultimately were able to capture Mexico City and to install Archduke Maximilian of Austria upon the throne. Yet, as we know, Maximilian never commanded the allegiance of the Mexican people. What control he did have was limited and totally dependent upon the French troops in Mexico. I am glad to say that with the conclusion of the Civil War, the United States was able to come to the rescue of its southern neighbor. Our Nation refused recognition of Maximilian and demanded that the French recall their expeditionary force. Left to rule on his own, Maximilian was captured by the Mexicans in June 1867, and soon executed.

The 5th of May thus commemorates a day upon which courage and love for their homeland enabled Mexicans to triumph over troops of a foreign power. It is with real pleasure that I join with our Mexican friends in paying tribute to the strength, valor, and patriotism of those men who fought so bravely and so well on that day in Puebla more than 100 years ago. In so doing we also pay tribute to all the citizens of Mexico in whose hearts burn the self-same love of country. In memory of that great day, we extend greetings and warmest best wishes to the great neighbor to the south of us—Mexico.

University of Pittsburgh Logical Nucleus for New Medical Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished new associate editor of the Pittsburgh Press, Mr. John Troan, has written an excellent article on the new regional medical program authorized by the Congress last year. He points out, among other things, that a logical nucleus for the medical co-ops envisioned under the program is the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine—certainly one of the leading medical schools in the Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the article by Mr. Troan at this point in the RECORD:

MEDICAL CO-OP: HEALTH ALLIANCE FORMING—PILOT PROJECT URGED IN DISTRICT

(By John Troan)

So many things are happening so rapidly it's almost impossible to keep up with what's going on.

This is particularly true in medicine. New vaccines, new drugs, new diagnostic procedures, new tools for treatment of illness, new concepts of patient care are being developed at such a rate that busy doctors find it difficult to keep abreast.

Now the Federal Government is about to implement a new idea to help speed the fruits of medical research to all patients everywhere.

Under a law passed last year, Uncle Sam is preparing to spend $340 million by mid-1968 to set up regional medical programs throughout the country.

In effect, these programs will be medical co-ops linking—on a regional basis—major medical centers with local community hospitals, practicing physicians, and research groups in an alliance for health.

Properly implemented, such regional medical programs could make it vastly easier for patients in outlying communities to get the extremely expensive, specialized care that usually can be offered only in the biggest of the big-city hospitals.

KNOWLEDGE SHARING

By the same token, physicians in outlying communities could find it much easier to keep up with medical progress and thus render better out-of-hospital care sooner than is now possible.

Such doctors, for instance, could be brought more readily to a medical center for training in the latest techniques of preventing, diagnosing, and treating illness.

Or specialists from the medical center itself could go out into the smaller communities to relay to participating physicians and other health personnel the newest knowledge in the ceaseless quest for better ways to keep people healthy and make the sick well.

The initial focus will be on the three top killers—heart disease, cancer, and strokes—which together account for more than 7 of every 10 deaths in the United States.

PILOT PROJECTS

Whether these medical co-ops will help reduce this awesome toll only time will tell. So far Congress has authorized grants only for planning purposes and for demonstration projects.

But if the Pittsburgh area is to remain in the vanguard of medicine, we cannot afford to wait and see how things work out elsewhere. We must establish one of these pilot projects in this area and help shape the future of the regional medical programs.

Logical nucleus for such a medical co-op is the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, which is preparing to seek one of the first Federal grants.

But if this is to be a co-op in fact as well as name, the university will need the wholehearted cooperation of all hospitals, practicing physicians, researchers, medical educators, and public health leaders in the tristate region.

Such teamwork is bound to advance the patients' welfare—and enhance the image of the health professions.

Hiring the Handicapped Is Good Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, practically all private American employers are in a position to extend a helping hand to many disadvantaged persons who seek gainful, honest work.

I am acquainted with the experience of one outstanding American firm which has deliberately sought to help the less fortunate. Television viewers are no doubt aware of the frequent public service announcements, urging companies to employ the disabled. Well, Anodyne, Inc., of North Miami Beach, Fla., has established itself as a real pacesetter in this field, and its commendable record is largely due to the determination and character of its board chairman and president, Eugene T. Turney, Jr., a former New York constituent of mine.

Mr. Turney also serves with distinction on the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Last year Mayor Robert High of Miami made a promotional tour of five South American nations and it was Mr. Turney's task, as a member of the delegation, to awaken public and private employers south of the border to the opportunity and advantages of hiring the handicapped. Through his own firm's leadership in this field, Mr. Turney has become an expert and inevitably his advice is universally sought.

Anodyne, which manufactures multicolored, anodized aluminum nameplates, decorative trim, plaques, panels, switchplates and similar products for the entire range of American industry, purposefully seeks out and profitably locates persons who have been rejected by other businesses. Anodyne employs the handicapped in every department of its complex plant.

At the corporation, the disadvantaged perform critical functions in the arts, printing, metalworking, and other skilled areas.

Project Amigo, as the South American tour was termed, took off from Miami in February of 1965. Anodyne's president met with Government and civic leaders at Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Bogota. It was his objective to discuss means of implementing programs for rehabilitation and training of the disabled, as well as locating these persons satisfactorily in industry.

Prior to the trip, Mr. Turney worked with the staff of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped on preparations, which included the manufacture of plaques to be presented to South American leaders acknowledging their work in promoting employment opportunity for the handicapped. Anodyne's skilled—and handicapped—artisans created these plaques.

In all the countries visited, Mr. Turney and his message were enthusiastically received. It reflects one of the really substantive, non-public means of cementing better relations in the hemisphere.

The experience of Mr. Turney's firm serves as an example to all American industry. It has invested time and effort in this crucial area of human concern.

At this point in the RECORD I include an article which appeared in the October 1964 Miamian, written by Mr. Turney, and I commend its reading to all my colleagues:

EMPLOY THE HANDICAPPED—IT'S GOOD BUSINESS

(By Eugene T. Turney, Jr., board chairman and president, Anodyne, Inc.)

I'm quite used to the fact that visitors to Anodyne's modern 43,000-square-foot manufacturing plant and headquarters will stare at a paraplegic working at a machine from his wheelchair. They'll wonder, too, how much use a one-armed man might be, or what could we possibly expect from so many of those people whose braces and crutches beside their benches signify some physical disability.

But what I never can endure is the obvious and thoroughly mistaken notion that, because I have long been dedicated to the policy of hiring handicapped people, I am a sentimentalist or just plain soft in the head.

Neither. Just a businessman. My purpose is the production of our multicolored, anodized aluminum nameplates, plaques, decorative trim and panels, medallions, switch and serial plates, and similar anodized aluminum goods, at the highest level of quality attainable, and selling them to our many customers throughout the Nation at the lowest possible cost. In the process, we earn a profit.

MORE PROFITS

Sure, this sounds like the credo of any other practical businessman. But it ties in squarely with Anodyne's policy of employment of handicapped men and women. These people, as a group, contribute substantially to the fact that each quarter we can report to our stockholders new gains have been achieved, more profits have been racked up.

To merely say, "It's good business to hire the handicapped" is one thing; we at Anodyne, where some 60 percent of our 125 employees are classified by existing standards as handicapped, prove the truth of this maxim every day. The fact is, we would like to hire more such people.

Through the years, I've developed ample evidence of the worth of these workers. My experience with them has yielded this foremost fact: handicapped employees produce 21 percent more than the nonhandicapped. What company wouldn't enjoy boosting its output that much?

RELIABLE WORKERS

And there are other equally cogent reasons why Anodyne's job roster will always contain such individuals. Handicapped workers are imbued with a high degree of reliability. This is not an unfounded generality, a pious platitude. Employment records prove it. They stay on the job.

Further, a handicapped person performs his work with a certain dedication not always found in other personnel. He (or she, of course) takes personal pride in his labors, adding an intangible plus to any commodity. And every morning he shows up at the door with virtually perfect punctuality.

Alcohol problems are so rare among the handicapped employees I cannot remember the last time such an occassion arose. Whatever else they may have lost, they keep their heads in this connection.

Our operations are complex, the nature of much of our work is critical. We house no less than 17 different crafts under our roof. We are a unique compound of industrial technologies such as photography, chemistry, metallurgy, heat treating, adhesives, printing, engraving, and others.

Our thin gage, anodized aluminum products are made to be applied to a multitude of uses. We manufacture these product identification and beautification goods in an unlimited variety of color combinations and shapes. To fulfill our own industrial destiny properly, we have to be very sharp in our work. And to train men and women for the many skillful tasks required is expensive.

Here again, the handicapped worker comes through. Once schooled, the handicapped employee acquits himself well on the production line. Better still, because he has a finer sense of loyalty, he sticks to the job. We save hard dollars and sorely needed time through reduction of training costs.

SAFER WORKERS

In any industrial plant the safety factor must be considered. People get hurt either through careless or an unexpected accident. At Anodyne, I can report, the handicapped workers never get on the injured list. Their accident record as a group is nil. The toe stubbers, finger snippers and elbow knockers, it may shock you to learn, are their full-bodied coworkers.

As a consequence, our insurance rates are pleasingly low—again a saving to today's businessman of money, time, laborious paperwork.

These are prime, perhaps even selfish, incentives for hiring of handicapped personnel. To pursue them further down the line, other social and economic benefits accrue to the family, to the entire community through employment of such individuals. They live as anyone else does, buy clothes, eat food, send kids to school, pay taxes. Denied the opportunity to learn a livelihood, they must fall back upon welfare rolls. It's expensive to all in the long run.

I've never liked the word "handicapped." There are no handicapped people, as far as I am concerned. There are only human beings. It's an unfortunate—and unnecessarily stigmatized—category for some persons. However, those so wrongly classified can be as dexterous, creative, productive as you or your next door neighbor.

It's a crime to waste all this potential human talent, and it's a crime not to go looking for it.

Toward a Review of the Draft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, at last a responsible group of citizens has begun a serious review of the current draft system. At a meeting in New York last weekend representatives of student groups, universities, foundations, and government met at a National Service Conference to explore the implications of alternative forms of service and universal national service.

In time I hope that the Congress will consider some of the implications of this debate. Could national service be considered an important extension of a citizen's education? What could be the impact of a huge new pool of manpower? What would universal service do about those who do not pass the mental or physical tests of the current selective service system?

The discussion of alternative forms of service really began with President Kennedy's creation of the Peace Corps, as the New York Post pointed out in an editorial on May 9, 1966.

The creation of a domestic Peace Corps, VISTA, adds to this discussion.

The New York Post editorial, which raises many of the important considerations about national service, follows:

[From the New York Post, May 9, 1966]

TOWARD A REVIEW OF THE DRAFT

Since the late President Kennedy first advanced the idea more than 5½ years ago, there have been intermittent suggestions of positive alternatives to military service for young Americans of draft age.

Mr. Kennedy depicted the Peace Corps, then only a campaign promise, as such an option. The rising need for recruits in the war on poverty now being waged by the Johnson administration indicates another alternative.

Delegates to a National Service Conference of teachers, students, and personnel experts, meeting here over the weekend, express strong support for both alternatives. They may be recommended as part of the national draft law, which expires next year; the conference was called to map plans for recommendations.

This early start is commendable and we hope the administration is making its own beginning now.

We do not minimize the fearful uncertainties of the Vietnam war or the complexities of drafting an equitable program of alternatives to combat service. Each fresh commitment of troops to Vietnam renders discussion of such a program more and more academic; it can be predicted with assurance that in an escalating war, supporters of draft alternatives will be charged with endorsement of draft-dodging or even branded traitors at worst. Some of the shrillest critics, it may also be assumed, will not be rushing to the enlistment offices.

But if the President and his advisers lose sight of the alternatives, they will also be blind to the opportunity for enlisting young Americans in those wider wars, both domestic and foreign, to which Mr. Johnson has eloquently committed this country—the wars against ignorance, hunger, poverty, and disease.

As a reality, the Peace Corps has waged these campaigns effectively on a wide front. It is not too early to begin planning the larger future of these efforts. We may be engaged in them long after the shooting in Vietnam has ended. At best we have a right to hope that there will be such a time.

Trade: Weapon for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER L. WOLFF
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD the following thoughtful editorial on the vital subject of trade from the Monday, May 9, issue of Newsday, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues in this distinguished body:

TRADE: WEAPON FOR PEACE

The American struggle for freedom and peace is being waged on many fronts. In Asia, a war is being fought to repel Chinese Communist-supported aggression. On the European continent, there is fierce ideological competition for the hearts and minds of people caught in the Soviet Communist orbit.

It was to these captive millions in Eastern Europe that President Johnson spoke when he asked Congress for authority to increase peaceful trade in nonstrategic items between the United States and the Iron Curtain countries. By lowering tariffs to countries such as Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, the President hopes to build new bridges across the ideological gulf that separates the East from the West.

These trade advantages generally have gone to non-Communist countries under the most-favored-nation tariff program. In recent years, they have been extended to Poland, many of whose people are anti-Communist, and to Yugoslavia, which has an arms-length relationship with Russia. The new tariff concessions for the Communist countries could be revoked by the President at any time and trade in strategic materials still would be prohibited. No tariff changes are likely for Russia because agreements would be required first on the lend-lease debts of World War II.

Trade with Communist countries does not appeal to some Americans. They argue that selling American goods to hostile countries and buying their products serves only to help the Communists in their determination to "bury" us. In the past, nationwide anti-buying campaigns have been directed at stores that sold Polish hams or Czech wine glasses or Yugoslav knife holders. Public pressure forced the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. to drop its Government-approved plans to build a synthetic rubber plant in Romania. Six American tobacco companies refused to bend to similar threats and still buy $7 million worth of tobacco a year from Yugoslavia. The cigarette industry was commended by the State, Defense, and Commerce Departments. But many American firms remain reluctant to trade with Eastern Europe.

The arguments of the opponents fail when measured against the international realities. The key fact is that trade is a weapon and, perhaps, one of the best foreign policy weapons. Used skillfully and wisely, it can influence the internal evolution and external behavior of Communist countries. A flow of goods can encourage the flow of ideas. Agreements on trade can lead to agreements in the political sphere.

The President's Committee on Trade Relations with East European Countries and the Soviet Union recently declared: "We desire to encourage the growth of forces in the European Communist countries that will improve the prospects for peace. Within these countries we seek to encourage independence from Soviet domination and a rebuilding of historical ties with the West * * *. It is in our interest to promote concern with internal standards of living rather than with external adventure."

Trade with Eastern Europe, in any event, is likely to be only a small part of total U.S. foreign trade. In 1965, our imports and exports to Iron Curtain countries balanced out at about $138 million, only a drop in the Nation's $22 billion foreign trade bucket. Moreover, a lack of foreign exchange in European Communist countries will restrict the ability of these countries to trade in much greater volume.

So, it is not for commercial advantage but for progress toward peace that President Johnson seeks this new tariff legislation. He has said of Eastern Europe, "Windows are opening to the world—only slightly in many places, but they are opening." Some day, perhaps when the windows are open wide enough, there will be a new era of softness and trade will be king.

South's New Political Type

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN W. EDWARDS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, an editorial which recently appeared in the Lake Charles, La., American Press is a splendid piece of insight into the forward thinking of today's Southern voters and the people they elect to represent them. Even more it makes crystal clear that which, to many, has heretofore been a hazy and unreasoned image of the South's role in the economic and social progress of our America. It correctly prognosticates the South's ever-increasing spirit of cooperation in moving our Nation forward. As an American, Southerner, and Louisianian I take pride in commending to my colleagues this editorial from this very progressive newspaper in my district:

[From the Lake Charles (La.) American Press, May 1, 1966]

SOUTH'S NEW POLITICAL TYPE

Since World War II the industrial revolution which has moved across the South has reshaped the southern economy. It has done more than that, though. It has also reshaped the philosophy and the outlook of the southern politician.

Southern politicians, with a number of flamboyant exceptions, have tended to conform to type since the Civil War.

First of the breed was the "professional Confederate," who might actually have been a profiteer or a scalawag, but who could not be outdone in his verbal allegiance to the lost cause.

His chief function was to maintain the fabric of segregation.

This, in actual practice, was not so much segregation as a policy which looked like segregation but which was designed to insure that the South still predominantly agricultural would keep a stable supply of cheap labor in the person of the exslave.

Keeping property assessments and taxes low were other functions.

This type, in general persisted until the agricultural crisis of the 1920's and the great depression of the 1930's wrecked the southern economy.

This upheaval brought about the advent of a new type of politician, akin to the ward heeler of northern cities. The successful depression politician was the man who could obtain jobs, or WPA appointments, or groceries for his friends and supporters.

This type of politician spoke for the "poor people" or the "common people," and assailed "Wall Street," "big business" and "evil corporations."

The end of World War II brought industry to the South, and it brought new growth, new hopes and new problems.

Southern Governors like Terry Sanford, of North Carolina, and Carl Sanders, represented a new type—the businessman-politician. They sought industry to locate in their States. They didn't rail at "soulless corporations." They went after new jobs. They weren't afraid of new taxes.

They tried to develop a climate of opinion favorable to business and industry. Mechanization had come to the farm. Nobody needed cheap agricultural labor anymore, so there was no real need for the type of disguised segregation which had evolved in the South.

As this development took place, the segregation problem moved out of the South and into the North and the Far West, where a more subtle type of economic and social segregation was being practiced.

Gradually, the new type of businessman-politician began to replace the older types at the local level, too.

Today, not only Governors but county commissioners, mayors and city councilmen are of the new type. The Mark Watson-Theodore Biblo-Earl Long type of political rabble rouser is seldom seen in office today.

Today's southern politician is sober in his dress and speech, and carries a briefcase. He is apt to be a college man, and his chief aim and duty is to create an acceptable image for his State, or county, or city.

He is, in fact, more of a public relations man than a politician. He wants new industry and he wants new jobs, because he knows that no one ever votes against prosperity.

A prototype is Louisiana's Gov. John McKeithen. At the urban level, a prototype is Atlanta's Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., a millionaire businessman who has made it his aim to make Atlanta the New York of the South.

In the last 5 years in Atlanta, some 70 new office buildings have been put up. Mercantile investment has more than tripled since 1960. Employment has jumped 28.3 percent since 1960. The city had 31,550 new jobs last year.

The city has just gained major league baseball and football franchises. It adds about 50,000 people to its population every year.

What Atlanta has done, other Southern cities are seeking to do, and the voters are turning to the new type of businessman-public-relations-man-politician to lead the way.

He must be a man who knows the problems of industrial leaders, and who can talk their language.

He is apt to be the dominant type for years to come.

So if you are hankering after a political career, brush up on your technical knowledge. A degree in economics or communication will be of more help than ability as a stump speaker.

From all indications, the South means business today—and it wants businessmen.

Congress Abhors a Vacuum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, Electronic News by Fairchild Publications in the April 11, 1966, issue, published a story entitled, "Congress Abhors a Vacuum," by Ray Connolly.

Since the first part of the article deals with actions of a committee I am not privileged to serve on, I ask that portion not to be reprinted in the Record. However, the remainder of the article deals with action taken by the Karth Subcommittee on Space Sciences and Applications of the Science and Astronautics Committee on which I serve as the fourth ranking Democrat. My colleagues will recall that the action referred to in the article was adopted unanimously by the Karth subcommittee, the full committee with only 10 votes cast in opposition to the space authorization bill by the whole House. Since the article reiterates many similar endorsements of the committee's actions, I commend it to my colleagues:

[From Electronic News, Apr. 11, 1966]

CONGRESS ABHORS A VACUUM

(By Ray Connolly)

* * * * *

Joseph Karth's Subcommittee on Space Sciences and Applications wants NASA to move more quickly on Mars and has recommended changes in the upcoming budget to bring this about. The Minnesota Democrat's group has proposed the switch of $42 million from other segments of the space budget to Voyager so NASA can proceed with its Martian program—including a landing capsule on the Mariner vehicle scheduled for launch in 1969.

* * * * *

The same favorable administration response cannot necessarily be anticipated for the proposal of Mr. Karth's subcommittee, however worth while it may be. To proceed with the Voyager program would mean juggling substantial funds within the space agency and canceling the $18 million Mariner flyby of Venus next year.

This is exactly what the House body would have NASA do. It also recommends the agency get more funds for Voyager by taking $3.5 million from the administrative budget of the Office of Space Sciences and Applications, $5 million from supporting research and technology, and $10 million from procurement of launch vehicles.

Such strong and specific recommendations for a change in direction of the space program would put Congress in the policymaking area.

Whether or not the administration approves, the plan to proceed with Voyager is worth adopting. Cancellation of the Venus probe would be no great loss since it represents an isolated mission and is therefore of marginal value. NASA has no schedule to explore Venus, and Mr. Karth has aptly called the mission a makeshift.

Voyager, on the other hand, will be NASA's biggest undertaking after Apollo. Estimates of its total budget over the next 10 years run to $3 billion and more. Representative Karth believes—along with much of the scientific community—that NASA has too much at stake in its first-ranked Mars program to let it limp along at its present pace.

Whether the two House committees can make their recommendations on Voyager and Apollo Applications stick through passage of the final NASA appropriation and then through the inevitable conference to adjust differences in the House and Senate versions of the final legislation is only speculation at this point. Whatever the outcome, the approach is to be commended.

In particular, the recommendations of the Karth subcommittee are as precise as any ever made by Robert S. McNamara when the Defense Department was faced with cutbacks. It is too bad that these recommendations couldn't have come from James E. Webb.

Detroit and Its Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, Congress is presently trying to write some meaningful traffic safety legislation. There is no doubt that something must be done to halt the continuing slaughter on our highways. As the hearings before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce have shown, very little if any blame can be placed on the vehicle. Human error is a major fault of many of our traffic accidents and legislation must be enacted accordingly. There must also be comprehensive education programs, strict enforcement and major attention to traffic engineering in so far as our streets and highways are concerned if we are to accomplish anything.

In this regard I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues, an editorial which appeared in the April 11, 1966, edition of the Omaha World-Herald:

DETROIT AND ITS CRITICS

The automotive industry clustered around Detroit is unquestionably the largest and finest manufacturing complex on earth.

The cars produced there are the greatest. Almost anywhere on the globe, the man who can afford to own an American automobile (duty and shipping costs make the price almost prohibitive overseas) counts himself the luckiest of mortals.

Perhaps the most important factor in creating this success has been competition. Dog-eat-dog competition between some of the toughest industrialists on earth. Competition that has caused the motor-makers to bring out new models every year, embodying every improvement in motor, mechanics and style that they think the public will welcome.

Now politicians are trying to get into the act.

The administration in Washington has demanded that the bureaucracy be allowed to set mandatory safety standards for cars (standards which might affect every part of the vehicle), and a Senate committee has been holding hearings.

This inquiry has turned up two principal allegations:

1. That automobiles are not as safe they might be; and

2. That faults in design have been found occasionally in some models, faults so grievous that the makers have been obliged to call in cars already sold and make corrections.

Let's take a look at those two charges, starting with safety.

Unquestionably the automobile is not a completely safe machine. It is involved in the deaths of some thousands of people every year. Anbody who places his own safety and security above all other considerations had better buy himself a General Sherman tank or better yet, stay in his own basement.

If the American public ever shows a genuine interest in safety, and demands that the automobiles it buys be equipped with the most advanced safety devices, we rather surmise that somebody in Detroit will comply, and the others will have to follow suit. But lacking any such widespread demand, we doubt if Government regulations or Government design of automobiles would do much good.

We seem to recall that a vehicle completely designed, built and inspected under Government supervision, at a cost of no one knows how many million dollars was obliged to come down out of outer space a few weeks ago after very nearly incinerating its occupants.

The trouble? A simple short circuit. To the safety minded it would seem elementary that a device operated by electricity should be protected against short circuits.

Now, as to the second count, that motor cars sometimes develop trouble caused by faulty design. Undoubtedly that is true. It can happen with any piece of machinery.

Last week the engines of an Atlas-Centaur rocket fired from Cape Kennedy failed to ignite while reaching toward upper space. The Atlas-Centaur is the showpiece of America's billion-dollar attempt to put men on the moon. The incident does not prove that the Atlas-Centaur won't ever work. But it does suggest that sensitive machinery does not always work as well as its designers hope, and that sometimes changes have to be made.

If Detroit's auto makers keep on selling defective cars after they know they are defective, they certainly should be whaled. But if the complaint simply reads that they have made mistakes, and acknowledged them, and made restitution, then we can't see that any one in Washington has reasonable grounds for getting into the act,

We are not here entering a blanket defense of the automobile industry. Possibly, on occasion, some of its tycoons have been guilty of sharp practices and even law violations. If so, the Department of Justice certainly should crack down.

But law enforcement is one thing, and Government-dictated design of automobiles is another. We rather surmise that if the latter practice had been followed for the past half century, we would all still be riding around safely at 20 miles an hour in Model T's. And black ones, at that.

National Secretaries Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED REINECKE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, in the rush of business in which all members of Congress find themselves each day, it is very fitting that we should take a few moments to pay tribute to those many unsung heroes of the Hill, our secretaries. Where would we be without them? They make our job much easier. They prepare good letters from our scrambled dictation; they tell us where to go, and when to be there; they answer questions for us and for our constituents; they handle our casework; they know where everything is filed. They bring us our coffee in the morning; they greet our visitors—and make that first good impression. And sometimes they have to run interference for us, when things get tight.

Mr. Speaker, my secretaries, Mrs. Elisabeth Seeley, Mrs. Mary Lingle, Miss Nancy Newcomer, and Mrs. Joan McKay, are a great asset to my office. In keeping with the spirit of National Secretaries Week, just a week ago, let us extend our heartiest appreciation to our secretaries for a job well done.

Business Executive C. C. Cadagan Leads Hawaii Corporation to New Heights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of the common characteristics of a leader, whether he is the President of a nation or the coxswain of a winning crew, is his recognition of the importance of each individual who makes up the successful whole. Hence, a favorite saying of one of Hawaii's most successful business executives is, "It's not the company, it's the people in it."

Mr. C. C. Cadagan, retiring president and chief executive officer of Alexander & Baldwin, Inc., reiterated his belief during a recent interview with Reporter Shurei Hirozawa, of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. However, the people to whom Cadagan refers—the stockholders, the employees, and business associates of the thriving corporation—may not agree completely with their dynamic president. His skillful and often bold buying and selling operations were primarily responsible for the rise in the company's heretofore only comfortable revenues to the highest level of earnings ever reached by any company in Hawaii. Alexander & Baldwin's earnings for 1965 reached a recordbreaking $12.9 million.

Mr. Cadagan, who is retiring as president to become board chairman of "A. & B.," leaves not only this outstanding record of progress but also leaves a capable management team which I am sure will continue to prove his belief in the importance of the people who make up the company.

In the hope that other business leaders in our great private enterprise system will recognize the importance of the private individual in a corporate setup, as did Mr. Cadagan, and profit by his rich experience, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the story of how Mr. C. C. Cadagan brought Alexander & Baldwin to its present level of earnings in 6 short years. The article, which was written by Business and Labor Editor Shurei Hirozawa, appeared in the April 19, 1966, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

RETIRES AS PRESIDENT THIS WEEK: CADAGAN ARCHITECT OF SUCCESSFUL A. & B.

(By Shurei Hirozawa)

Back around the mid-1950's, stock brokers were recommending Alexander and Baldwin for the built-in profit generated by its extensive investment portfolio.

The company had certainly been a good, steady profit machine for many years.

But that performance pales in the light of achievements of the past six years.

The architect of the revitalized company is C. C. Cadagan, who after pushing A. and B. profits to heights never attained by any other Island company, will retire from active management this week.

He becomes board chairman and will be succeeded as president and chief executive officer by Stanley Powell, Jr., vice president, and president of its subsidiary, Matson Navigation Company.

In the 1950's, the company was mainly a factoring company, deriving about half of its revenues from commissions for management and other services. The other half came from dividends and interest from investments—sort of a mutual fund, as the stock brokers explained.

The man who was to change all this was still in San Francisco, helping the company sell pineapples produced by affiliated companies.

JOINED FIRM IN 1954

Cadagan had joined the company in April 1954, after resigning from Hawaiian Pineapple Company—predecessor of Dole—and had been assigned to San Francisco as vice president in charge of pineapple sales and marketing.

Even from his office in San Francisco, he had helped pull the three affiliated companies together by coordinating production. This had helped sales.

He was recalled to the home office in March 1958, and elected a director and appointed assistant general manager.

The company was doing well around that time, but certainly not as well as some thought it should have been.

Revenues for 1957, for example, were $5,198,400, made up primarily of $2,860,000 in operating revenues (mainly commissions) and $2,308,000 in dividends and interest.

Net earnings amounted to $2,200,000, so the net return on revenues was a fantastic 42 percent. Most companies have profit margins of less than 10 percent on sales.

However, the return on capital invested in the business was only 9 percent. And lower still, the dividends of approximately $2.1 million from stock worth close to $40 million represented a return of about 5 percent.

The net as a percentage of revenues was high and looked rosy because there is comparatively little cost and overhead in the agency business or in managing investments.

But the only way to make a better return on capital is by getting into operations, and this was Cadagan's grand design for the company.

To Cadagan, $40 million in investments earning 4 to 5 percent was wasteful, the money should be working harder.

When he was appointed general manager in March 1960, Cadagan became the first nonfamily person to hold that position. Up to then, he position had always been occupied by a member—directly or through marriage—of Maui's Baldwin family, which has majority control of the company.

In November 1960, Cadagan was also appointed president and chief executive officer.

Cadagan's first big move was to merge Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., into A. & B. The sugar plantation was controlled by the Baldwin family but A. & B. by then owned 41.1 percent of the stock.

There was reluctance among some about approving such a bold move, but Cadagan convinced them that this was a necessary first step in the new program.

The merger became effective January 1, 1962.

Then Cadagan set about to put the money-losing pineapple company affiliate in order.

TWO PINE FIRMS MERGED

Late in 1962, he merged Maui Pineapple Co. and Baldwin Packers both operating in the red, and the following year the new company—Maui Pine—showed a profit.

However, the new profitability of Maui Pine didn't show up until 1965, when A. & B.'s portion of Maui Pine earnings was first reported in its consolidated earnings. Up to then only dividends had been included.

Cadagan's biggest and boldest move came in 1964, when under antitrust pressure, four of the "big five" companies which owned majority control of Matson Navigation Co. were attempting to sell their interests.

Since the Justice Department charged that the interlocking directorate in Matson by the four companies lessened competition, Cadagan felt that Justice might be satisfied if only one company owned Matson.

He offered to buy out the holdings of the others.

After several trips to Washington to confer with Justice and other Federal officials, he got approval for the purchase.

Subsequently, he negotiated the purchase of interests held by a number of family trusts in California, and increased A. & B.'s share of Matson from the original 33 percent to 94 percent.

THIRTY-FOUR MILLION DOLLAR PRICE TAG

The price for this 61 percent of Matson stock came to $34 million, easily covered by the capital-heavy company.

Cadagan is a no-nonsense executive when it comes to business. His warm personal qualities are usually hidden behind this gruff exterior, but they are there.

His favorite saying is: "My responsibilities are to the stockholders, employees, and to the people with whom we do business."

Aside from business, this philosophy has resulted in good labor relations during his reign.

Said Jack W. Hall, ILWU regional director: "He represents his people well, but he also recognizes that the union represents its people and expects us to."

Another favorite saying of Cadagan's is "It's not the company, it's the people in it."

When he became chief executive, he began building up a good management team. He said this is one of the best things he will leave the company.

The Cadagan medicine may have been bitter at times, but it has been good for the company. Which translates to good for the stockholders, employees and those dealing with the company.

The 1962 merger with H.C. & S. resulted in a 70 percent increase in netprofit to $5.3 million.

Earnings jumped to $7.5 million in 1963, and the consolidation of its portion of Matson earnings in 1964 pushed net profit to $8.3 million.

Last year, heavy Matson earnings credited to the company for the entire year resulted in record earnings of $12.9 million, a level never before reached by any company in Hawaii.

ELEVEN PERCENT RETURN ON CAPITAL

The return as a percentage of revenues was 6.7 percent. But the return on capital was 11 percent.

The returns could have been higher, but the company didn't include the $2.5 million of net gain from sale of securities as part of net profit, as most companies do.

Up to 1960, net earnings generally fluctuated between $1 million and $2 million. Earnings began to raise steeply after that.

Even though a sizable portion of its securities was sold to purchase Matson shares, its investment portfolio is still worth $30.5 million—not including stock owned in subsidiary companies.

This is more than the portfolio was worth when Cadagan became president.

There was a big $17 capital gain when Honolulu Oil was liquidated, but the unknown fact is that Cadagan has been highly successful in building up that portfolio. He has made the final buy and sell decisions.

This rich portfolio which represents potential future growth—by acquisition or expansion—for the company should be a welcome inheritance to Powell, who now gets his chance to lead the company to loftier heights.

Planned Parenthood—World Population National Conference on Family Planning: Partners for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 6, Secretary Freeman addressed a luncheon of the Planned Parenthood—World Population National Conference on Family Planning: Partners for Progress, on the occasion of the celebration of their 50th anniversary.

The Secretary conveyed his message in his usual forceful, forthright, and cogent tone. It dealt ably with the subject of the delicate balance between world population and world food supply. It described the collision course on which we find ourselves. I commend it to my colleagues, and have permission that it may be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, BEFORE THE PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 6, 1966

Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure this group does not have to be told that the population explosion may push the world to the precipice of crisis within our time.

Some how, some way, mankind must find the means to keep food production apace with human reproduction.

I am here today to tell you what I believe must be done.

Our world must prepare to feed a billion more people who will be added to the population over the next 15 years. Between now and the end of this century, the number of people presently on earth will double.

These figures are awesome. But even more awesome is the fact that fully four-fifths of this total will be added to the developing countries least able to feed themselves.

We are all familiar with the phrase: "Two-thirds of the world's people go to bed hungry every night of the year."

This is true. But the full dimensions of that truth are even more distressing.

There is more to hunger than an empty stomach. Nutritional hunger can be just as debilitating, and, in time, just as fatal.

In the developing nations some 171 million children under 6 years of age, and some 98 million between 6 and 14, suffer seriously from malnutrition.

Millions die because malnutrition has sapped their resistance to childhood diseases. Millions who survive are permanently handicapped.

Progress in education and in the national economies are seriously retarded by the degree of malnutrition that prevails in so many parts of the world.

Against this dark background, mankind faces its greatest challenge.

Already the spectre of food shortages, chronic hunger, malnutrition and imminent starvation threaten the lives in many in South America, in Africa, and in Asia.

And this threat is a threat to the building of free societies around the world and, ultimately, to our own national security.

What real security could we have in a world gone mad with hunger?

What is the answer? Two things must be done.

The population trend must be altered downward and the food production trend must be altered upward.

An all-out simultaneous effort must be launched to achieve both objectives. It cannot be done by birth control alone. We must pursue a combination of realistic programs to brake the population acceleration and to accelerate food production. Hope lies only in this combination of efforts.

As the Secretary of Agriculture, today I would like to concentrate my observations on the food side of the population-food coin.

Long before American newspapers and magazines publicized growing world food needs in black headlines with even blacker forecasts, your Department of Agriculture was seriously concerned.

For more than 10 years, the Department has been involved in helping to meet the food needs of some 70 countries under the Food for Peace program. The $15 billion we have spent in providing food and fiber to developing nations have done more than any other program in history to avert hunger, malnutrition, and famine.

Much of what we have sent abroad has been in the form of bulk products, principally food grains, but we have not overlooked the high protein foods so important to the growth and development of children.

Under this Food for Peace program, we have shared with the less fortunate some truly staggering amounts of dairy products: 6 billion 117 million pounds of nonfat dry milk; 290 million pounds of evaporated and condensed milk; 23 million pounds of dry whole milk; 715 million pounds of cheese; and 342 million pounds of butter oil.

And we expect to make available this year nearly half a billion pounds of nonfat dry milk for overseas programs.

These dairy products have been used mainly in school lunches and child feeding programs. For millions of children, they have provided that extra spark of nutrition that means better bodies, better minds, and better citizens.

We must remember, too, that the developing nations will have a longtime need for our dairy products, for increasing dairy production is a luxury those nations will not be able to afford until their food grain production increases and their general economies are strengthened. Most of their resources must be initially used to boost grain production, the diet base in those nations.

And there are small, higher income segments in the societies of most developing nations which want and can afford to buy dairy products.

This means, in turn, that our low-cost dairy manufacturing States, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, will have a continuing opportunity to meet that demand for their products.

A word should be said, too, about the technological improvements being developed for dairy product shipment and use overseas. A spray dry butter has been developed, for instance, and a dry milk which can be easily converted to fluid milk in a can of water in some far-off jungle is being perfected.

An enriching process for dry milk is meeting with much success, and our Foreign Agricultural Service, in cooperation with U.S. commercial interests, has stimulated sample shipments of concentrated whole milk overseas.

We are also providing some oilseed meal products on a trial basis in a number of foreign countries. We are working with private industry to advise and assist them in developing foods with high protein content for commercial sale abroad. And we have proposals before the Congress which will, if enacted into law, make possible the use of still more high protein foods. Some very exciting things are taking place in our protein enrichment development program.

During my 5 years as Secretary of Agriculture, my major concern has been to insure that the unparalleled productivity of our American farms be used not only to provide a fair reward to the American farmer and abundant supplies to the American consumer but also to alleviate hunger and want in the less fortunate countries of the world.

The productive genius of the American farmer has more than met our domestic needs, and for the past decade or more has provided that critical balance in food supplies overseas which meant the difference between survival and death for millions of people.

Our farmers have given us a diet of variety, abundance, and nutrition unmatched in history and at lower and lower net costs to us.

An hour's take-home pay today buys more food than it did 6 years ago and double the food it bought 30 years ago.

Americans spend a smaller percentage of their incomes for food than any other people on earth.

Farm prices today are lower than they were in 1952 yet some unthinking people blame the farmer for creating the threat of inflation.

The truth is that the American farmer has subsidized the consumer for had his prices gone up in proportion to the increase in virtually all other wholesale prices, full-blown inflation could be upon us now.

But I digress. The point at hand is American agricultural production in relation to the threat of world famine.

The challenge to produce for the hungry of the world has given American agriculture new stature, new dignity, new importance. The magnificent response by our farmers has provided the United States with an instrument for world peace of enormous potential, yet once again, some Americans fail to appreciate it.

Basking in our abundance, we are inclined to overlook the fact that millions of people in many other lands depend for their very existence on the fitful whims of weather and harvest or on American beneficence.

The ignominious failure of the Communist world to feed itself has not gone unnoticed by the uncommited nations nor has our abundance and our willingness to share that abundance with others.

In recent months we have seen how one poor crop year has threatened the vast nation of India with famine, and we have seen how only a massive food commitment by our Nation has averted widespread tragedy.

The food aid we are giving India is big, very big indeed.

Today we are shipping aid wheat to India at a faster rate than we did to all countries during the reconstruction period after World War II.

This year we expect to ship about 300 million bushels of wheat. This is about one and a half times the crop of our biggest wheat State, Kansas, and if made into bread it would make about 100 loaves for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

The importance of dairy products in the aid to India program was emphasized by the President in his aid message late in March, for he called for more shipments of nonfat dry milk to that troubled nation.

Under the food-for-peace program, we have shipped well over 100 million pounds of dairy products to India in the past decade. These products, nonfat dry milk, dry whole milk, evaporated milk and cheese, have been of great nutritional importance to the Indians, particularly to the children in the big cities where poverty discourages balanced diets and malnutrition is a continuing threat. Substantial additional shipments are in prospect for this year.

The new breadbasket of the world is North America—the United States and Canada. This new breadbasket exports more than 60 million tons of grain a year, with the United States providing three-quarters of that total.

We could increase that volume to more than 100 million tons a year, and the day may soon come when we must, if the immediate threat of global famine is to be met.

But direct food aid to the less fortunate countries is not nearly enough. Even with all-out production and more massive food donation programs, we can only postpone world hunger for a few years.

Disaster can be averted in only one way—by greatly accelerating the expansion of food production with the hungry nations themselves.

The hungry nations are faced with a tremendous task in increasing their agricultural productivity. Those most densely populated will have to do it the hard way by increasing yields per acre, for they are already cultivating most of their available land.

Serious roadblocks stand in the way of agricultural progress in these countries.

Some lack sufficient government stability for the establishment of effective policies.

Most lack incentives adequate to make it worth the while of the farmers to make all-out efforts to produce more.

Low rates of literacy, lack of know-how, and the absence of programs to help farmers to use new and better farming methods are serious.

Essential production inputs like fertilizers, improved seeds, modern equipment are scarce and the developing countries lack the foreign exchange to buy them.

All of these handicaps exist against the background of lack of roads, marketing facilities, farmers' cooperatives, and sources of credit.

Yet with all these handicaps, some hungry nations are increasing their agricultural productivity at a rate higher even than that ever achieved by the agriculturally advanced countries like the United States.

A recent USDA study of the changes in agriculture in 26 developing nations showed that between 1948 and 1963, 12 of these countries has compounded rates of increase in crop output of more than 4 percent per year.

These rates surpassed those ever achieved by the new economically advanced nations during comparable periods of time. The success of these 12 nations encourages confidence that underdeveloped countries can increase their per capita production of food and fiber.

I believe the task of these nations to raise their agricultural productivity is possible. Clearly it is a task which cannot—must not—be delayed.

The United States can and definitely will provide technical and capital assistance to help those countries which undertake effective programs to increase their own ability to provide food for their people. Unless our assistance to them is directed toward that goal, few battles in the war on hunger can be won—and the war itself will be lost.

I mentioned before the 12 countries which achieved such phenomenal increases in agricultural production. The 12 differ widely in climate, literacy rates, land resources, culture, and governmental systems. But they had one factor in common—a national determination to carry out self-help policies to improve their food production.

Self-help is the key to victory over hunger.

This concept is the foundation for the food for freedom program currently before the Congress. It expands food shipments to countries where food needs are growing and self-help efforts are underway. It increases our commitment to lend capital and technical assistance. It eliminates the surplus concept in food aid by encouraging domestic production of those commodities which can be used constructively in fighting world hunger.

It fosters the continued expansion of markets for American agricultural commodities by helping to increase the purchasing power among the hundreds of million of consumers in developing countries.

And it encourages private industry, in cooperation with the Government, to produce and distribute foods to combat malnutrition.

The new food for freedom program can truly be an instrument through which millions of lives that are now threatened by famine under present trends can be saved.

But this will result only if it proves effective in changing those trends by stimulating, encouraging, and—if necessary—insisting on effective self-help measures.

Self-help is also the key to population control. The same factor common to the 12 developing countries—that national determination to carry out self-help agricultural policies—is the key to closing the gap between the urgent need for voluntary family planning services and the meager realities of actual birth control programs in developing areas of the world.

I want to close by sharing with you my own observation of the course of this new war gainst hunger—my own view of the potential outcome of the frightening race between population and food supply.

I make this observation in the light of another explosion that has taken place in our generation—one that can hold far greater meaning, and that certainly holds far greater hope than the population explosion.

I refer to the explosion of knowledge that characterizes our times.

Science and technology have progressed so far that it is now theoretically possible to produce enough for abundance for all.

But science and technology have likewise progressed so fast in the physical and material fields that our knowledge about the social, economic, and political relationships necessary to realize that abundance has not caught up.

The race is not so much one between population and food supply, but a race between what could be done and what will be done.

What could be done has already been determined by scientific and technological progress not only in food production but in birth control methods.

I ask you, and you can very well ask me, what will be done?

President Johnson has already made a firm commitment of what will be done.

He proposed this year in his international education and health message to Congress that the United States stand full square behind methods to fit population growth to food supply.

President Johnson proposed programs which would "expand research in human reproduction and population dynamics; enlarge the training of American and foreign specialists in the population field; and assist family planning programs in nations which request such help."

And, as I've already outlined for you, the President has staked out a comparable field of action to assure that expanding food supplies in the developing nations will accompany a downward adjustment in population thus hastening the day when the people of those nations have enough to feed themselves and are no longer dependent on us.

So we see that the fight against hunger will be waged on two fronts—that of population control and increasing food production.

President Johnson in his war against hunger message to Congress summed up the critical relationship between the two fronts in these words:

> "A balance between agricultural productivity and population is necessary to prevent the shadow of hunger from becoming a nightmare of famine."

And so it is.

Food From Agricultural Waste Materials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the world today faces no problem more profound than the population explosion and the growing food shortages in much of the world.

At the beginning of the Christian era, there were only about 250 million people in the whole world. In another 10 years, there will be that many right here in the United States—on only 7 percent of the world's land surface. It took the human race 3,000 years to develop a population of 3 billion people. We are doubling that figure in less than 30 years.

How are these gigantic numbers of people to be fed? With hunger rampant in many sections of the world even today, the situation is bound to worsen unless new ways can be found to increase sharply the earth's food production. In addition to increasing the quantity of food, we must find new sources of high-protein and high-energy foods. Protein deficiency is responsible for widespread malnutrition and death.

Recently, I have been talking about these problems with a friend and constituent, Mr. Art W. Stegner, an export consultant in Fort Worth, Tex. I would like to share with my colleagues a technique Mr. Stegner suggests for transforming agriculture byproducts which are now largely wasted into usable food.

This has particular application in some of the underdeveloped countries where a need exists to provide both agricultural self-sufficiency and industrialization based upon development of existing resources.

These wasted products include such things as residue from sugarcane production, the heads and other generally unusable parts of fish and shrimp, the trimmings and tops from pineapples, and surplus lush grasses that cannot be consumed during the wet season.

In most cases, people cannot or would not eat those things. They can and will, however, eat beef and poultry, and drink milk. The waste products I have mentioned can be converted into cattle, poultry, and dairy feeds. The nutritive value of these feeds can be improved, if needed, by adding protein supplements.

Grasses already are being fed to cattle during a comparatively short period of each year, usually when tender and succulent. However, they do tend to spoil rapidly in moist climates, if not consumed or properly handled reasonably soon.

After grasses have spoiled, the cattle sometimes go hungry. Mr. Stegner has told me of one instance in a Central American country in which it was reported that more than 13,000 cattle starved during a 6-month dry season because there was no feed for them.

Is there not some way to preserve usable waste products for later use? Yes; there are three methods—freezing, pickling or making ensilage, and dehydration.

Freezing of these waste products in most cases is not really economical. Some products run 80 percent moisture, and the cost of freezing often is prohibitive. Similarly, the making of ensilage leaves much to be desired. This bulky high-moisture product must be fed or consumed near the point of storage because of the transportation costs.

Dehydration, then, appears, to be the most practical way of preserving these roughage-type waste products. When dehydrated they can be stored almost indefinitely in any type of climate with only a minimum type of facilities. They can also be moved from place to place with less handling and space.

Because of the suitability of the dehydration process for converting to animal food the products that otherwise might be wasted, Mr. Stegner has devoted considerable study to the process. His analyses and experience indicate that the dehydration process holds considerable promise for increasing the world's supply of food by utilizing these waste materials as livestock feed.

The dehydration process simply involves the removal of water from a food. This, of course, reduces its weight and volume. The rapid expansion of the dehydration process came about during World War II when the transportation of foodstuffs was at a premium. Every GI remembers eating powdered eggs and dehydrated potatoes and carrots. These foods were considered essential at that time to provide our troops with a better balanced diet. Other products like powdered milk have been around for a long time. As you know the dehydration of milk makes it possible to store surplus milk in usable form for future use.

Of course, new techniques in the dehydration process will need to be developed for each country and community in order to best handle the various types and combinations of waste materials available. We already possess much of the technical know-how, and technical assistance can be made available to help develop both short and long range programs. Other considerations such as labor, storage, transportation, availability of fuel, distribution and marketing of product would also enter into the location of such plants.

Mr. Stegner realizes, of course, that the dehydration of waste products is not the single, overall answer to the growing peril of world famine, but he believes it should be given proper consideration in the development of any program to help feed a hungry world. For that reason, I wanted to share with my colleagues this report on his efforts.

The Kings County American Legion Vietnam Relief Fund

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the people of Brooklyn have long been known for their generous support of charitable causes and one of the groups foremost in every fund drive has been the Kings County American Legion.

This organization has now undertaken to do another first-rate job in its support of the Legion's Vietnam relief fund.

County Commander Oakley S. Joyner issued the following call to his members which was printed in the monthly Legionnaire of Kings County for April, 1966:

COMMANDER'S MESSAGE

At the personal request of our National Commander Eldon James and Department Commander Bill Egan, I am making a special plea to each and every post and Legionnaire to give, until it hurts, to the Vietnam relief fund sponsored by the American Legion. To accomplish this I have, with the consent of the executive committee, appointed Thomas Ireland as county chairman for this all-important function. He will be assisted by our County Adjutant Steve Sanzillo and a competent staff to be chosen.

Although this drive has been functioning elsewhere, we have been lagging and I look to our great Brooklyn organization to come through once again as we did with the Alaska relief and Louisiana relief when we led every county in this State.

Aside from the regular committees and their work, this, I fully believe, will be the worth of my entire administration. Here we are called upon to do that something extra after having done a wonderful job with everything else. This is what makes us Brooklyn Legionnaires outstanding—doing that little bit extra.

I call on all of you—posts and individuals—to find the funds—somewhere, anywhere—and send your check payable to the Kings County American Legion (earmarked Vietnam fund) to room 1, Boro Hall. It is suggested that individuals can add their cash donations to the post check or send in their own personal checks. Every dollar counts in our drive to send to national headquarters an amount coinciding with the worldwide reputation that Brooklyn has for a generous heart.

These funds will be forwarded to General Westmoreland, commanding officer of our forces in Vietnam. He will use it to alleviate the suffering of the people in South Vietnam with clothing, food, medicine, and a million other items which are bare necessities for existence in that far off land where our men are fighting for the causes in which we believe and for which we once offered our lives. Now we are asked to offer just money.

You will be contacted in every which way possible to make this the number one project of my term and I shall really and sincerely deem it a personal favor to me, as your county commander, for whatever you may do as a post or individual in this drive.

Of course, I am most grateful for the terrifically fine work that has been done and continuing to be done by the regular committees of this county. It is truly an outstanding year for them and I respectfully doff my cap to that hard working core of the American Legion in this county. I look forward now in the remaining few months to a wind up of their work and submission of their reports to the county adjutant.

Remember—make your checks payable to—Kings County American Legion. If you want to be a part of this committee contact Tom Ireland at IN 2-7071.

OAKLEY S. JOYNER.

Medicare and the Shortage of Health Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished newspaper columnist, Mr. Walter Lippmann, has called attention to the serious shortage of medical facilities and personnel, especially nurses, doctors and technicians, and the effect of this shortage on the medicare program which is scheduled to begin next July 1.

Mr. Lippmann's column, which appeared in the Washington Post on May 10, deserves the serious attention of the Congress. The situation he describes should not come as a surprise to anyone since, as he points out, we have been alerted for at least 15 years to the increasing failure of public and private health personnel training programs to meet the existing and anticipated needs of the country.

Several of us who supported the medicare bill have pointed out, before, during and after the program was approved, that its success could be jeopardized—and the hopes of the older people we were trying to help be frustrated—unless concurrent steps were taken to increase the numbers of medical personnel on whom the program and the people depend for the services provided by medicare. The shortage of nurses, in particular, has concerned me since the medicare-generated demand for health services will undoubtedly affect nursing services most severely. And this impact will come on top of an already established shortage of 100,000 registered and practical nurses.

The President's announcement last weekend that he has appointed a committee of distinguished citizens, including experts in the field of medical personnel, to study this situation was a welcome one, but I hope this is not the only action he will take. Not only does it come rather late in the day, but a study of the kind apparently envisioned by the President will require a substantial amount of time to complete.

In the meantime, July 1 is approaching rapidly, and the need for immediate action to help alleviate the problem—to the limited extent this is possible—becomes more pressing. At the very least, I would hope the President would do two things:

First. Review the status of present Federal-aid programs—including the Nurse Training Act, the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act and related programs, as well as such programs as the Economic Opportunity Act under which nurses' aids might be trained—to determine whether the operation of these programs can be improved in terms of the number of health personnel being trained; and

Second. Review those programs operated directly by the Government, including the Public Health Service, the Veterans' Administration, and the armed services, to determine whether the Government's own health facilities and personnel can be utilized either to help increase private supplies or to help reduce the Government drain on private resources in these fields.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Lippmann's article:

THIS IMPRUDENT DEMOCRACY
(By Walter Lippmann)

The new program to pay for medical care for old people goes into effect on July 1, and there is every probability that the strain laid on hospitals, clinics, and nursing homes, on doctors, nurses, and technicians will be critical. For the new laws, the medicare program itself and the Kerr-Mills Act which Congress enacted at the same time, will increase the effective demand for medical services. But these laws do not create any new additional supply of the medical facilities and the trained personnel which are necessary to meet the demand.

The crux of the matter is that the new legislation provides the money for old people to pay for the medical services which many have wanted and have not been able to pay for. This in itself is, of course, a worthy objective. But this new demand for hospitals, doctors, nurses, and the like comes upon us when the existing medical facilities are already hard put to serve those who can afford to pay for medical service. For, as everyone knows from his own experience, doctors' officers and hospitals are already overcrowded and overworked. Yet the additional medicare patients are still to appear in July.

The existing tightness is a result of two main facts: that so many people have become so much more affluent and are able to pay for medical services; yet the Government which responds to the wishes of the majority has not provided the money needed to enlarge the supply of medical facilities and personnel.

We cannot excuse our negligence by pleading that we are overtaken by surprise. On the contrary, the gruesome gap between the supply and the demand for medical services has been studied and documented repeatedly. Fifteen years ago President Truman appointed a Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, headed by that very distinguished man, Dr. Paul Magnuson. The Commission spent a year investigating the medical situation and preparing its recommendations.

It found (in 1952) that "the expected supply of physicians in 1960 will fall far short of the number needed * * * for broadened medical services." In 1959 there were 134 doctors of medicine for 100,000 of the population. In 1961, the dean of the Yale Medical School, Dr. Vernon M. Lippard, reckoned that in order to maintain the same (and inadequate) ratio, there would be required by 1975 an annual production of 11,000 physicians. "The only solution," he wrote, "appears to be the establishment of at least 20 new schools of medicine during the 1960's." Since he wrote that, the ratio of physicians to civilian population has in fact deteriorated. There are especially severe shortages of pathologists, anethesiologists and radiologists.

There is a critical shortage of nurses. Dr. Magnuson's Commission predicted in 1952 that "the shortage for the country as a whole in 1960 may exceed 50,000." The president of the American Hospital Association stated recently that "there are budgeted vacancies for at least 75,000 registered nurses and 25,000 licensed practical nurses."

The shortage of trained people is the most worrisome condition because it takes so much longer to train personnel than it does to build hospitals and clinics and laboratories. Yet the Congress is far more willing to spend money on buildings than on medical education. Thus in fiscal 1965, $17 million of Federal money was spent on nurses' training while under the Hill-Burton program of support of constructon of hospitals and other medical facilities, $220 million were spent.

No doubt they were well spent. For among all the shortages there is also a shortage of good medical buildings. But without trained people, the buildings cannot provide medical care.

It is a grave reflection on our capacity for self-government that, having been put clearly on notice 15 years ago by the Magnuson Commission, we have pledged the money to increase the demand for medical service without enlarging the facilities which are to meet the demand. It took the shock of sputnik to arouse public opinion to the need for Federal money to provide better primary and secondary education. It took the savage riots in Birmingham to make the Nation realize that the Civil Rights Act was overdue. Will it now take a crisis in the hospitals to cause us to take seriously the need to remedy the shortage in the medical services?

Wyoming-Goias Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, we in Wyoming are proud to be participating in the private sector program of the Alliance for Progress known as Partners of the Alliance. Working through the Agency for International Development, Wyoming is 1 of 30 American States working in partnership with 30 areas of 15 Latin American Republics.

Wyoming's partner is Goias, a state in Brazil, who we are now working with in partnership under citizen committees in both States.

Mr. Edwin C. Brennan, a teacher at Natrona County High School in Casper, Wyo., is the chairman of the Wyoming Partners of the Alliance Citizens' Committee. His wife, Mary Brennan, is the executive secretary. The following article by Jack Fairweather of the Casper Star-Tribune indicates the general acceptance of this good program by Wyoming and underscores the fact that Wyoming has truly joined with Goias in an alliance for progress:

[From the Casper (Wyo.) Star-Tribune, Mar. 21, 1966]

WYOMING GROUPS SPONSOR PROJECTS IN GOIAS, BRAZIL

(By Jack Fairweather)

In April the steering committee of the Wyoming Partners of the Alliance will meet in Casper to discuss the future progress of the group.

Wyoming Partners of the Alliance is the State entity of the Alliance for Progress program which was backed by the late President John F. Kennedy and created by the Charter of Punta Del Este in August 1961.

Under the Charter 29 American States are linked with states in Latin America in a people-to-people project aimed at attaining a better economic and social life for the peoples of Latin America and bringing about a better understanding between the United States and Latin America.

Wyoming's partner state is Goias in Brazil. To date some 60 projects have been undertaken by Wyoming civic groups and school organizations.

When the steering comittee meets in April with State Chairman Ed Brennan of Casper it will discover that many of these projects have already been funded and that the money has been used to the benefit of the "little people" in Goias.

The committee will also be pleased to note that the money raised by these groups comprises hundreds of dollars, rather than thousands.

In this manner, Brennan says any group can participate.

When a committee starts thinking in terms of thousands of dollars, Brennan explains, it is liable to encounter organizational difficulty and, of course, not just any civic or school group can raise $2,000 or $3,000.

Most of the projects available to Wyoming organizations can be funded for between $25 and $500. The money is used for such items as garden tractors, books, desks, oxygen tanks and other materials which are badly needed by the people of the backward, inland state of Goias.

Although Brazil's new capital city of Brasilia is located in Goias, most of the population there has an annual income of only about $150. This in comparison to an average annual income of $2,500 in the United States.

Wyoming may also gain the distinction of being the first State to enact a program recommended by President Lyndon Johnson on February 2 in connection with the Partners of the Alliance Program.

President Johnson in his speech on International Education and Health said, "Education lies at the heart of every nation's hopes and purposes. It must be at the heart of our international relation. Let this Nation play its part. To this end I propose: that we encourage the growth of school to school partnerships."

Such a partnership, the first in Brazil, and one of the first in the 29 participating American states, is now being formed between Roosevelt School in Casper and the 28 de Julho School at Jatai, Goias.

Under such a school to school partnership the participating schools will enchange ideas of education, books and materials on their respective states and countries and other instructional and educational aids.

In the few months since Brennan took over the chairmanship of the Wyoming Partners of the Alliance Committee civic organizations and schools across the state have started fund raising campaigns designed to provide educational and economic boosts to various areas of Goias.

The Afton Lions Club raised $125 to furnish desks in a training schol in Anapolis, Goias.

The Cheyenne Lions Club has sent $250 to a school in Jatai. The check was presented March 1 to Prof. Saleh Daher, the president of the Goias Partners of the Alliance by Charles B. Wiggin, Jr., coordinator of Partners of the Alliance Program in Brazil.

The presentation was made before an international birthday celebration of the International Rotary Club in Goiania, state capital of Goias.

In Casper the Kelly Walsh High School Forensic League is attemping to raise $600 through the sale of radio advertising to purchase a garden tractor for an orphanage in the rural Goias town of Alto Paraiso.

At Natrona County High School the International Relations Club and the Spanish Club are sponsoring dinners and an Italian film (to be shown this evening) in raising $200 to establish a blood bank in a rural hospital.

Among other projects to be considered by the 80-member steering committee at the Casper meeting in April is the Wyoming 4-H club sponsorship of four 4-S youths from Goias to study Wyoming agricultural methods this summer. The Brazilian 4-S is comparable to the American 4-H organization.

Brennan said Saturday he has been pleased with the manner in which Wyoming people have received the Wyoming partners of the Alliance program.

He pointed out that the project has the approval and backing of the State administration and commented that the Wyoming program is moving at a pace comparable to, and in some cases surpasses, the efforts of other States.

Parvin/Dohrmann Co. To Be Honored in Los Angeles, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 18, 1966

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, on July 15 of this year, the community of Los Angeles, Calif. will honor the Parvin/Dohrmann Co. The honors to be extended to Parvin/Dohrmann are well deserved, and all of us in the community would like the Nation to know of this progressive and rapidly growing company.

Parvin/Dohrmann Co. is a publicly held corporation which ranks among the top 75 Los Angeles-based firms in volume of business in southern California.

One of its subsidiaries, Dohrmann Co., has conducted business in the Western United States since its beginning in San Francisco 116 years ago.

Albert Parvin & Co., another subsidiary, conducts business primarily in the Western United States and in other parts of the country, and has been headquartered in Los Angeles for 20 years.

Dohrmann Co., formerly Dohrmann Hotel Supply Co., is the largest firm of its kind in the world, supplying furniture, equipment and other essential items to restaurant, hotel, motel, institutional and other commercial and industrial enterprises. Dohrmann has been noted primarily for supplying to the food and beverage-serving industries, and is also engaged in furnishing, planning, and interior design. The company also fabricates stainless steel equipment.

Albert Parvin & Co. is the foremost interior design and contract furnishings firm in the country, and has contributed in large measure to hotel, motel, restaurant and related industries as a pioneer and leader.

Each of the companies has been the recipient of many national awards from trade publications which have, through the years, recognized their great contributions to the industries they serve.

Parvin/Dohrmann Co. now has under construction a multimillion-dollar Robertson Plaza Building in the Robertson Design Center area of Los Angeles, which I am proud to say is in my district.

Each of these companies and the parent corporation can expect tremendous growth with their ever greater contributions to commerce and industry in the Western United States, and more extensive participation in the development of tourism in our area.

Dohrman Co. has sales showroom facilities in Seattle, Portland, Spokane, San Francisco, Brisbane, Salt Lake City, Reno, Sacramento, San Jose, Fresno, Honolulu, Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Bernardino, San Diego, and Phoenix.

Albert Parvin & Co., headquartered in Los Angeles, also has a sales showroom facility in Phoenix, Ariz.

I ask that the membership of this honorable body join me in extending greetings to: chairman of the board of Parvin/Dohrmann Co. and president of Albert Parvin & Co., Mr. Harry A. Goldman; president and chief executive officer of Parvin/Dohrmann Co. and chairman of the board of Albert Parvin & Co., Mr. A. B. Parvin; and president of Dohrmann Co. based at Crocker Industrial Park, San Francisco, Mr. H. B. Lawson.

These men and their employees deserve the commendation and respect of all of us for their dedication to their community and for the example they have shown in contributing to the industrial leadership and rapid growth of California.

Grave of Ernie Pyle in Hawaii Visited by Thousands Annually

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest tributes paid by man to his fellow man is to remember and cherish the memory of the man who has departed this life. In exemplifying this proposition, thousands of men and women from all over the world and from all walks of life come to visit and pause before the grave of World War II's most beloved war correspondent, Ernest Taylor Pyle. Although 21 long years have passed since his untimely end, the simple grave marker on the scenic hillside of Punchbowl on the Island of Oahu, in the State of Hawaii, is still the most visited of all the gravesites in the 112-acre National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific.

"Ernie," as he was affectionately called by the GI's, served for 3 years in the European and Pacific theaters before he was felled by a burst of enemy machine gun fire on April 18, 1945. Already a recipient of the coveted Pulitzer prize for writing, he won further recognition when he was posthumously awarded a Medal of Merit presented jointly by the War, Navy, and State Departments. The then President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, best described Ernie Pyle's contribution to our country when he said:

> No man in this war has so well told the story of the American fighting men as American fighting men wanted it told.

Ernie suffered with brave men their unbelieveable physical discomforts, shared with them the trauma of seeing their best friends die, hated with them the cruel injustices of war, and felt with them the loneliness and homesickness of being separated from their loved ones.

Ernie Pyle has not only won a permanent place in the hearts of Americans as evidenced by the thousands who visit his grave, but he has also won for our war correspondents the trust and respect of the American people and their fighting men. In the hope that the memory of Ernie Pyle will continue to inspire today's war correspondents who are again bravely accompanying our fighting men into the treacherous swamps and steamy jungles of Vietnam. I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article which was written by W. Lee Roddy and which appeared in the April 20, 1966, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin:

CORRESPONDENT DIED 21 YEARS AGO: THOUSANDS VISIT GRAVE OF ERNIE PYLE ANNUALLY

(By W. Lee Roddy)

The most visited grave in the 112 acres of American war dead at Punchbowl is No. D109. The man who rests there was killed 21 years ago this week, but a Nation still remembers.

He was Ernie Pyle, war correspondent.

Why should thousands of persons annually pause beside the grave of this one man?

Perhaps, as the new President Harry S. Truman said on April 18, 1945, the 44-year-old Pyle "became the spokesman for the ordinary American in arms doing so many extraordinary things."

Other correspondents had died in World War II. Editor and Publisher, a trade magazine, reported Pyle was the 30th to give his life. Another 149 correspondents were wounded, missing, or prisoners of war that day 21 years ago.

But two generations of Americans remember the skinny Indiana-born writer from New Mexico who rests today in the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific.

The Associated Press said in releasing the story of Pyle's death on Ie Shima, near Okinawa, he was "beloved by his coworkers, GI's and generals alike."

AT WAR 3 YEARS

They had reason to like Pyle. Since 1942 he had been at war. He had served in Africa, Italy, Europe, and the Pacific. He had flown with the Air Corps, sailed with the Navy, and slogged with Marines in Okinawa.

Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal said Pyle was "with the foot soldiers, the men for whom he had the greatest admiration," when he died.

Pyle had the common touch. He wrote simply, movingly, using names and hometown addresses in his newspaper columns.

In one of his best selling books, "Brave Men," Pyle told of dead men being brought down off a mountain. In the moonlight Pyle saw them bring down Captain Henry T. Washow of Belton, Tex.

"A soldier spoke to the dead captain," Pyle explained. "Not in a whisper but awfully tenderly, and he said, 'I sure am sorry, sir.' "

The soldier "reached over and gently straightened the points of the captain's shirt collar, and then he sort of rearranged the tattered edges of the uniform around the wound, and then he got up and walked away down in the road in the moonlight, all alone."

The famed roving correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance is honored today by a square glass case in the office at Punchbowl. It is the same size devoted to all 19 Medal of Honor recipients buried in the cemetery.

It was just 6 days after President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death when a Japanese machine gunner slammed three slugs into Pyle's brain. "The GI's in Europe—and that means all of us here." said Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, "have lost one of our best and most understanding friends."

BOOKS IN LIBRARY

Pyle had great understanding, as evidenced by his Pultizer Prize.

Two of his books are still in the Library of Hawaii at Honolulu. "Here Is Your War" has not been checked out since 1954. "Last Chapter," his final book, has not been out since 1951.

Yet each is full of Pyle's reporting ability. "In Honolulu," he wrote on his last assignment "we were far, far from everything that was home or seemed like home. Five thousand miles from America."

It was the same feeling most servicemen had. Everyone was a long, long way from home.

Pyle's father, William still lived on the Indiana farm where Ernie had been born. The reporter and the former Geraldine (Jerry) Siebolds of Stillwater, Minn., had built a small white house in Albuquerque, N. Mex., where she waited, like wives and sweethearts everywhere.

Pyle had served in the Navy during World War I. He had been editor of the campus newspaper at the University of Indiana in 1922. But now it was 1945, and America had been at war since 1941.

The Hoosier had gone to battle in Tunisia with just a typewriter.

He had seen death and war as an every day thing and still wrote of it in a very rare way.

LAST CAMPAIGN

Pyle kept writing of war for the folks back home through a tour with the Navy in the Pacific. He lived with the B-29 pilots bombing Tokyo. When the marines hit Okinawa, Pyle was in the seventh wave.

"There's nothing nice about the prospect of going back to war again," he had written. "I'm simply going because I've got to * * * and I hate it."

The wiry, balding reporter who had lived with war for 3 years described his Okinawa foxhole under enemy fire at night. "I was back again at the kind of life I had known so long," he summarized.

This time, Pyle would not escape death as he had on previous occasions in Italy and the European Continent. He would die like the servicemen he had followed in frontlines from Africa to a tiny island in the Pacific.

It was 10:15 a.m. April 18, 1945, Pacific war time. Pyle was riding in a jeep, bouncing along a narrow coral road on a 10-square mile island just west of Okinawa. He was accompanied by Lt. Col. Joseph Coolidge, of Arkansas.

The Japanese machinegunner missed the regimental commander. Pyle died instantly. Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz' headquarters said Pyle had been watching the advance of the American 10th Army troops when the fatal burst was fired.

Three American tanks were unable to recover Pyle's body because the enemy fire was so intense. A New York City corporal, Alexander Roberts, volunteered to crawl alone to the jeep. He found Pyle's face covered by his helmet and "peaceful in death."

News of his death was released by high officials, but it was the ordinary men and women of America who missed him most.

POSTWAR WORLD

Pyle had correctly predicted an end to American isolationism. But he apparently never foresaw America extending to Hawaii, the 50th State. He obviously did not dream that the postwar world would shrink distances to where breakfast in California and lunch in Honolulu would be a daily event.

But now it did not matter.

After the war, Pyle's body was returned from an Okinawa grave to Honolulu, which he had thought was so far from home. Some remembered then his words about war dead: "They died and others lived and nobody knows why it is so."

Some also recalled that Pyle had said that war was composed of soldiers who were "tired and dirty and didn't want to die." It had been a war of "shocked and silent men wandering back from the hell of battle * * * of dead mules * * * hospital tents * * * all these it is composed of, and graves and graves and graves."

Now Pyle himself was dead and buried, forever part of World War II.

His widow received a Medal of Merit jointly presented by the War, Navy, and State Departments. But just 7 months later—November 23, 1945—she also died. Only the memory of her famous husband lived on.

President Truman declared of Pyle: "No man in this war has so well told the story of the American fighting men as American fighting men wanted it told."

THOUSANDS A MONTH

Perhaps that is why, 21 years later, so many visit Punchbowl and Ernie Pyle's grave. They daily place flower leis beside the plain granite marker.

In a way, Pyle is still the link between the 13,000 American war dead of World War II and the free men and women who come to Punchbowl's long rows of graves.

There is little they can say, except to recall what Pyle himself wrote of other such sites: "There is nothing we can do for the ones beneath the wooden crosses, except to pause and murmur, 'Thanks, pal.' "

Education Will Help World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. and Mrs. George S. Reuter, Jr., made a tour of the west coast studying current educational issues. While in Seattle,

Wash., Dr. Reuter spoke on the subject "International Education Must Be an Integrated Goal in American Life." Because of American concern for international education, I insert this address in the Appendix of the RECORD:

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION MUST BE AN INTERGRATED GOAL IN AMERICAN LIFE

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., Southern Illinois University)

INTRODUCTION

Plato in "The Republic" envisaged an ideal society ruled by philosopher kings, whose formal education and life experiences were to qualify them to move society toward proper goals through the establishment of wise laws and prudent customs. Later Mr. Justice Brandeis noted: "a judge rarely performs his functions adequately unless the case before him is adequately presented." And recently, Archibald MacLeish stated: "the feel of America in the world's mind" has begun to change and faith in "the idea of America" has been shaken.

A coup d'oeil reveals that the original occupant of the pinnacle of leadership in the struggle to maintain ideological and secular paramountcy has been steadily losing ground to various interlopers. In international education, America can adopt the view of Walt Whitman in general or attempt to move forward in this area. Whitman suggested:

> "Do I contradict myself?
> Very well then I contradict myself.
> I am large. I contain multitudes."

Education engenders a desire to know more. The establishment of courses in international education and the history of other peoples will bring us together in ways which cannot now be foreseen. We can turn toward the task of producing more Americans competent in leadership in this area. This program should have as the final goal the development of understandings with the less developed areas in lessening the gap in living stands between us and an developing mutual understanding and respect.

Desirous of strengthening our Nation's international educational commitment, American higher education cannot but welcome legislation which recognizes the necessity for long-range development of its capacity. Colleges and universities will continue to shoulder educational responsibility abroad in the public interest and they are expanding their efforts to increase this Nation's literacy in the cultures of others. Our ability to move forward effectively depends to no small measure upon Government's assistance in building up the necessary academic strengths.

It is essential that we integrate international education into the American ethic. To achieve this task, it will be difficult. We believe, for example, that the great majority of American citizens are dedicated, in various degrees, to instilling the virtues of Christianity in all mankind, but a minority dissents. "One Blood"[1] offers a peaceful method of bridging the gap in this difficult area. This approach offers a giant step forward.

America must not stop with the Christian ethic, but we must support the Peace Corps, the Teachers Corps, and various forms of international educational programs around the world. Particular emphasis must be placed in helping the developing nations of the world. Let us then review the two important factors and suggest a meeting of the minds.

THE NECESSITY OF CHRISTIANITY

In our time, there are Americans who challenge God and Christianity and would like to divorce political affairs from spiritual affairs. Often this lunatic fringe is insulting and void of inspiration or scholarship, yet a world without Christ is neither possible or desirable. The inspired Bible offers certain fundamental guarantees, and mankind must reflect this culture in any successful program of world understanding.

The love that God constantly gives to mankind is the reason for Christian life. Yes, it is on this that we stake our life's meaning. How trivial the question thus becomes, "Is God dead?" when placed alongside the certainty that God loves us. Once a living Christ is affirmed, the death of God is unthinkable. It reminds one of these words:

> "I know not where God's islands lift
> Their fronded palms in air;
> I only know I cannot drift
> Beyond His love and care."

Nietzsche's thesis was that striving, self-centered man had killed God, and the tantalizing question of atheists still is whether God is dead. The revolt of Karl Marx against God was basically a revolt falsely conceived to be in behalf of the humanity of mankind. Marxist atheism left room for the Communists' worship of state, party, ideology, program, and future utopian goals. It was entirely wrong for Marx to attempt to relate theology to economics. There is no relationship between the two. In fact, it is desirable to be conservative in theology and liberal in economics, because this approach guarantees recognition of the inspired Bible, and, at the same time, shows concern for the economic welfare of all.

The God in the Bible is no respecter of tyranny; He respects the freedom of mankind. God is no despot, because He is patient with people. Surely there is a 2,000-year-old precedent for each Christian to go beyond good works to good deeds. No, God does not threaten humanity, but He promotes the best for the great masses. Marx was wrong in believing that the Christian churches were for the affluent only. Throughout his life, the Christian attempts to instill in others the devotion to Christianity and the sense of satisfaction. In fact, Christians are able to point with pride to several positive guideposts.

First, Christian America gave all its citizens the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, the "Magna Carta" for collective bargaining. The Wagner Act, as it became known, included this sentence: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstruction to the free flow of commerce—by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing." This is a Christian principle.

Second, the century's greatest Christian theologian, Dr. John R. Rice, has consistently warned his fellow believers that God is very real and that faith in Christ and the Scripture are essential. Thus, any search for God that starts any other way is a vain quest that will fail.

Ancient Babylonia worshipped at least seven hundred deities. Church members sometimes look back nostalgically at the medieval world as the great age of faith, but we have Christian giants today too, and a major sin of America is the lack of recognition we give to the Christian statesmen.

Third, no Christian doctrine of God is possible without Jesus, because Calvary is fundamental to Christianity. Those theologians who believe that "God is dead" dramatize a crisis of belief for that group who have never been "born again." Many "modernist" theologians and writers have qualms about the quality and character of contemporary belief. In search for meaning many of these leaders have turned to psychiatry or drugs, but neither is the answer. Only Christ is the answer.

Fourth, Christianity recognizes only first-class citizens. The Apartheid regime in South Africa, while primarily a tragedy for that country's nonwhite majority, also compromises the fundamental principles of Christianity. Protection of the physical safety of the lives and property of all mankind is a basic and primary purpose for which society was established and which Christians must support. It is thus a violation of Christian theology to have second-class citizens in any section of the world.

Fifth, though Christians have little sympathy with the "God is dead" thinking, they will grant a measure of freedom of dissent. Christians must, however, resist the attempts of some non-Christians to remove Christianty from public institutions. Those who seek to remove Bible reading, without comment; general prayers; religious services at graduation time, chaplains from government bodies and the armed services; and religious carols at Christmastime are out of step with the teaching of our Founding Fathers and are parties to efforts at destroying our beloved Nation.

THE NECESSITY OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

With a fundamental foundation in Christian theology, all mankind must be given the benefits of quality education.[2] America's role in international education must be vast and growing to guarantee the principle. It is essential to win the lost to Christ, but it is also necessary to provide the educational opportunities that will result in building free and independent countries around the world that accept democracy as a way of life, because of reason, and that these peoples foster healthy economies.

The most efficacious way of helping countries that are currently in the development process is by aiding them in upgrading their human resources. Education is the key which opens most doors in this state of development. As more of their people become literate and skilled, these nations will be able to use their natural resources intelligently and efficiently, thereby, improving their economic well-being and gaining political stability.

One of the greatest threats to peace is the widening of the gap between standards of living in developed and in the less developed countries. The peace for which America is working is much more than the absence of war; it is a creative peace, marshaling resources to fight starvation and disease, ignorance and prejudice.

Several years ago Wendell L. Willkie talked and wrote of "One World," and a few years later Adlai E. Stevenson spoke of "Two Worlds." Just recently, U.S. Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT spoke of some of the same issues, when he said: "There are two Americas. One is the America of Lincoln and Adlai Stevenson; the other is the America of Teddy Roosevelt and General MacArthur. One is generous and humane, the other narrowly egotistical; one is modest and self-critical, the other arrogant and self-righteous; one is sensible, the other romantic; one is good humored, the other solemn; one is inquiring, the other pontificating; one is moderate and restrained, the other filled with passionate intensity."

As we enter the second half of the sixties, it is my opinion that the ideal of international education can come closer to realization only if we stretch the capacity of professional education to its outer limits in nearly all directions. Applying the pressure of a probing mind, we should thus formulate a quality program that will execute the desires and aspirations of President Johnson and develop guidelines that will extend the principles of higher education in the area of international education.

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[1] George S. Reuter, Jr., August M. Hintz, and Helen H. Reuter, "One Blood" (Exposition Press: New York, 1964).

[2] George S. Reuter, Jr. and Helen H. Reuter, "Democracy and Quality Education" (Educational Research Association of the U.S.A.; Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

The presence of more than 80,000 foreign students on our campuses is only one indication of the readiness of American higher education to devote its resources to international education. More than 20,000 of these students receive financial support from the colleges and universities they attend. A majority of the students are the beneficiaries of special programs and services which are provided at considerable cost to our academic institutions.

Our Government must rely heavily on American colleges and universities in establishing programs for emerging nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. These faculty members must carry the burden of setting up appropriate educational systems in the developing nations, in advising ministries of education, in conducing research and evaluating studies, in interesting the host countries' teachers in the most effective methods of teaching their people.

THE FINAL THOUGHT

It is obvious that the American commitment to education now embraces undergraduate-level training for the maximum number of our citizens. We appear to have determined as a people that a college education is nearly, if not quite, indispensable to mankind's work and citizenship alike. For the great majority of our educated citizens, therefore, the prime opportunity for promoting literacy in other cultures and societies will be during the undergraduate years.

The several parts of President Johnson's program for international education, and, especially, the International Education Act of 1966, give great promise of changing the current state of affairs. The keynote of this change was sounded in the President's Smithsonian address in his declaration that "learning respects no geographic boundaries." The new approach to the new role for education was set forth unequivocally in his message to the Congress on international education. The principle cannot be stated more simply or forcefully than in one passage of that message: "Education lies in the heart of every nation's hopes and purposes. It must be at the heart of international relations."

Judge Thomas F. Meaney Retired After 24 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, on May 1, 1966, the Honorable Thomas F. Meaney, senior U.S. district court judge for the district of New Jersey, retired from active Federal service after over 24 years of distinguished service on the Federal bench.

I would like to relate the highlights of his outstanding legal career which spans over 50 years.

Judge Meaney, who was born in Jersey City, N.J., on September 6, 1888, was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1911 and then became a counselor at law in 1914. He received an A.B. degree from St. Peter's College in 1908, a master's degree from St. Peter's in 1909, and an LL.B. degree from Fordham Law School in 1911.

Judge Meaney served as first lieutenant of infantry with the 51st Pioneer Infantry, 1st Division in France in World War I.

Judge Meaney's road to Federal service began with his legal apprenticeship in the firm of Tumulty & Cutley in Jersey City. He also served as secretary to Mayor H. Otto Wittpenn of Jersey City.

Following 4 years of private practice, Judge Meaney began his judicial career in 1923 in the Hudson County Juvenile Court, having been offered an appointment by Gov. George S. Silzer. He was reappointed in 1928 and 1932.

Judge Meaney's work among juvenile offenders attracted wide attention, and he was chosen to represent the United States at the first International Conference of Juvenile Judges in Belgium.

In 1934, Judge Meaney was elevated to the Hudson County common pleas court by Gov. A. Harry Moore. He remained there until 1939, when he became counsel for the State banking and insurance commission. He was appointed to the Federal bench in 1942 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In February 1961, Judge Meaney was given a testimonial dinner by the Hudson County Bar Association in observance of his 50th year as a member of the New Jersey bar.

Judge Meaney has always had the reputation of being a hard-working member of the bench. Court statistics disclose he has been at the top or near the top in disposing of cases, and in having an excellent record of being upheld by appellate courts on cases taken from his court. Fortunately, the judge will continue to preside in special civil trials assigned to him and he promises to continue his association with members of the bar.

All of the foregoing accomplishments have recently led to a sincere tribute from the trustees of the Essex County Bar Association, which is proud to number Judge Meaney among its nearly 2,000 members.

Under unanimous consent I include the resolution in the RECORD:

ESSEX COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT TRUSTEES' MEETING, APRIL 12, 1966

Whereas the Honorable Thomas F. Meaney has, since 1942, faithfully and efficiently served the bench and bar of the State of New Jersey as a judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey; and

Whereas Judge Meaney, particularly in his role as senior judge, has been called on daily for the exercise of wisdom, patience, firmness, restraint, humor, compassion, discretion, and all the other attributes which make for the complete jurist; and

Whereas effective May 1, 1966, Judge Meaney will retire from active Federal service; and

Whereas the trustees of the Essex County Bar Association wish to memoralize their feelings and sentiment concerning Judge Meaney as jurist, colleague, and friend: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved:

1. That the trustees on behalf of the Essex County Bar Association express to the Honorable Thomas F. Meaney their thanks, appreciation, respect and affection for his long, faithful and extremely efficient service as a Federal judge.

2. That the trustees of the Essex County Bar Association extend to the Honorable Thomas F. Meaney sincere wishes for good health, well-being, and contentment.

3. That the secretary of this association be instructed to forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, Chief District Court Judge Thomas M. Madden, and Chief Judge Austin L. Staley of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

For the Trustees.

JAMES R. LACEY,
Trustee.
ERNEST F. KEER, Jr.,
President.

Signs of Hope in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the record of the Johnson administration is dealing with the military and political situation in South Vietnam is a good one and the indications of a more widespread desire for political stability can only lead us to believe that our course was and is the correct one.

I commend to the attention of our colleagues the comments of Robert G. Spivack on this matter as they appeared in his column in the April 21, 1966, edition of the New York Journal American.

The article follows:

SIGNS OF HOPE IN, VIETNAM

(By Robert G. Spivack)

WASHINGTON.—In Vietnam about the only thing certain is that the unpredictable is sure to happen.

It takes pretty steady nerves to cope with these highly individualistic people and their undisciplined leaders. But the Johnson administration has demonstrated calm and good judgment under almost every conceivable circumstance.

From the time that U. Alexis Johnson, Ambassador Lodge's deputy, did not panic when the U.S. Embassy was bombed, right up to the latest political episode, our men in Saigon—Lodge, Westmoreland, Lonsdale—have all kept their heads.

Just because events are unpredictable does not always mean disaster. For example, there are aspects of the recent Buddhist uproar which are more hopeful than at first appeared, even assuming that there was a degree of Communist influence.

To begin with, the prospects of holding a free election next summer are fairly good. I think it is regrettable that we have not made this also an objective for the North Vietnamese. But if the South Vietnamese can carry the election off, it may make the North Vietnamese wonder why Hanoi's leaders do not test their own popularity.

The second development is that the Buddhists and the Catholics seem to have established communications. This could prove more important than negotiations with the Vietcong, because religious hostilities are often more rigid than political differences.

Third, the idea of civilian government is on the ascendancy, although where the free Vietnamese will find a strong, decisive leader remains to be seen. Perhaps out of the election procedure someone will come forth. This is the big question mark because the Vietnamese "elite" are so much like the French they are likely to whittle away at anyone who gets out front, or shows much promise of leadership.

That's the reason, of course, that there is a military government in South Vietnam right now.

In forcing free elections, the Buddhist priests may, inadvertently, also have provided a way for the war to end. For the foreseeable future there will be two Vietnams, as there are two Germanys and two Chinas. But a freely elected government in Saigon may be able to talk to Hanoi and the Communists may not think they would be "losing face," as they seem to feel about the prospect of sitting down with the Americans.

The important point to bear in mind is that by our military action we have helped equalize the situation. Two years ago the Communists were on the verge of military victory. Now that eventuality is quite dim, if not impossible.

If through free elections a relatively stable, progressive government emerges, our military mission could be entering a phase somewhat like that in South Korea. We would be there, if needed, but not actively engaged.

Big Government Grows Bigger: Why Not Federal Economy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the concern of the taxpayers in my district in California is reflected in the editorials of the Burbank Daily Review of April 26, and 28, 1966. The President's recent request to houswives to cut their kitchen budgets becomes ridiculous when compared with the "fats and sweets" which adorn the Federal budget. Let the President cut the "high calorie" budget before he tells American families to buy cheap foods. Businessmen have felt the pinch of inflation; industrial workers find that their paychecks do not go as far; retired people and pensioners are being made into the "new poor" class by rising prices; building contractors are suffering the costs of a slump in construction caused by inflation; servicemen, already making a sacrifice for this country, are being undercut in essential housing for their families. And still the costs of big government go up, up, up. Is this the Great Society?

I commend these two editorials to your attention:

The Taxpayers Pay: Big Government Grows Bigger

Most citizens are probably aware that governments are not a source of wealth.

Every penny a government spends has to come from the producing sector of the economy—the people in private enterprise who pay the taxes.

In spite of this, many persons tend to look at Federal or State subsidies as a bonanza from some faraway place and avidly seek government participation in various projects that could better be accomplished at the local level.

The result has been a phenomenal growth in Government spending and disproportionate additions to Government payrolls. The catch is that the persons on the Government payrolls really are not a source of wealth either. Their sustenance depends on income from the private sectors.

If the trend continues, there is every likelihood that the point of no return will be reached—the level when the private producing citizens can no longer support the costs of Government.

The total public employment has reached a payroll of about 10 million persons today. It is increasing much faster than the payroll in private industry.

In 1950 there were 39 million workers in nonagricultural jobs paying taxes to support 6 million public employees. In other words, 10 persons on the public payroll spread their costs over 65 private workers.

In 1960 there were 45.8 million persons on private payrolls and 8.5 million people working for governments. It meant the proportion had gone down to 54 industrial workers for each 10 persons in government.

In 1964, the trend continued. There were 49.9 million private employees and 9.9 million public employees for a ratio of 50 tax-producing persons to 10 tax-consuming persons.

The figures are not in for 1965–66 fiscal year, but there is no doubt the additions to Government payrolls will show a large increase again because of the so-called Great Society programs.

Additionally, the broad expansion of the Federal social programs assures that the growth will continue in the years ahead, adding to Government payrolls through the creation of new agencies and satellite bureaucracies.

Not all of the blame can be laid on the Federal Government. State and local payrolls are among those growing most rapidly.

It is a genuine cause for concern. Unless each person constantly insists on government efficiency and only the minimum of services necessary, the trend and taxes will rise constantly.

Money Pinch Hits the Public: Why Not Federal Economy?

The seeming determination of Congress to make substantial cuts in the President's request for $3.4 billion in foreign aid next year is encouraging.

It also makes sense in our Nation which is constantly harassed in recent years with problems of budget deficits, loss of U.S. dollars to other nations, inflation, and a war in Vietnam.

Presidential cognizance of the domestic problem has come through tax reforms that will bring the Federal Government $6 billion more in revenue in the year ahead.

Businessmen were touched by the problem when they were forced to curb spending for plant expansion abroad and decrease or eliminate justified price increases at home.

Families have been affected by the problem through the continuing inflation. The President has asked housewives to put on their glasses, take a pencil in hand and shop carefully to buy only the cheapest groceries.

Contractors have felt the squeeze through an announcement that up to $1 billion in construction programs will be held in abeyance until the domestic financial problems mitigate.

U.S. servicemen, already making sacrifices for their country, also have felt the domestic cutbacks when the Defense Department postponed construction of essential housing.

On the broad canvas the Federal emphasis to strike at financial problems has touched every single person in the United States to a greater or lesser degree.

It makes sense, then, to cut back also on the programs abroad that the U.S. taxpayer is subsidizing. Since 1946 that subsidy has totaled more than $100 billion.

There is considerable evidence that substantial cuts—up to the $1 billion proposed by Republicans—can be made without hurting the U.S. self-interest.

In the last 20 years the United States has spent millions on worthless foreign public works programs and spent even more on nations that are hostile to America and always will be. Equally questionable is the proposal to spend more than $350 million in the next year to export so-called Great Society education and health programs abroad.

The broad purpose of foreign aid, which is to help friendly or neutral nations approach self-sufficiency, is sound. That purpose, however, is defeated when the aid is squandered on enemies, wasted, or if it creates a new dependency on the United States.

It is time for the administration to put on its spectacles, sharpen its pencil and like the housewife, start trimming. Hopefully, the stiffening resistance by Congress to foreign aid will force this action.

Motor Vehicle Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Adolph Fram, president of the Peoples Cab Co., of Pittsburgh, has made an important contribution to the testimony now being taken by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on motor vehicle safety. I think that Mr. Fram's experiences in this area will be of inteerst to all Members of the Congress. Therefore, under leave to extend my remarks, I include his testimony at this point in the Record.

Statement Before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, May 5, 1966

Mr. Chairman, Members of the House, I am Adolph Fram, president of the Peoples Cab Co., of Pittsburgh, Pa. I am also owner of the company.

I appear before you not to criticize for the sake of criticizing. We believe that our qualifications to testify have foundation and are historic in the area. We have had an experience with motor vehicles and operations of 17 years of "severe-use" fleet service which no doubt would require many decades of "testing" by any institution not related to such "severe-use" fleet exposure.

We have urged for many years the need to create a National Traffic Safety Agency within the framework of a Cabinet-level Office of Transportation.

The function of this agency shall be the culling, evaluating, and disseminating of information to the public in an effort to reduce motor vehicle accidents, eliminate a percentage of them entirely, hence saving life, limb, and fortune.

The needless, mysterious, murderous, atrocities must end. It is incumbent upon us to initiate the most important issue to face the American people and its Congress in modern history. President Johnson, last week, revealed that more American servicemen are killed by motor vehicles in the United States than have been killed in Vietnam.

We must not leave to others or to our children the responsibility of performing this task. Statistics point to a 30 million motorist involvement in this year. You are acquainted with the number killed and maimed each year. These figures are publicized and known by all.

With the ever-increasing percentages rising, at least one out of every three motorists will be involved in an auto accident this year. It is unfair to the public and our heirs to impose upon them the legacy of this growing, terrifying prospect.

We have witnessed countless accidents and have investigated thousands. It is true, undeniably, that auto and tire design and construction are woefully lacking.

In 1959 we purchased a fleet of 104 new vehicles. Within a short period of time these autos fell apart, literally disintegrated.

Seventy-nine rear axles sheared off. Wheels rolled down the street. The vehicles collapsed. The drivers, passengers, and the public were jeopardized.

Motor mounts shattered and the motor (engine) dropped onto the frame. This pulled the entire driveline out of shape. The auto would grind to a halt. Five hundred and fifty such motor mounts shattered or cracked.

Headliners (inner lining of the roof) collapsed. Seat springs collapsed. Engines literally exploded. The metal was poor and thin. They could not be rebuilt and retained in service. Metal specifications did not meet the manufacturer's own requirement. This auto manufacturer reecntly expired, but the damage inflicted lives on.

Is there a problem in auto design? Is there a problem in manufacture? The answer is unequivocally "Yes."

There have been charges at these hearings that the roads and drivers are chiefly responsible. A "heavyweight" witness stated that "75 percent of motorist's injuries were caused by car design." These percentages will dissipate when true causation is learned.

Design and manufacture are not the only problems. The spotlight here in Washington has been focused on the auto and tire people and the area of controversy has been so confined that the greatest danger to our national interest in these investigations has been completely overlooked.

We are talking about the small contact area which exists between the tires and the roadway. This "footpad" is just about the size of your two hands.

All of the designing, engineering, and manufacturing brains and skill of this Nation can add to naught if this area is ignored. Army tank construction, seat belts, harnesses, padded dashes, rollover bars, collapsible steering columns, recessed instruments, disc brakes, and any other additive will not remove the danger which kills and maims today, nor will it do so tomorrow, if the manufacturers and the public ignore or are unaware of these two tire-road contact danger areas.

Contact danger area No. 1 is hydroplaning.

The mysterious, phenomenon of the front wheels of any auto raising off the roadway beginning at approximately 37 miles per hour, when that roadway is rain soaked or snow slushy, summer or winter, North or South. As the speed increases the front wheels leave the roadway entirely—now the auto is hydroplaning, just like a watertanker.

Do the public, auto, and tire people know this? Do they know that when brakes are applied that the back wheels dig into the roadway and that the auto must reduce its speed from the state of hydroplaning suspension and sink back to the roadway before steering or braking capabilities are effected?

Can you imagine the helpless floundering of the auto, and can you coin-toss or guess in which direction the vehicle will head? Will it crash into the medial strip (if there is one) oncoming traffic, a bridge abutment, adjoining lane of traffic? Will the auto straighten out and will the driver and his passengers breathe with relief "that was close?" How much longer should the public remain in a stupor and complete ignorance of this terrifying situation?

Our "severe-use" fleet experience uncovered this monstrous mystery about 12 years ago on a rain-soaked Bigelow Boulevard in Pittsburgh.

The aircraft industry and the Armed Forces were plagued with this problem. They believed they "skidded on wet runways" when actually the aircraft was hydroplaning. The seriousness was apparent.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) tackled the problem. Their experiences and tests were astounding. They discovered that aircraft, including the giants, were suspended on a tough film of water and this enormous weight was actually hydroplaning in landing on wet runways.

Walter B. Horne and Upshar T. Joyner, aeronautical research scientists, of NASA, Langley Research Center, delivered a paper to the Society of Automotive Engineers (SAE 970C) on "Pneumatic Tire Hydroplaning and Some Effects on Vehicle Performance."

A copy is available here for you perusal and study.

Hydroplaning is real. It is not theory or speculation. Coincidentally, while this paper was being presented in Detroit, we were testifying before the Federal Trade Commission here in Washington on the matter of tires on the same day, January 15, 1965, and a main portion of our presentation was relative to the same and identical—tire hydroplaning.

We were not acquainted with these scientists at NASA. Last month, April 6, 1966, we corresponded. Upshar Joyner heard our story and related it to his own experiences. He seemed impressed. He said he would come see us.

Wednesday, April 20, Upshar Joyner visited us at our Peoples Cab terminal in Pittsburgh. It was a memorable day for us. Our "way out" themes and experiences were confirmed.

We wish that the American public could have listened in on this heart-rendering analysis. An unknown, hideous monster responsible for unrecorded, incalculable tragedy was laid bare.

We discussed danger area No. 2:

The spacing between the ribs or treads of tires are known as gutters or channels and wash away the water from the roadway surface. This "drying process" is required and absolutely necessary to permit an auto to stop in a straight line with the vehicle under full driver control.

If there is a variance of tread depth in each of the four tires the washing away of water and the "drying" are not equivalent nor simultaneous, hence the auto will "pivot" around the tires with the most effective drying capability.

There are no statistics to indicate the havoc results here.

How many Americans know this?

Here is another case of mass poisoning:

So-called safety experts have discovered that heat generated by tires on dry roadway at high speeds is injurious to the tires and many things happen. Hence, if it is raining, or the roadway is wet the rubber tire remains relatively cool, therefore, it is reason that the motorist can really speed down the pike. This poisonous theory sows the seeds of its own destruction. The rubber tire remains cooler, but it is not on terra firma, it is hydroplaning.

The motoring public must halt. Stop. This information must be made available without delay. We are a party to unconscionable tragedy if we do not act now.

Congressman JAMES A. MACKAY, in his address to the House on February 3, 1966, hit the nail squarely on the head. He spoke of "causation of accidents." Everyone knows the results of accidents. But how are they caused?

NASA, in the SAE paper, talks of "the viscous fluid separating the tire tread from the roadway." If this fluid (water, etc.) isn't properly dispersed, accidents are caused. (Water acts as lubricant, the same as oil placed on metal parts to prevent the parts from rubbing against each other.)

Here, therefore, is a prime example of two institutions in different leagues, possibly unknown to each other, but who can set forth clarity and understanding in an area so vital to each other and to the Nation.

Another important American institution remains "stepchild." There is no doubt that in certain auto negligence cases that the cause of justice is seriously impaired when these two danger areas remain mysterious and unknown.

We believe we have made the point. Auto design is a problem, but not the true causation of the overwhelming toll of highway accidents.

We have stumbled upon and uncovered a menace. We have also developed a cure. A program of illustration to condition the driver, and a physical application to tires, to speed the puncture of the viscous fluid and hold the vehicle under control, used by us in our Pittsburgh terminal, have reduced our accident frequency. Truck and various fleets also sing the praises of this program.

We strenuously urge the creation of a National Traffic Safety Agency. It will cull, evaluate, and disseminate such vital information and gain the experience of others, particularly "severe use" fleet operators.

Our Congress is faced with an unprecedented issue and it must resolve to act without delay to eliminate and reduce to the irreducible the carnage on the American road.

We know it will be done. The people seek it. We pray that the Congress responds affirmatively and without delay.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

*Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

without amendment (Rept. No. 1522). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BATTIN:

H.R. 14992. A bill to provide for the payment of debt service construction charges, and increased operation and maintenance charges when irrigable lands are taken for nonagricultural uses under Federal programs; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BUCHANAN:

H.R. 14993. A bill to provide that the United States shall make no payments or contributions to the United Nations for furnishing assistance to Communist countries; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FARNSLEY:

H.R. 14994. A bill to amend section 109 of title 23 of the United States Code to prohibit the expenditure of Federal funds on highways not to be properly lighted; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 14995. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exclude real property (other than the taxpayer's residence) from capital gains tax treatment, to limit the deduction for real estate taxes paid on unimproved land, and to eliminate the deductions for real estate taxes and depreciation on multifamily housing which is not maintained in a safe and sanitary condition; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAGEN of California:

H.R. 14996. A bill to promote and foster the development of a modern merchant marine by encouraging the orderly replacement and modernization of merchant vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. KEOGH:

H.R. 14997. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate to enter into mutually acceptable agreements with States and possessions of the United States for Federal collection of State or possession income taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 14998. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit individuals to claim a credit against Federal income tax for 40 percent of their State and local income taxes, in lieu of deducting such taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.R. 14999. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MOSHER:

H.R. 15000. A bill to promote and foster the development of a modern merchant marine by encouraging the orderly replacement and modernization of merchant vessels, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.R. 15001. A bill to amend the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act to provide adequate notice and opportunity for the Secretary of the Interior and State fish and wildlife agencies to conduct studies on the effects of projects licensed by Federal agencies on fish and wildlife resources, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 15002. A bill to amend title III of the National Housing Act to increase the funds available to the Federal National Mortgage Association for its secondary market operations; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 15003. A bill to assure nondiscrimination in Federal and State jury selection and service, to facilitate the desegregation of public education and other public facilities, to provide judicial relief against discriminatory housing practices, to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 15004. A bill to amend the Copyright Act by repealing the jukebox exemption, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina:

H.R. 15005. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to remove inequities in the active duty promotion opportunities of certain officers; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. RONCALIO:

H.R. 15006. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to permit the payment of dependency and indemnity to certain married children of deceased veterans who are attending educational institutions; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 15007. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for a gradual increase up to 27½ percent in the depletion allowance for coal and uranium produced from deposits in the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SICKLES:

H.R. 15008. A bill to amend the act of October 10, 1949, entitled "An act to assist States in collecting sales and use taxes on cigarettes," so as to control all types of illegal transportation of cigarettes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 15009. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate to enter into mutually acceptable agreements with States and possessions of the United States for Federal collection of State or possession income taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 15010. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit individuals to claim a credit against Federal income tax for 40 percent of their State and local income taxes, in lieu of deducting such taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 15011. A bill to establish fishing zones of the United States beyond its territorial seas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. YATES:

H.R. 15012. A bill to incorporate Recovery, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota:

H. Con. Res. 646. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that in the public interest the administration should (1) cease and desist in its efforts to enforce selective economic discrimination against American farmers and ranchers by deliberately depressing farm prices, and (2) use the various legislative authorities at its disposal to improve and enhance farm prices in order to build a strong and viable market economy for agriculture, the cornerstone of American and free world prosperity; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

H. Con. Res. 647. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that in the public interest the administration should (1) cease and desist in its efforts to enforce selective economic discrimination against American farmers and ranchers by deliberately depressing farm prices, and (2) use the various legislative authorities at its disposal to improve and enhance farm prices in order to build a strong and viable market economy for agriculture, the cornerstone of American and free world prosperity; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GROSS:

H. Con. Res. 648. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that in the public interest the administration should (1) cease and desist in its efforts to enforce selective economic discrimination against American farmers and ranchers by deliberately depressing farm prices, and (2) use the various legislative authorities at its disposal to improve and enhance farm prices in order to build a strong and viable market economy for agriculture, the cornerstone of American and free world prosperity; to the Committee on Agriculture.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 15013. A bill for the relief of Maximo T. Bleza, Sr., and Nelia V. Bleza; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 15014. A bill for the relief of Henry P. Leonhardy; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 15015. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Crescensia Virtudes Escobido; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 15016. A bill for the relief of Despina and Christina Hatzisavvas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

389. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the city of San Jose, Calif., relative to the rights of agricultural workers to organize for collective bargaining under the National Labor Relations Act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

390. Also, petition of city of Youngstown, Ohio, relative to the 30 years of service in the Congress of Hon. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, of the 19th District, Ohio; to the Committee on House Administration.

Appendix

Village of Newtown, Ohio, Has New Civic League

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, during the past several years there seems to be a new awakening among the citizens of my district to the possibilities for new civic enterprises. Citizen groups are becoming more aware of the problems of their areas and are working to solve them.

In the village of Newtown, Ohio, located in the eastern portion of Hamilton County, one such new civic enterprise is being undertaken. On April 25, 1966, Mayor John Rabe called together a nonpartisan group of leading citizens to discuss the formation of a Newtown civic group. He indicated to them that Newtown is one of the few villages in Ohio which does not have a single strong civic organization pushing for the good of the village.

Mayor Rabe noted that projected studies of population for the area in and around Newtown show that in 1990 there will be over 830,000 people living in an area where 430,000 now live. He said that the village is in the very heart of the Little Miami Conservancy District watershed which contains large tracts of land for industrialization and residential development.

Because much of this land is flooded often, the Corps of Engineers has made studies and recommended action to contain the flow of the Little Miami River. When this is done, the currently empty farmlands will fill rapidly, and it will be necessary that this growth be directed in such a way that maximum benefit can be obtained, and that the current population of Newtown not be pushed aside and ignored.

Mayor Rabe said that industry in the Newtown area could stabilize the tax rate, give many in the area employment closer to home, and increase the tax duplicate to provide better government services.

At the meeting, the mayor urged that leadership of this new group be taken by interested persons in the community, so that the latent vitality he knew existed in the village could emerge. Immediately a steering committee was formed, which contained over a dozen interested persons from all walks of life. It is probable that the group will activate the old Greater Newtown Civic League, Inc., as the means for organization.

Mr. Speaker, Newtown is the fourth oldest community in Ohio, and next year will celebrate its 175th anniversary. Originally one of the outstations ringing the core city of Losantiville, now Cincinnati, during pioneer days, Newtown has a distinguished history. I suggest that the community is having a rebirth of a sense of accomplishment. It should be noted also that although the present Congress by its action has aided communities like Newtown to solve its problems using tools that the National Government alone can provide, it is not the National Government which has caused the impetus to organization.

In Newtown, as in every other community which is experiencing similar problems, it is the local citizens and the locally elected officials upon whom the opportunity and responsibility rest. They alone provide the spirit. They alone can organize. They alone provide the initiative for self-help. We at the national level can help, and will.

Area Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, as the great eastern seaboard megalopolis spreads the crisis in transportation within and between the cities that will be the component parts of the supercity becomes increasingly acute. My colleague in the other body, DANIEL BREWSTER, has been concerned especially about transportation links between Washington and Baltimore.

I commend to your attention an editorial in this regard which appeared in the Baltimore Sun on Thursday, May 5, 1966:

AREA TRANSIT

A start has been made on Washington's plan for a $431 million rail and bus rapid transit system. A $292 million rail and bus rapid transit system proposed for Baltimore is under discussion. Now Senator BREWSTER has called for a rapid transit system to link the two metropolitan systems.

Baltimore and Washington are presently separated and each is in need of an adequate mass transit service, but it is generally conceded, happily or otherwise, that the two metropolitan areas will soon be joined. If such is to be the case Senator BREWSTER's call for the planning of a linking rapid transit system is in order.

At present Baltimore and Washington are linked by two railroad commuter services. They are adequate but limited. The two areas are linked by the Washington Boulevard, the Baltimore-Washington Expressway and U.S. 29. In another 2 years or so they will be linked by the planned expressway or Interstate I-95. Furthermore Baltimore and Washington will be linked by the high-speed rail service that is planned between Boston and Washington.

But the question is: Would those links in being and planned give Baltimore and Washington the kind of interlocking rapid transit service required if the two metropolitan areas are really joined? Senator BREWSTER does not think so and the facts suggest that he is right.

American Legion National Commander's Journalistic Achievement Award Made to Eugene C. Pulliam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, Eugene C. Pulliam, the prominent and distinguished publisher of the Indianapolis Star, the Indianapolis News, and six other newspapers, has received his second major journalistic award of the year. He was honored as a "reporter, editor, publisher, with more than a half century of dedication to the finest traditions of American journalism."

I am pleased to insert the following stories into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in tribute to a truly outstanding newspaperman and a fine American:

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News, May 5, 1966]

LEGION, PRESS HELP KEEP UNITED STATES FREE, PULLIAM SAYS

"The American Legion and the newspapers of this country have done more than any other organization to keep America free," Eugene C. Pulliam declared last night.

The publisher of the News and the Star spoke in acceptance of the national commander's journalistic achievement award at the annual spring dinner for the national executive committee in the Indianapolis Athletic Club. Commander L. Eldon James, Hampton, Va., made the presentation.

Expressing his appreciation of the honor paid him, Pulliam asserted that "America is great only because America is free" and expressed the hope the veterans' organization and the press would keep the United States "free in truth" for a century to come.

James declared: "Truth is the forum of the printed word, the solid foundation of our civilization." Speaking of Pulliam, he said: "His friend, President Lyndon Johnson, has said of this man that he has enlarged the freedom of the press and of the American people."

It was Pulliam's second major award this year. On January 8 he was awarded the John Peter Zenger award at the University of Arizona for his devotion to press freedom. James last night hailed him as a champion of "freedom of the press in its fullest meaning."

Following the award, Mrs. Walter H. Glynn, of Iowa, national president of the American Legion Auxiliary, described a trip to Vietnam last month to present a check for $25,000 from the Legion's Vietnam Relief Fund to Gen. William Westmoreland. It will be used by military civic action teams to benefit civilians of South Vietnam.

Mrs. Glynn described the U.S. commander in Vietnam as "a great man attuned to the needs of the situation and the needs of his men."

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, May 5, 1966]

Pulliam Hailed as Newsman by Legion Chief

Eugene C. Pulliam is a "newspaperman's newspaperman, steeped in the traditions and lore of his profession," the national commander of the American Legion said here last night at ceremonies honoring the publisher.

Pulliam, publisher of the Indianapolis Star, the Indianapolis News, and six other newspapers, was presented the Legion National Commander's Journalistic Achievement Award.

The commander, L. Eldon James, of Hampton, Va., pointed out that Pulliam's friend, President Lyndon B. Johnson, "has said of this gentleman that by his 'courage and conviction' he 'has enlarged the freedom of the American people.' "

Pulliam, selected for the honor by a national panel of editors and publishers, said in accepting the award, "This is one I appreciate really deep in my heart for one reason—the American Legion and the newspapers of this country have done more than all other organizations combined to keep America free."

Pulliam said he hoped the American Legion and the American press "will be able to say for 100 years, in truth, that America is great only because America is free."

James characterized Pulliam as a champion of "freedom of the press in its fullest meaning."

And Pulliam's definition of freedom of the press is "the freedom of the American public to be informed, to know the precise nature and character of the political and economic forces which control our destinies," James added.

The plaque given to Pulliam honored him as a "reporter * * * editor * * * publisher * * * with more than a half century of dedication to the finest traditions of American journalism."

During that half-century, the citation continued, "he has devoted his outstanding abilities to patriotic editorials and forthright news coverage, in support of the American Legion tradition, 'for God * * * and country.' "

The award was made at the commander's dinner for the Legion's national executive committee, held in the Indianapolis Athletic Club.

Mrs. Walter H. Glynn, national president of the American Legion Auxiliary, was the main speaker. She returned recently from a 30-day trip to southeast Asia, which she described as a "combination good will tour and mission for the national commander."

One of the duties of her mission was to present $25,000 from the Legion's Vietnam Relief Fund to Gen. William Westmoreland, commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam.

Mrs. Glynn last night presented a check for $2,000 to James on behalf of the Legion Auxiliary for the relief fund.

The committee yesterday announced the selection of Phoenix, Ariz.; Boston, Mass.; Atlanta, Ga.; and New Orleans, La., as sites for future national conventions.

The tentative sites and dates are Boston, August 25–31, 1967; Atlanta, August 22–28, 1969; New Orlean, August 21–27, 1970, and Phoenix, August 20–26, 1971. The committee previously had announced Milwaukee, Wis., as the site for its 1968 convention and Washington, D.C., as the 1966 host city.

Pulliam began his newspaper career as a reporter for the Kansas City (Mo.) Star and helped found Sigma Delta Chi, national journalistic society, while attending DePauw University.

He is a member of the Associated Press board of directors, American Society of Newspaper Editors and is affiliated with many other national journalistic groups.

He recently received the University of Arizona John Peter Zenger Award for "distinguished service in freedom of the press and the people's right to know."

Testimonial Dinners Should Be Encouraged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, because of the interest shown recently in the subject of testimonial dinners for Members of Congress I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial appearing recently in the Arizona Daily Star of Tucson, Ariz.

In this editorial Mr. William R. Mathews, editor and publisher of the Star, endorses the idea of the testimonial dinner as a means of raising political funds from a large number of relatively small donations. He concludes:

> Testimonial dinners should be encouraged. They are an open, honest and efficient way of distributing the financial burdens of campaigning over a large number of people. The alternatives are so much less desirable that candidates should not be forced away from testimonial dinners.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I shall insert Mr. Mathews' editorial at this point in the Appendix:

Encourage Testimonial Dinners

The controversy in Washington over the two testimonial dinners which raised $100,000 for Senator Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut, is timely because it raises the question of whether able men of modest means can run for public office.

Political campaigns are fantastically expensive. If politics isn't to devolve totally on the wealthy—or, worse, be financed by crooked or self-seeking big donors—then candidates must find a way to obtain a large number of relatively small donations. The testimonial dinner is such a way.

Arizona's Senator Carl Hayden was given a dinner in November 1961, as a testimonial to his setting a record for service in Congress. He was 84 a few days earlier. There were reports that the dinner raised $100,000. No furor was stirred up about that quite proper and merited tribute to Senator Hayden, and its assistance to his political financing. Why should a furor result over the Dodd dinner?

The Internal Revenue Service clearly recognizes the propriety of one person giving another up to $3,000 in any single year, as a bona fide gift, without any tax question arising. In the Tippit case in Dallas, the IRS ruled that the $550,000 given to Mrs. Tippit by persons all over America was tax free. Why should gifts by political friends of $50 or $100 per plate at a testimonial dinner be ruled otherwise?

Former Gov. William G. Stratton of Illinois, a one-time Tucsonian, honored by the University of Arizona, went through the ordeal of a Federal trial because of the gifts he received and how he used them politically, and was exonerated. He was open about his entire actions. The court found that even his wife's expensive hairdos were necessary to his campaigning. Then why the quibbling about the Dodd gifts totaling $100,000 and his use of them to sustain his activities through one or more political campaigns?

Several Governors of Arizona have raised political kitties and have set aside part of them to be used between elections for personal expenses which would not have arisen had they not been in politics. No one has questioned this sort of thing with any Arizona Governor, Republican or Democratic.

Testimonial dinners should be encouraged. They are an open, honest, and efficient way of distributing the financial burdens of campaigning over a large number of people. The alternatives are so much less desirable that candidates should not be forced away from testimonial dinners.

Fino Introduces Railroad Tax Break Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation designed to indirectly subsidize American railroads to enable them to furnish better passenger service and to compete against federally subsidized trucks, buses, and airplanes. My bill would do this by allowing railroads a tax credit instead of a deduction from income only for local real property taxes paid on rights-of-way owned and maintained by the railroads.

The indirect subsidy to the railroads under my bill would be significant as one-fifth of the railroad revenue dollar is spent on rights-of-way. Much of this is spent paying local taxes. Under my bill, the entire local real property tax bill of a railroad which represents tax on rights-of-way could be subtracted from the actual tax bill the railroad owed the Federal Government. Presently, the local taxes are just deductions, which—at present corporate tax rates—result in only half the tax writeoff the proposed credit would give.

In 1966, the Federal Government will spend $5.8 billion for construction, operation, and maintenance of highway, waterway, and air transport facilities. State and local governments will provide another $11.2 billion.

Compared with these sums, two modes of transportation are collecting peanuts—the railroads and the mass transit companies and agencies. I want to see things equalized as much as possible.

The big burden the railroads carry is a lack of Federal subsidy while their competitors receive heavy Federal subsidies. The biggest subsidy going to competitors of the railroads is the indirect subsidy involved in Federal construction of rights-of-way. Buses, trucks, and airplanes use subsidized and socialized rights-of-way. They have no upkeep and local property tax expenses. Railroads do. One-fifth of a typical railroad revenue dollar is eaten up by rights-of-way expenses. My bill, in effect, would provide that the Federal Government would subsidize railroad rights-of-way just as it does the rights-of-way of buses, trucks, and airplanes.

I think my bill embodies a simple yet straightforward means of subsidizing railroad rights-of-way. My bill would give railroads a big tax break for part of their rights-of-way expenses—that part represented by local real property tax costs.

I think this measure I am proposing represents nothing more than a fair shake for the railroads. To me, this tax break concept is the answer to the search for a sensible means of indirectly subsidizing our Nation's vital but hard-pressed railroads.

I am particularly concerned with the railroads in the eastern part of the Nation because they are in the most financial difficulty. As these railroads pay a particularly high ratio of tax dollars per mile of right-of-way, they should benefit the most.

Losing in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, there are many heroes and great leaders among the men who are serving us in Vietnam. What we need now are some leaders in Washington to give strength and guidance to the struggle in which our brave men are fighting and dying. Truly, this war should have been over long ago, as Henry J. Taylor has so ably written in the following article:

WAR SHOULD BE OVER: LOSING IN WASHINGTON

(By Henry J. Taylor)

By every conceivable measure of relative power, mighty America's war in Vietnam should have been over and done with long ago.

A few dates tell a great deal about its conduct. They are more reliable than Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's Alice in Wonderland publicity handouts.

President Kennedy was inaugurated January 20, 1961. On that day, only 77 U.S. military men were in South Vietnam, and all were serving only as advisers. The Pentagon confirms this.

The Bay of Pigs invasion occurred April 18, 1961. Ninety days later, President Kennedy sent 12,000 troops to Vietnam, reportedly to show, after the Cuba debacle, that the United States was not a paper tiger.

It was a fateful decision, and it was the beginning of the war commitment—now 5 years old.

Today we have 255,000 men in Vietnam, not including the great 7th Fleet. The absolute cream of the U.S. Army is there. The Marine Corps elite regiments are there, along with the very best of the U.S. Navy and Air Force. Even our vast Strategic Air Command, not designed for such missions, is employed nearly around the clock.

Nevertheless, on January 13, 1964, heavy Communist units stood 35 miles from Saigon, and they remain where they were 2 years ago.

HARKINS HAD TO SAY IT

On February 5, 1963, McNamara stated: "By every quantitative measure, we are winning the war in Vietnam."

On December 2, 1962, Assistant Defense Secretary for Public Affairs Arthur Sylvester told the Sigma Delta Chi journalistic fraternity's Deadline Club in New York City: "It's the inherent right of the Government to lie to save itself."

On June 21, 1963, McNamara made his "winning the war" statement of the previous year all over again.

On June 22, 1964, Gen. Paul D. Harkins, returning from command in Vietnam, stated: "I think the military situation is coming along fine now." This was an apostasy, tragic to observe. General Harkins was peddling that pap under McNamara's censoring eye.

On October 3, 1964, after going to Vietnam four times, each time "to review the situation," McNamara announced: "The major part of the U.S. military task in Vietnam can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of training personnel."

On February 3, 1965, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge said: "If we were as successful in the civil-political area as we are in the military situation in Vietnam, we'd be on our way now."

On August 1, 1965, we staged our first big Vietnam engagement. This was at Chauli—9 months ago. It spread to the first bloody encounters in the Ia Drang Valley. Today we still control neither Chauli nor the Ia Drang Valley.

ALL ESTIMATES WRONG

On August 5, 1965, President Johnson retaliated for attacks against our ships in the Gulf of Tonkin by bombing North Vietnam. Nearly a year later we're still hearing how successful our bombings are—and we're still bombing, bombing, bombing.

On December 1, 1965, McNamara announced: "It will be a long war."

Every one of McNamara's successive troop estimates throughout the years was as wrong as the next one. First he said 12,000 would do the job, then 24,000, then 40,000, then 75,000, then 150,000.

On March 2, 1966, at a press conference, McNamara ticked off a figure of 235,000 as needed. Then on April 20 he announced that 255,000 are there. Is any end in sight?

The heroism and morale of our troops and flyers who are fighting and dying is nearly incredible. And let me give you, for the first time in print, an added slant on Gen. William C. Westmoreland.

At the request of an important midwestern publisher, President Johnson and McNamara secretly called General Westmoreland home to brief the American Newspaper Publishers Association convention in New York the week of April 25. He replied: "Sorry, but I can't leave the job."

It was commonly agreed in Algeria that if the French lost that war it would be lost in Paris, not Algiers. If we lose the Vietnam war it will be lost in Washington.

The Housing Slump and Carpenter Employment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the severely depressed condition of the homebuilding industry in California remains a source of deep concern in my home State. It was this matter that was brought to the attention of the House on March 30, 1966, when California Congressmen of both parties spoke up in a special order.

In a report to the recent convention of the State council of carpenters, Anthony L. Ramos told his union brothers how the housing slump has effected carpenter employment. The background facts and legislative proposals he presents are a useful supplement to the congressional special order. I commend Mr. Ramos' report to my fellow Members.

THE HOUSING SLUMP AND CARPENTER EMPLOYMENT

(Report of Anthony L. Ramos, executive secretary-treasurer, California State Council of Carpenters)

In his yearend report, Governor Brown noted that while new records were set last year in almost every measurable activity, the home-building industry had declined in activity in 1965.

The fact of the matter is that we are now entering the third year of a serious slump in homebuilding in California.

Nor can we expect an improvement during the coming year. The prospects are, according to a recent article in the Wall Street Journal (Jan. 1, 1966) that there will be a further drop in new housing units of about 5 percent attributable, in the main, to the recent action of the Federal Reserve Board in raising the discount rate from 4 to 4½ percent.

The seriousness of this slump is shown by the fact that last year permits were issued for only 175,300 new units as compared with the peak year of 1963 when permits were issued for 292,100 units.

Compared to 1963, there was a drop of almost $1 billion in the value of building permits for new residential construction last year. $850 million of this drop occurred in southern California.

The decrease in homebuilding was slightly offset by increases in new nonresidential building construction which at years end was running about 15 percent ahead of 1964. The increase in new nonresidential building construction from 1963 to 1965 amounted to about $66 million. The increase had little significance in ameliorating the impact on carpenter employment of the cutback.

There are two reasons for this. First, in dollar terms, the increase in the amount spent on nonresidential construction offsets only about 15 percent of the dollar cutback in homebuilding. Second, manhours of carpenter labor per $1,000 of nonresidential construction are about 50 percent less for this type of building than on homebuilding.

The overall decrease in new building activity, very roughly, figures out at a loss of over 22 million man-hours of carpenter labor, or the equivalent of 14,500 carpenter jobs.

It has been estimated that about 1½ jobs are added to the California economy for every job directly related to investment in housing.[1] Compared with 1963 this would mean, therefore, that this was a loss of about 36,000 jobs to the economy as a result of the cutback in housing investment by the end of 1965. The actual figure would undoubtedly be higher because this estimate is based only on the loss of carpenter employment, and does not include loss of employment in other building trades and related employment.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the California homebuilding industry is sick and needs help.

Even with the improvements in the Federal Housing Act of 1965, it is still true, as was stated by the Governor's advisory commission on housing problems in 1963, that "one of the obvious deficiencies of the Federal housing program is that it is inadequate to California's needs and largely irrelevant to its situation."

The commission recommended the establishment of a State housing commission and last year the legislature authorized creation of such an agency.

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[1] Professor Hansen, Robson, and Tiebout, "Markets for California Products," 1961—California Economic Development Agency.

The commission also recommended that a State housing finance agency should be established to serve the needs of the 50 percent or more of our population who are barred from the housing market by low incomes. The agency would operate essentially along the same lines as the present Cal-Vet Agency.

The recommendation has the support of the California labor movement and will, we hope, be given consideration by the legislature in the very near future.

It is interesting to note that last year a special commission on low-income housing, created by the Massachusetts Legislature, came up with essentially the same proposal as that of the Governor's commission.

Action of this kind by the California Legislature is, we believe, of the utmost urgency, both to the people of the State and to the homebuilding industry.

The Great Society in Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 2, 1966, the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce held its annual Kansas Congressional Dinner in Washington, D.C., which is one of the highlights of the yearly U.S. Chamber of Commerce Conference. Mr. Wesley H. Sowers, president of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce, delivered an excellent message on "The Great Society in Kansas." Mr. Sowers, a constituent of mine from Wichita, Kans., presented some challenging thoughts regarding the impact of Federal programs on business and labor.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from the speech delivered by Mr. Sowers which should be of considerable interest to other Members of the Congress:

THE GREAT SOCIETY IN KANSAS

(Speech made by Wesley H. Sowers at the Kansas Congressional Dinner, sponsored by the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce, and given at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C., on May 2, 1966)

We hear much these days about the Great Society; mostly from Washington press releases. I'm not sure just what is meant by "the Great Society." Webster says, as a first definition of "great": "large in size; big"—a further one is "being much above the average in magnitude, intensity or importance"—also "eminent, distinguished." Perhaps this latter definition comes closest to what is meant, although when we think of the population explosion, there may be a tendency to focus on the "large" definition. "Society" is defined as "association with one's fellows"; or secondly, "the social order—especially as a state or system restricting the individual." So, while it is possible logically to construe the phrase as "the big system restricting the individual," it would probably be less argumentative to adopt the definition of the Great Society as "the above average or distinguished association with one's fellows."

On this basis, Kansas has had a Great Society for many years. Kansas was settled by rugged, determined pioneers, many of whom were veterans of confict—the Civil War. Our people are healthy—as evidenced by the fact that in World War II, we had the lowest rate of any State on military service rejections for either mental or physical health reasons; public education of the highest order is another hallmark of Kansas people; our illiteracy is very low—only 0.9 percent as compared to 4 percent for the Nation as a whole; poverty by our standards, is relatively rare; Kansans are industrious; although Kansas is 14th in land area in the United States, it is second only to Texas in land under cultivation; our unemployment level of 3.1 percent in 1965 is among the best in the country and work stoppages at only 0.11 percent as compared to a national average of over 10 times that figure. Yes, these characteristics—plus a high degree of integrity, independence, self-reliance, and sense of importance of spiritual values, marks Kansans as a Great Society.

Many of us have aspired to a place in society and some of us thought we'd never make it. Now, suddenly, and somewhat confusingly, we seem to have been legislatively catapulted into society—the Great Society. I am concerned, however, that we may not all be using the same set of basic values and the same objectives by which to measure the greatness of society.

If this sudden elevation into this society, using dollars as an elevator, is obtained at a cost that involves the loss of our self-reliance and sense of responsibility, then the full cost is really much greater than the staggering billions of dollars currently being spent to pay for our membership, with much greater amounts planned for the near-term future. There is no way to calculate the enormity of the cost of the Great Society programs if these programs result in the moral degradation of our people. There is also grave doubt as to the moral rights which we have to utilize deficit spending to the extent that we do, in order to carry out these programs, if the end result is to burden our children with debts that impair their future and the fiscal soundness of the Nation.

Economists differ as to the seriousness of our mounting Federal debt. This is probably to be expected from the widely differing views which are held in this profession. It has been said that if all economists were placed end to end, they would still very quickly be found pointing in all directions—and probably none of these could be identified as Republicans, since a Republican economist is apparently a complete contradiction of terms.

With our current voluminous and complicated legislation, it is extremely difficult to determine in advance what the results of a specific legislative act will be. And, with our characteristic impatience, we are apparently unwilling to ascertain the impact of one set of changes before we superimpose others. This greatly compounds the confusion and masks the results obtained from a given action. Legislative precipitousness is especially improvident in the field of human relations and we find ourselves overcompensating and creating problems possibly worse than the conditions we endeavor to control.

Legislation and government regulations need to be carefully evaluated. The moral impact on our society is, in my opinion, the first and most important consideration in the evaluation of legislation. Does it provide for a strengthening of our will to progress, to become more independent, to incerase individual integrity and pride—or does it weaken our will as a people, to stand on our own and to work to resolve our own individual problems; does it increase parasitic tendencies to live on the fruits of the labor of others? In my own mind, I probably oversimplify the tests which I try to apply to political problems such as legislation, especially in those cases where a significant social factor is involved. The tests I apply are two in number: (1) Is it morally right? (2) Is it fiscally sound?

I suppose that in a very broad sense, if a law is morally right, it would have to be fiscally sound. Within the framework of these two tests, specific additional questions that might be asked are many, but a few that occur to me are:

Does it weaken or strengthen the character of man as an individual? What is the impact on freedom and an individual's right of choice? Will it destroy or promote incentive and enterprise?

In return for this paternal benevolence, he has been willing to trade measure after measure of his personal freedom. He has become willing to conform to the master plan to become a number in the computer of life. He has surrendered his freedom of choice to a dominating government which prescribes the exact method by which he may seek the type of welfare and happiness which that government feels is best for him. It is becoming the same sort of welfare and happiness that is available to everyone else—no more, no less.

The fiscal soundness of all government legislation is also of great importance to me. I have an old-fashioned idea that ultimately I must pay the piper—if not me, then my children or grandchildren. Sooner—or later, we seem to hope—there must be a day of reckoning. But, I find it very difficult to obtain readily understandable and comparable numerical fiscal data on which I can evaluate our fiscal progress or retrogression.

The bases for calculations of cost seem to shift. Valid comparisons of the recent past with what is planned for the future become a giant-sized computer project. Too often statistics are selected, arranged, and presented to support the program that is being promoted rather than to fully and accurately portray the facts. As Andrew Lang once said, "Statistics are used as a drunk uses a lamppost—for support rather than for illumination." In my opinion, our Government has an obligation to clearly and fairly present all pertinent fiscal facts. With all of the vast resources at its command, it seems to me that much more effort could and should be made to fairly and fully present a simpler and more understandable delineation of the full costs of existing and projected programs, to the end that more people could understand and thereby be in a position to arrive at an intelligent evaluation.

A look at a summary of the most important Great Society legislation—legislation commendably directed primarily toward the development of human resources—may be of interest. A good résumé on this has been prepared by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce. The President's program in this area can probably only be accurately identified by him. However, the program generally encompasses new and expanded programs in the fields of health, welfare, education, and training. Peculiarly, spiritual education seems to be incompatible with Government educational activities. This is typified in one of our States where it is illegal to read the Bible in public schools, but the law requires the State to provide a Bible for every convict.

The attitude seems to be, "Don't worry, kids, if you can't read the Bible in school, you'll be able to do so in prison." Also included among the Great Society plans are programs for area and regional development, urban and community development, beautification of highways and creation of outdoor recreational areas.

Eighteen readily identifiable programs classes as: welfare purposes, education and training, health, community and regional development, and recreation and natural beauty cost over $3 billion in 1965; the same programs are estimated for 1966 at over $5 billion; in 1967—over $10 billion and in 1970—at over $21 billion. Are these significant expenditures in the inflationary pressures that are developing?

To the extent that the programs are morally right and fiscally sound, I can heartily endorse them. There is much good in these programs, but I am greatly disturbed at the ultimate in costs to the moral fiber of our people, as well as the costs in dollars to ourselves and our posterity. Taxes to support these programs will fall heavily on the average taxpayers—the first of America's natural resources to be exhausted.

There is also good reason to believe that the Federal Government, in many cases, is not the best unit to administer such programs. A unit of government closer to the situation to be remedied would seem to offer a more effective arrangement. I have heard of a law apropos to this situation—Hepplethwait's law of diminishing responsibility—the greater the distance between the man who spends the money and the man who pays the bill, the less the wisdom and efficiency with which the money will be spent. Example: Can you visualize your local citizens paying from your local city budget, $6,000 per year for each high school dropout, for special training? The Job Corps is doing it.

Recently, I heard Thayne Robson, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Manpower, discuss some of the educational programs of the Great Society. Some of these programs, designed as they are to the development of human resources, have commendable goals. One of the problems in these programs is that of the dropouts.

Mr. Robson says such dropouts should receive remedial education and should receive incentives to further their education—a specific incentive he suggested is to pay such students to stay in school. Is this really an incentive to learn? What is the probable effect of such a step on the development of self-reliance and independence? I can only believe that the results would be moral deterioration and decay. I would prefer to place my bets on more constructive programs such as junior achievement—a "learn and earn by doing" program, where the incentive is an independently achieved profit in a competitive system of free enterprise. Junior achievement is not a tax-supported program.

When Government programs operate with the dole incentive that Mr. Robson suggests, I am concerned—not only about the high dollar cost involved, but more importantly, the insidious and spreading moral deterioration that will sap our national will to accomplish—to progress. Are we on the way to becoming a decadent society and backward nation? I hope not.

In addition to the moral and dollar costs of the Great Society programs, I think many Kansans are concerned about tax increases, as well as possible controls on prices and wages. While some brakes on inflation are probably overdue, the methods being most prominently discussed leave much to be desired. The proposal of a tax increase to siphon away money from the marketplace is not appealing. Nor does turning off the lights in the White House or telling housewives that they need to be more price-consciousness in their shopping seem like adequate steps.

If the administration is truly sincere, it would seem that a realistic reappraisal of proposed expenditures for rent subsidies, some of the aids to education, foreign aid, Peace Corps, and various Great Society programs that have all of the earmarks of being noncritical, should be made. The Federal Government, as a major spender, is in a better position to curtail those transactions that are preponderantly contributory to inflation, than any other unit in our economy. This comment is not intended to suggest curtailment of necessary and legitimate war costs—but neither should the war costs be permitted to be used as a mask or cover for any inflationary fiscal chaos that improvident Federal extravagance may be creating. A remark attributed to a legislator, probably facetiously, is, "We have a sacred commitment to make all the people of Vietnam happy—and some day we hope to be able to do the same for all Americans." Tax increases, or controls on the economy, in my opinion, are not in order until other more obvious and more sound approaches to this problem have been exhausted.

The proposed Federal invasion of the field of unemployment compensation would be a further serious encroachment into an area that is better handled on a State basis. The State is closer to the problems and in this way, the remedy provided by the State would be much more likely to be better suited to the need.

The Vietnam matter is of greatest and grave concern to Kansas and probably is presently the matter most frequently discussed among our citizens. In my opinion, it is not particularly constructive to argue about whether we belong there with our military forces. Thousands upon thousands of words released to the press by administration and executive people of our Government, purport to explain the situation and justify our activities. It may be that in the words of Shakespeare, "My lady doth protest too much." In any case, I'm confused on the background—but our forces are in Vietnam and we must deal as best we can with the situation as it now exists.

To form an opinion as to the best future course to pursue, I would like to have greater confidence than I now do, that I possess all of the facts on which a reasoned and intelligent opinion could be formed. I am not confident, nor are many others, that we are getting completely frank and factual data in respect to the Vietnam matter. A withholding of information for purposes of military security is understandable; a withholding of facts for selfish political gain would be unforgivable.

It is my belief that draft card burnings and other equally bad demonstrations by various groups are attributable in part to a belief that our Vietnam problems have not been fully and candidly presented. However, when the resolution of the problem is predicated on a military conflict with lives of our young people at stake, I can see no alternative to doing all things within our power to bring about the earliest possible victory and a termination to the tragic loss of our American boys.

The bill to provide minimum wage increases and extension of job coverage is of considerable interest. It has the disadvantage of reducing job opportunities and contributing further to inflationary pressures. It is reasonable to expect that the education and training programs now in effect should be given more time, to develop workers for job opportunities paying above the present minimum scale. This could provide a much more sound and less costly program.

The proposed legislation to provide coordination of taxation by States, of businesses operating across State borders, could be a healthy law. Confusion exists as to jurisdictions that may impose certain taxes. Clarification would be helpful.

The Hart packaging bill which would provide for further regulation on the packaging and labeling of foods, drugs and many consumer items, seems to be highly unnecessary and is an undue restraint on proper business practices. Both FTC and FDA have authority in this field and neither appears to have fully exercised the power they already possess. Are we immaturely impatient again?

The increasing rate of social security tax is quite disturbing. The percentage of 4.2 based on wages and paid by employer and employee is, comparatively speaking, not yet a major burden, but specters of the past cause apprehensions. The sharp upward trend is ominous. The income tax started out about 50 years ago at a rate of less than 1 percent and look where it is now.

These legislative matters that I have mentioned, almost all of which would contribute to the cost of doing business; many of the Great Society programs with their staggering costs, overlapping services and encouragement of a do-nothing attitude, together with a destruction of the will to try; the voluminous bureaucratic government regulations that we decry so frequently; can it be that these programs meet the simple and fundamental tests of good government—(1) Is it morally right? (2) Is it fiscally sound?

How did all this come about? Who did this? Who is responsible?

It is appropriate that these questions be asked. The answer usually comes back—"Those people in Washington"; "The Government"; "The administration." And, just who are "those people in Washington" and who is "the Government" and "the administration"?

The people comprising these groups are those who have been elected by our voting citizens to carry out the voters' wishes. Our voters elect the executives and the legislators; they frame and pass legislation which creates the laws and the bureaus that do these things I've been talking about.

If we do not like the way things in Washington are being done, the ballot box or voting booth offers an opportunity for any kind of a change that we, as voters, are determined to bring about. Government will conform to the will of the active electorate. Evaluate issues and candidates, then activate yourself and others to support those people in government that you believe are good—and with equal vigor, oppose those that you believe do not merit the office which they seek. If you want a particular result with sufficient desire, you will be willing to work hard enough for it to obtain it.

You as an individual need to act—after carefully weighing the merits of issues and candidates. This begins with a do-it-yourself program. Evaluate, then activate. "ETA": This set of letters is frequently used by aircraft pilots to stand for estimated time of arrival at a selected destination. They go through the process of evaluating the factors that bear on speed, select their destination and then activate their flight by taking off—and by this process they reach their objective in accordance with plan. It works with political objectives too. Evaluate the factors that bear on the progress that you think should be made; then activate yourself on a program that will involve others as well as yourself. "ETA": Evaluate, then activate.

Successful programs start with an individual. If you feel that improvements should be made—say so—and do something about it. Your candidate or your legislator is anxious to have your views. In my opinion, no voice is too small to be heard—but it is possible to make a much greater impression if your voice is raised in unison with others who think as you do.

Recall, if you will, a sunny fall afternoon when you were in school and you sat with schoolmates watching your football team making a great effort to win a hard-fought game. You wanted to add to the desire of the team to win by shouting words of encouragement—so you yelled appropriate words or phases. If you were lucky enough to be seated close to the field and you chose a moment when there was a lull in the noise of the crowd, your words may have gotten through to the team. If they did, you know they helped provide incentive and were appreciated. But if you wanted to be sure the team really got the message, you had a cheerleader who guided the timing and the vocal expressions. All the homefolks yelled the same words at the same time—a yell in unison. Your home team got the inspirational message. And, if the homefolks happen to be business-minded citizens and the cheerleader a Chamber of Commerce, you may be assured that your team of legislators will get an inspirational and effective message on public needs, from the business point of view.

The profit-minded business point of view is probably the most important single factor in government that bears on the growing area of financial assistance for the relief of social problems. Without the profits from business, there would be no funds to support Government social programs. Our Government does not earn money; it must look to business owners and workers alike—for money to support the varied and many activities that our citizens think are essential. It would be ironical indeed if funds secured by government from taxes on business, were used for social and educational programs which inadvertently or otherwise deteriorated and undermined the will of our people: to be self-sufficient—to produce fruits of their labors—to have a high sense of pride in individual accomplishment—to earn and retain profits; to an extent that would destroy the very system which made the social and educational programs possible in the first place.

It is foolhardy and dangerous to think that we can legislate or subsidize people into being better than they really want to be. Money alone will not create a desire to learn—nor will it build a truly greater society. It will all too frequently place people in unstable levels from which they will topple with bitterness as soon as the supporting monetary props are removed—as surely they must ultimately be. The answer to the question, "How good do you really want to be?"—will not be materially altered by any number of dollars that I can visualize.

I think we are singularly blessed in this country of ours, in having a great number of people believe that individual endeavor is essential for progress; that the profit system is the greatest economic system yet devised; that independence and freedom of choice in one's endeavors are basic rights and are essential to the development of a strong, self-reliant society.

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1967

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

(Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee asked and was given permission to extend his reremarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support, particularly of that section of H.R. 14921, that provides $3,707,000 for construction of a Federal office building at Oak Ridge, Tenn. For a long number of years requests have been made for the construction of such a facility, however, for some reason the requests were declined.

The Oak Ridge facility was constructed during World War II and its place in history is well known by all of you. Oak Ridge, however is just as important today as it was during World War I or II. The Federal employees at Oak Ridge have been housed since the beginning in old barrack-type buildings which are run down and obsolete.

I have discussed this request with many of you individually and I strongly urge all of my colleagues to vote for its approval today.

Foreign Pig Iron Flows Into United States at Record Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, representing an area in which there is a heavy concentration of industry, I am concerned over the problem of foreign imports which damage our industries by selling at lower prices on the American market and adding to our employment problem.

Early in this Congress, along with many other Members, I introduced legislation to amend the Antidumping Act of 1921, aimed at clarifying standards, plugging loopholes, and improving procedures in the administration of this act. There is little doubt that this 45-year-old law needs to be updated. This proposed amendment is consistent with the objective of the Antidumping Act which is to prevent foreign imports sold in American markets, at prices below those charged by the producer in the exporting country, from injuring domestic industries.

There is no question that such dumping of foreign goods in recent years has affected profits, caused loss of jobs, and has hurt our balance of payments.

The proposed amendment to the Antidumping Act is urgently needed to curb the growth of injurious dumping.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the April issue of Steel Facts, entitled "Foreign Pig Iron Flows Into United States at Record Rate." I also include two other items on foreign pig iron imports which appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, April 27, 1966, in American Metal Market, dated May 4, 1966.

[From Steel Facts, April 1966]

FOREIGN PIG IRON FLOWS INTO UNITED STATES AT RECORD RATE

Foreign producers are taking a steadily increasing share of the domestic market in merchant pig iron, which is remelted by foundrymen into innumerable products ranging from toys to machinery parts and cast iron cylinder heads.

Statistics just reported by American Iron and Steel Institute show that in 1965 foreign countries shipped into the United States a record 862,000 net tons of merchant pig iron, a 20 percent rise of 145,610 tons in 1 year and an increase of more than 170 percent over the 326,701 tons imported in 1956.

During that 10-year period, domestic shipments by U.S. merchant pig iron producers declined 51 percent from 7,893,335 net tons to 3,892,815 net tons.

HIGHER PERCENT OF CONSUMPTION

Last year's influx of foreign pig iron was equivalent to 18.6 percent of this country's apparent consumption of merchant pig iron, highest ratio in recent history. Ten years ago, the import percentage was 4.1 percent.

East Germany and Russia were prominent among shippers of pig iron to the United States last year. East Germany sent over 82,000 tons and ranked second to Canada, which shipped 485,000 tons to the United States. From Russia came 34,188 tons.

Brazil was the third ranking supplier, sending 73,500 tons to this country. Other foreign sources of pig iron included: Finland, 66,420 tons; Western Germany, 64,200 tons; Spain, 42,000 tons; Republic of South Africa, 12,900 tons and Sweden, 11,200 tons. From the United Kingdom came 6,595 tons, Belgium-Luxembourg, 2,065 tons, Norway over 650 tons and Australia, 800 tons. Italy sent 68 tons.

Although Japan, India, the Netherlands, Rhodesia shipped tonnages to this country at times during the past decade, they were not listed in the lineup for 1965.

Sixty percent of last year's record imports arrived at Canadian border and inland ports of entry. Twenty-two percent landed on the Atlantic coast; 17 percent on the gulf coast and 1 percent on the west coast.

This country's exports aggregated only 28,225 tons in 1965, including 21,871 tons sent to Pakistan under our Government's foreign aid program. To Canada went 1,717 tons, to Vietnam 1,939, to Mexico, 1,398 tons and to India 426 tons. Back in 1956 exports totaled over 267,000 tons. During 1964 they exceeded 176,000 tons.

The iron purchased by foundrymen is in solid form, in shapes known as "pigs." (Iron to be used for steelmaking in integrated plants is usually not solid; it is commonly transported in the molten state directly from the blast furnaces to steelmaking departments.)

Merchant pig iron is not included in the steel mill products import total, which reached a record level of 10.4 million net tons last year. The latter includes steel produced in the rolled or drawn form, but does not include fabricated structural steel shapes, sash and frames, fence posts, wire rope, welded wire mesh, cotton ties, grinding balls, etc.

OTHER PRODUCTS EXCLUDED

Apart from the steel mill products total are imports of cast iron soil pipe, cast iron pipe and fittings, and malleable cast iron pipe fittings, totaling over 32,000 tons, as well as nearly 13,000 tons of castings and forgings and nearly 32,000 tons of sponge iron.

Also excluded from the steel mill product total are imported bolts, nuts and rivets, which amounted to over 123,000 tons last year.

Nor does the steel mill products import total include ferromanganese, ferrochromium and other ferroalloys. Still another item excluded from the steel mill products figure is iron and steel scrap imports, which totaled 212,474 tons during 1965.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Apr. 27, 1966]

"STREAM OF FOREIGN PIG IRON TO HURT UNITED STATES," EXECUTIVE SAYS—PRESIDENT MACDONALD OF HANNA FURNACE ASSERTS IMPORTS WILL DENT WAGES HERE

(By Bob Watson)

U.S. labor—much of it in the Buffalo area—will be deprived of about $1 million in wages as a result of foreign iron coming into Buffalo from Europe during the next several weeks, President A. John Macdonald of Buffalo's Hanna Furnace Corp. charged today.

Mr. Macdonald attacked "inequities" in tariffs which help make it possible for European iron producers to take business away from domestic producers of pig iron.

The Buffalo Evening News, Tuesday, disclosed that 14,000 tons of pig iron from

Europe will start coming into Buffalo via the seaway this week and will continue coming until midsummer.

Mr. Macdonald said this much pig iron is equivalent to a month's production from one of the blast furnaces in Hanna's plant on Fuhrmann Boulevard.

EXPORTS CLOSED TO UNITED STATES

Mr. Macdonald said it can be presumed that the foreign iron coming into Buffalo is from Germany. Basic iron prices in Germany, he added, are about the same as in the United States but iron from abroad is "dumped" in this country at $7 to $15 a ton under U.S. prices.

"This iron comes into the United States paying a duty of 20 cents a gross ton," said Mr. Macdonald. "If we were to ship iron to the Common Market countries, we would pay a duty of about $7 a gross ton for foreign entry, so the foreign trade we once enjoyed has been closed to us."

SHIPMENTS REDUCED

Mr. Macdonald said his latest price quotations from Germany show a discount for other European Common Market countries if they agree not to purchase iron outside the Common Market area. This further handicaps U.S. exports, he added.

He said the 14,000 tons of foreign iron coming into the Port of Buffalo represents a loss of 220,000 man-hours of work for men working in U.S. ore and coal mines in plants with coke ovens and blast furnaces "and a loss of wages of about $1 million."

Mr. Macdonald said that domestic merchant-iron shipments 10 years ago were nearly 8 million tons but last year were less than 4 million tons.

"When the demand again reaches the 8-million-ton figure, there will not be the capacity to make it because of the erosion of the merchant iron industry," he continued.

"It cannot be in the national interest to let the present differences in tariffs prevail and allow a vital basic industry to retrogress."

[From American Metal Market, May 4, 1966]

FOREIGN PIG IRON SEEN HURTING U.S. LABOR

BUFFALO, N.Y.—Foreign pig iron coming into Buffalo from Europe will hurt U.S. labor, says A. John Macdonald, president of Hanna Furnace Corp. here.

Mr. Macdonald attacked inequities in tariffs which help make it possible for European iron producers to take business away from domestic producers of pig iron.

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LOSS OF MAN-HOURS

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"It cannot be in the national interest to let the present differences in tariffs prevail and allow a vital basic industry to retrogress."

Tribute to Rumanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to join with my colleagues in commemoration of Rumanian Independence Day. On May 10, 1877, the Rumanians gladly proclaimed their independence from the Turks and prepared for an era of progress and freedom. In 1878, Rumanian sovereignty was recognized in the Treaty of Berlin.

Today, however, we experience both happiness and sorrow when we look back upon the history of Rumania—happiness for the years when Rumanians stood proudly in the ranks of free peoples, and sorrow for the fate which befell the beautiful land after World War II. For the past two decades Rumania has suffered under the hideous shadow of the Russian hammer and sickle, a symbol of slavery and oppression.

During the years following the war the Soviet Union engulfed Rumania and established the hated Communist rule in the little land. The servitude to Russia has been a terrible one. In 1945, for example, Stalin established SovRom joint stock companies, which exploited almost every facet of the Rumanian economy, denuding the forests, siphoning off the valuable oil and gas, and plundering the mining, transport, and shipbuilding industries. Not until the mid-1950's were the Rumanians at last able to buy off the last SovRoms.

Russian rule meant an era of terrible oppression for most of the 18 million Rumanians, characterized by concentration camps, unceasing propaganda, collectivization of farms, isolation from the West, poor wages, miserable clothes, food shortages, Government control of the arts, and the ever-present militia and secret police.

In the past few years, however, certain signs indicate that Rumania is drawing away somewhat from the Soviet Union. Trade with the West is increasing. Six years ago, half of Rumania's trade was with the Soviet Union. Today the figure has dropped to 40 percent. Overall trade with the Communist countries dropped from 70 percent of the total in 1960 to 62 percent in 1965, and is still decreasing. Rumania has insisted upon a separate economic future quite apart from the rigid plan for her set up by Moscow, which would have permanently relegated Rumania to the status of a vegetable garden and a source of oil.

Rumania has capitalized upon the Sino-Soviet split to gain flexibility in her foreign policy. Initially she declined to line up with Moscow against Peking. In 1963 Rumanian representatives in the United Nations refused to follow the Russian line on several occasions. That same year saw exchange of high-level officials with Western governments and a rapid upsurge of cultural exchanges with the West.

Compulsory study of the Russian language has been abolished. Western films and music have largely replaced Soviet output. Gone are many of the Russian spellings of the names of streets, movie theaters, political magazines, and cultural institutions.

Although the signs are hopeful, we must never be deluded into thinking that Rumania is free. She is still governed by Communists, and her people are deprived of individual freedom. Yet Rumanians continue to long for the day when their dreams of freedom will become reality. On this, their independence day, the people of the free world pay tribute to the courage of Rumanians and send warmest greetings and best wishes to them. Congratulations to a great people.

The 90th Birthday of Eli Lilly & Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on May 10, 1966, the world-famous and widely respected drug firm of Eli Lilly & Co., which has its home offices in Indianapolis, Ind., marked its 90th birthday.

I believe the following editorial from the Indianapolis Star is a deserved and fitting tribute to the great accomplishments of this company:

A SALUTE TO LILLY

The research scientists, the executives, marketing experts, and skilled employees of Eli Lilly & Co. would be the last to call themselves miracle workers, and yet the phrase applies to the things they do.

This firm, truly an aristocrat among the businesses of Indianapolis and the Nation, marks its 90th birthday today, ending a year of solid accomplishments and starting one that is certain to bring more. Its sales and earnings have been the highest in the company history, exceeding the $300 million mark for the first time. It has built new plants and facilities and branches in Lafayette, Puerto Rico, Taiwan, and Japan and is constructing new research facilities near London, England.

These will increase the production of Lilly plants all over the world which now employ more than 15,000 persons.

The firm is marketing a new antibiotic, an oral treatment for diabetes, new herbicides and an oral contraceptive that could become an important factor in helping stem the population explosion in underdeveloped countries.

Lilly products number in the thousands. The stories behind the development and discovery of many of them are among the most exciting, dramatic, and significant in the history of medicine. There is no way of calculating the number of lives they have saved and the number of individuals they have spared from the twilight-life of ill health once thought incurable, and from suffering pain.

To these accomplishments must be added the strides that Lilly research and manufacture have taken in producing healthier livestock and improved output of agricultural crops, which have increased the health and strength of the American people and millions of people overseas.

Eli Lilly & Co. is certain to blaze new trails and reach new horizons this year and in years to come.

Today we salute this great company and the fine men and women who have made and are making it what it is.

Fino Introduces Legislaton To Help Homebuyers and Tenants by Curbing Land Speculators and Slumlords

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing an antislumlord and antiland speculator tax bill designed to aid the Nation's housing crisis by undercutting the profitability of slums and land speculation.

Succinctly, the provisions of my bill are as follows: Land speculation would be curbed by ending the capital gains treatment given to profits realized on unimproved land—most improved land is not now eligible for capital gains treatment as regards profits realized on the sale thereof. Taxpayers would face a ceiling on tax deductions for real property taxes paid on unimproved land. Slumlords would be denied deductions for real property taxes paid on buildings certified as "unsafe" by local housing authorities and slumlords would be additionally denied depreciation on buildings so certified.

Recently, I read several articles, in labor and architectural journals, about the effect that our tax laws were having on land costs and slum preservation. I decided to do something about this shocking state of affairs, and today I am introducing legislation to end certain abuses.

Capital gains taxation of undeveloped land sales profits is one key abuse. It works this way. Provided an owner does nothing to develop his property, he will pay very slight taxes on the profit he makes when he sells that property. He pays at capital gains rates, which are well below the rate at which the average prosperous taxpayer is taxed on his income. This makes it very profitable for speculators to hold land and sell it when demand has soared. This increases the pressure on land around our cities, forcing up land prices. This in turn forces up the cost of housing. What this means is simple—the home-buying public is paying, through increased housing costs, for the profits of a few land speculators. If we make profits on the sale of undeveloped land taxable at the same—noncapital gains but rather ordinary income—rate that other income is taxable at, we will take the profit out of land speculation, ease the pressure on land prices and reduce costs that will otherwise confront future home buyers.

As a corollary to the above, my bill proposes a ceiling on Federal income tax deductions for local property taxes paid on unimproved land. This would have a minimal impact of the "little fellow" who owns a plot of land somewhere, however, because under my bill, local taxes paid on unimproved land would be nondeductible only in excess of $200.

I believe that the two parts of my bill thus far described would diminish the profits of land speculation to the point where this profit potential would cease to exert its present upward influence on land costs and costs confronting the homebuyer. I think that my legislation would be a boon to the construction industry and to homebuyers, however much it might be regretted by speculators.

My bill would also strike at the heart of slumlord's profits. It would do this by two provisions, one denying slumlords Federal income tax deductions for local real property taxes paid on properties certified unsafe by local housing authorities, and the other denying depreciation deducions to taxpayers in connection with properties so certified by local authorities. If slums no longer qualify for Federal income tax deductions for local real estate taxes or so-called depreciation, they become less valuable as investments. The same deterioration that slumlords like because it reduces their assessable value locally will push them past a line that will deny them more than they will save by their avarice. That is the objective of my bill.

As far as I am concerned, this is a much needed bill. It will do a lot for our Nation's housing supply. It will open up new land to private homebuilders in our suburbs and outlying areas, and it will reduce land pressures of future years. At the same time, it should contribute to a revitalization of our downtown cities by striking at the heart of the slum preservation mechanism. Under the tough provisions of my bill, I would think that slumlords would either shape up or get out of business.

This bill is a bill that strikes at metropolitan housing shortcomings through rough treatment of society's troublemakers rather than the pampering of selective poor as embodied in the rent supplement philosophy. The bill does not spend money to disperse Federal control over a metropolitan area. If anything, the tax changes I propose would bring in money to fund additional housing programs, and no aspect of my bill in any way pulls power into the hands of the Federal Government and out of the hands of the States.

My bill probably treads on some vested interests. One of the vested interests it treads on is the idea that the answer to every problem confronting our Nation is a slapdash dose of Federal money poured in to pave the way for Federal control.

My bill would hurt slumlords and speculators. It would help tenants, homebuyers, and taxpayers. It costs no money and it does nothing for the bureaucracy. I urge its passage.

Military Pants Shortage Bared

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, today I call special attention to the shortage of clothes for our military, as disclosed by the House Appropriations Committee. Jack Steele of the Scripps-Howard newspapers has written an excellent column on this subject, as follows:

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel, May 6, 1966]

MILITARY PANTS SHORTAGE BARED

(By Jack Steele)

WASHINGTON.—The House Appropriations Committee unveiled today the big "pants shortage" in the Marine Corps and hung the blame for it directly on Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

The committee revealed that the Marine Corps has serious shortages of khaki pants, shirts, overcoats, raincoats and many other clothing items and that the Army is equally short of fatigue pants and shirts.

Defense Department officials insisting these clothing shortages haven't hampered combat troops in Vietnam, reluctantly admitted that they would not be fully rectified until mid-1967.

TAKE A RIBBING

Members of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, at closed-door hearings held in February and made public today, absolved the Marine Corps of blame for the clothing shortage.

But they gave Defense officials an unmerciful ribbing for the pants shortage.

Representative WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, Republican, of Ohio, told them: "We are going to have a pretty peculiar military running aroundl without any pants."

Representative DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, suggested that Marine recuits, who now are issued a single pair of khaki pants instead of the usual three, should be given this order to start their military careers: "Don't fall down and tear your pants."

MARINES LOOKED AHEAD

The committee pinned full responsibility for the shortage on McNamara's office.

Gen. Wallace M. Greene, Jr., Marine Corps Commandant, said he had ordered more uniforms for the Marines in 1963, 1964, and 1965 to insure adequate stocks for the Vietnam buildup.

Vice Adm. J. J. Sikes, Director of the Defense Supply Agency, said his Agency had adequate stock funds to procure the clothing.

But, he testified, McNamara's office refused to approve spending the funds.

ADMITS MISTAKE

Assistant Defense Secretary Paul R. Ignatius finally admitted this was so—after first insisting that current clothing supplies were adequate for all vital military needs.

He explained that top Defense Department officials had met in December 1964—when the Vietnam buildup was imminent—and decided that the requests of the Marine Corps and other services for more uniforms were inflated and unnecessary.

FLOOD greeted his explanation with this sally:

"The senior patrol leader in my church Boy Scout troop in December 1964, could look forward to escalation in Vietnam."

General Greene told the committee that as a result of the shortages Marine recruits and Reserve have been getting only a half bag of clothing.

DEPENDS ON FUNDS

He said the shortages include cotton khaki pants and shirts, tropical uniforms, green fatigues, utility uniforms, overcoats, and raincoats.

Asked when the Marine Corps could start issuing full clothing bags, Greene said this depends on when DSA can supply them.

Ignatius testified that the Defense Department will spend $1,500 million this year and next to alleviate the clothing shortages and replenish depleted stocks.

He noted that some textile and clothing mills have shifted from civilian to military production to meet the crisis.

Ignatius said most of the clothing shortages will be solved by summer or fall, but other Defense officials testified that stocks will not be fully replenished until June 1967.

Statement of Oregon Beef Council and the Oregon Cattlemen's Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AL ULLMAN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is distressing to those of us who have been working for years to bring farm income up to levels commensurate with other segments of the economy to find that legitimate adjustments in food prices are being condemned as inflationary. The burden of the cost-price squeeze cannot be borne by the agricultural economy of the Nation indefinitely, and it is intolerable that the people who are providing this Nation with the best and most abundant food supply in the world should be subjectd to criticism for price increases that reflect only a change in the supply and demand situation. The American people pay a smaller percentage of their income for food than any other nation in the world.

I recommend the following statement of the Oregon Beef Council and the Oregon Cattlemen's Association expressing their views on this subject:

STATEMENTS FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF OREGON BEEF COUNCIL AND OREGON CATTLEMEN'S ASSOCIATION, BEFORE THE COMBINED MEETING OF THE PENDLETON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND PENDLETON LIONS CLUB, PENDLETON, OREG., APRIL 28, 1966

(Presented by: Larry Williams, president, Oregon Cattlemen's Association; Jim Brooks, vice chairman, Oregon Beef Council; Donald Ostensoe, master of ceremonies)

The American public is being deceived by statements and press releases implying that food prices are skyrocketing the cost-of-living index and that farmers are getting rich at the expense of the city dweller, two leaders of Oregon's beef industry charged here.

The truth is Americans are spending less of their disposable income than ever on food while the farmer continues as low man on the income totem pole, the two declared.

Speaking before the combined meeting of the Pendleton Chamber of Commerce and the Pendleton Lions Club with a total attendance of more than 300 at the Pendleton Armory were Larry Williams, Canyon City, president of the Oregon Cattlemen's Association; Jim Brooks, Madras, vice chairman of the Oregon Beef Council; Vi Gouldin, Klamath Falls, national Cowbelle president; Donald Ostensoe, Portland, master of ceremonies. The speakers were in Pendleton to help kick off a citywide beef promotion program centered around the theme "Beef-O-Rama." Previous to the introduction of the speakers, Pendleton's Mayor Young proclaimed the week of April 25, as Pendleton Beef-O-Rama days.

Among the points made by the two speakers:

Families in America today spend less than one-fifth of their income on food while in countries abroad the percentage may run as high as 50 percent or more. Recent figures show Italians spend 38 percent, Peruvians 56 percent, and Russians 56 percent.

In 1950 American families were spending about 25 percent of their after-tax income on food. By 1960 this was down to 20 percent. Last year, according to U.S. Department of Agriculture figures, this was down to an alltime low of 18.5 percent and the USDA predicts it will drop to 17 percent by 1970 and to 15 or 16 percent by 1975.

At the same time "Americans are eating higher on the hog," the beef leaders declared, pointing out that during the period the percentage of income spent on food was decreasing, Americans were rapidly increasing their intake of red meat, especially beef.

In 1930 the per capita consumption of beef was slightly less than 50 pounds whereas in 1965 it was 99 pounds, and it was better beef, they insisted. In Oregon the per capita consumption of 108 pounds is well ahead of the national average.

A study published last month by USDA showed that food costs have risen less since 1947–49 than most other consumer items in the cost-of-living index. Food was up 28 percent while the average of all items was up 35 percent. In the same period rent soared by 50 percent and the cost of medical care skyrocketed by 77 percent.

USDA also reported these comparisons: An hour's factory work in 1935 would buy 1.5 pounds of round steak, 1.3 pounds of bacon, 4.6 quarts of milk, or 1.7 dozen oranges. In 1965, however, an hour's work would buy 2.4 pounds of round steak, 3.2 pounds of bacon, 10 quarts of milk or 3.4 dozen oranges.

The only one who is not getting more for his labor is the American farmer, they maintained, citing USDA figures that the farmer receives 7 percent less for the farm food market basket than he did in the 1947–49 period.

They noted that while the average retail price for all cuts of beef last year was 81.7 cents per pound, the producer received an average of 24.8 cents per pound. In the 18 years preceding 1965 producers have received prices higher than 24.8 cents during 9 of the years and prices lower than that during the other 9 of those years.

They pointed out that the beef producer today is receiving less for his meat than he has in 9 of the last 19 years whereas the cost of the things he buys have continued to climb rapidly.

Only through constant effort to improve efficiency have many producers been able to stay afloat, noting that the average return for beef producers in recent years has been less than 2 percent on their investment.

Cattle raising is important in most States and in 29 States there are more than 1 million beef cattle. Oregon's beef cattle population in 1966 is 1.2 million.

The beef cattle industry represents the largest single segment of the agricultural economy of the Nation. The value of the Nation's basic inventory for 1966 of more than 106 million head is estimated at $14 billion with annual sales estimated at nearly $9 billion.

For the past several years sales of cattle and claves for beef and veal have been greater than the combined sales of all corn, cotton, wheat, rice tobacco and peanuts. Or more total dollars than the combined sales of all hogs, sheep, wool, lamb, and all poultry and eggs.

While big business at the farm-ranch level, the product of cattle and calves—beef—also represents the largest single element in the consumer's food budget. Hence stability in prices at the farm or ranch level, contributes to the stability at the retail level for beef. Conversely, anything upsetting the stability at the retail level has a marked effect upon the price of cattle because of the increasing "markup" attributable to labor, overhead, and other costs of distribution and retailing, over which the rancher or farmer has absolutely no control.

The speakers denounced the action of Secretary of Commerce Connor in clamping tight export quotas on cattle hides, an action which they said will cost the beef producers of Oregon $1 million due to the lower domestic price for hides. They said the action had been taken supposedly to help shoe manufacturers who had threatened that shoe prices might have to go up as much as 8 percent if the expanding export trade were not curtailed—an export trade which the administration had pushed avidly in 1963–64. Then the shoe manufacturers went ahead and announced that shoe prices were going up anyway. Meanwhile the cattle, packing and hide industries were saddled with a market depressant and hard-won export markets have been endangered.

They also found particularly distressing President Johnson's appearance on television earlier this year, widely quoted on front pages and on radio in which the President urged homemakers to shift their buying from "high-priced meat to other foods or lower cost cuts."

The administration ordered the Defense Department to purchase foreign beef for all members of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe rather than to use beef grown in this country. This comes to a total of one-quarter million pounds of beef per day. Again, this cuts into this countries cattle producer's pocket.

U.S. Department of Agriculture figures released just last week indicate that there were 14 percent more beef cattle on feed as of April 1, 1966, than there were for the same corresponding period a year ago. This too, means a reduction in retail beef prices to the consumer and a reduction in sale price to the cattle producer.

GRAPHS SHOWN

The speakers used several graphs to illustrate their remarks.

Graph A showed the average retail prices per pound for all beef in the United States from 1946 through 1965 compared with slaughter steer prices (the amount received by the producer). Noting that market stability is the key to the health of the domestic livestock industry, they pointed to the remarkable stability of the market over the last 12 years during which the retail price for a pound of beef has varied no more than 16 cents. During the same period the price paid to the producer has varied less than 5 cents per pound. The graph also shows that in 11 of the past 20 years farmers received more per pound for their beef cattle than they did in 1965.

Graph B showed the upward trend in per capita beef consumption in the United States since 1946, from a low of 57.2 pounds in 1951 to nearly 100 pounds in 1965.

Graph C, a graph of the wholesale price index based on U.S. Department of Commerce figures, showed the long trend of the Nation's inflation and how the beef industry's price picture has failed to keep pace with the records set by other nonagricultural goods and services.

Graph D, prepared by the American National Cattlemen's Association showed the beef cattle prices received by the producer as a percent of parity (parity being, roughly, a price level farmers and ranchers would have had to receive if their purchasing power was to keep pace with increases in the goods and services which they need for production and a modest living standard). The latest USDA figures indicate that in February, 1966 (the month Agricultural Secretary Freeman claims livestock prices "peaked") beef cattle prices reached only 84 percent of parity. It is significant that in 15 of the past 20 years this indicator was higher than for 1965—and that 11 were higher for the year than the level reached at the recent so-called peak in February—and that 1948's percentage figure is almost twice that for February 1966.

These same beef leaders will present similar talks on the beef industry within the next month in the following cities: Baker, Ontario, Lakeview, Klamath Falls, Medford, and Portland. The prime purpose for these talks, they explained, is to inform Oregon's businessmen and consumers on the true picture of beef prices and the importance of Oregon's beef industry to the economy of this State.

Col. Lee B. Harr and Memorial Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, in my district, we will celebrate a double observance on Memorial Day—the traditional tribute to our war dead and the honoring of Col. Lee B. Harr, who is retiring after more than 30 years of beneficial service as director of the Veterans' Administration Center at Mountain Home, Tenn.

An editorial about the planned celebrations for this day appeared in the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, and I am inserting it at this point in the RECORD:

A DOUBLE PURPOSE

The Memorial Day observance at Veterans' Administration Center will serve a double purpose this year.

It will be, as always, a tribute to the dead of all wars—and a reminder to the living of the high cost of freedom.

It will be, in addition, an unspoken but deeply felt community testimonial to Col. Lee B. Harr for his more than 30 years of unflagging zeal and purposeful endeavor as Center director.

Colonel Harr, who will retire this summer, has given his utmost for the veteran.

He has also given his utmost for community and country.

Johnson City and upper east Tennessee—and indeed a broad section of the South and the Nation—can now give something to Colonel Harr. By coming in large numbers to the final Memorial Day observance over which he will preside, they can give him joy and gladness—and a wonderful assurance of the place he holds in their hearts.

We hope Memorial Day, 1966, will be the finest of all, and we believe it will be.

New York City Air Pollution Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York City, appointed a special task force to consider the problems of air pollution in the city and the surrounding area. This task force, under the able chairmanship of Norman Cousins, included the following members:

William Bernbach, advertising executive.

Ira R. Ehrlich, transportation research manager, Stevens Institute of Technology.

Robert A. Fox, Columbia Gas System.

Thomas J. Glennon, National Broadcasting Co. writer-reporter.

Meredith Gourdine, Livingston, N.J., systems engineer.

Robert B. Hudson, National Education Television program directer.

William Jovanovich, president of Harcourt, Brace & World.

Dr. Harry D. Kruse, executive secretary, New York Academy of Medicine.

Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University.

I am setting forth the highlights of their detailed report as taken from the summary in the New York Times of Tuesday, May 10, 1966.

I commend this report not only to my colleagues from the urban areas, but also to those from sections of the country where the air is still sweet and pure and where they will want to keep it that way:

HIGHLIGHTS FROM REPORT ON CITY AIR-POLLUTION PERIL

(NOTE.—Following are the sections of the report by Mayor Lindsay's task force on air pollution that give details of the sources and kinds of pollution with which New York City must cope, and the major elements of what the task force considers an effective remedial program:)

SOURCES OF THE POLLUTION

Where do the poisons and dirt in the air come from? They come from a variety of sources:

1. New York City's 11 municipal refuse-disposal stations. Forty-seven furnaces and smokestacks are involved, almost all of them operating with inferior smoke-and-gas-control equipment. These stations operate in almost constant violation of New York's own laws against air pollution.

2. New York City's housing authority projects. These projects operate 2,666 incinerators and 2,500 heating furnaces, most of them in need of effective pollution-control equipment.

3. Privately owned apartment houses and office buildings. They operate approximately 10,000 incinerators and 135,000 heating furnaces, all but a few of which are totally lacking in pollution-control equipment.

4. Approximately 600,000 private residences (single and double family dwellings). Most of them use fuel oil in their heating furnaces, operating at varying degrees of efficiency.

5. Consolidated Edison's 11 power-generating stations inside the city. Con Ed's 116 boilers and 49 smokestacks operate for the most part under inefficient conditions of pollution-control.

6. Approximately 8,500 industrial manufacturing establishments. Many of them produce noxious emissions.

7. Demolition and construction dust. Whether with respect to old buildings being torn down, or new buildings being put up, large quantities of dirt and dust are thrown into the air.

8. Ordinary street dirt. An incalculable quantity of dirt, trapped under parked cars, where sanitation trucks cannot get at it, is easily blown into the air.

9. Approximately 13,000 lunchrooms and restaurants. A large number of them emit smoke and odors at street level.

10. Approximately 1,500,000 automobiles, buses, and trucks. Practically all of these vehicles now operate without devises to control their noxious gases and particular matter. Many of these vehicles require normal engine exhaust repair. Friction of automobile tires produces rubber dust in the air. Brake linings contribute asbestos pollutants.

11. The emanations from approximately 400,000 takeoff or landing operations of jet aircraft at New York airports each year.

12. Approximately 25,000 steamship operations in the New York Harbor each year, apart from an indeterminate but substantial number of engine-run harbor craft. Many of the steamships lack pollution-control equipment; some blow their tubes under cover of darkness.

13. Pollution by air invasion. Dirty air drifts into New York from hundreds of miles away and especially from nearby New Jersey, with its relatively uncontrolled industrial complexes and incinerators.

KIND OF POLLUTANTS

What kind of dirt and poisons are produced by these pollution sources? Soot, flyash, sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, polynuclear, and olefinic hydrocarbons, and carbon monoxide are the main villains in the pollution assault on human health, on vegetation, on property, on aviation safety. This is the breakdown: (1) 230,000 tons a year of "particulate matter" (soot, flyash, etc), (2) 597,000 tons a year of sulfur dioxide, (3) 298,000 tons a year of the nitrogen oxides, (4) 567,000 tons a year of hydrocarbons, (5) 1,536,000 tons a year of carbon monoxide.

These are the major pollutants in the air environment, though not the only ones. Together, they produce in 1 year 730 pounds of pollution for each New Yorker. This means that the average New Yorker has to contend with more than five times his weight each year in noxious and abnoxious airborne materials.

MAJOR ELEMENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM

Here are the major elements, as the task force sees them, of a far-reaching and effective campaign against air pollution:

1. The main pressure and energy for control of air pollution has to come from an alert and enlightened public.

2. The fight against air pollution must be incorporated into a comprehensive plan and program for control of all environmental hazards. This program should be related to overall city planning, including urban renewal.

3. The city must begin by cleaning its own house. The city is a major offender and must obey its own laws.

4. The constant concern of the city must be for the health and welfare of its people.

5. Clean-air objectives should be carefully defined. These must be related to a regular, accurate supply of data on air quality, on movement of pollutants in the air, and on their effect on the environment.

6. The fight against air pollution must be comprehensive and must address itself both to control of fuels (input) and the control of smoke, dirt and poisons coming out of the stacks (output).

7. Effective enforcement requires scientific measurement of emissions and administrative penalties for violators.

8. A combination of tax incentives and vigorous enforcement can help to accelerate the development of a major industry in the field of pollution-control equipment.

9. Consolidated Edison should use cleaner fuels, institute major modernization of existing equipment and at the same time plan for power-generating facilities outside the city.

10. The use of fuel oil or coal for heating purposes—whether in private residences or apartment houses or power-generating stations or public buildings—must be carefully governed with respect to sulfur content.

11. The city must have a total plan for waste and garbage disposal that includes a ban on open burning of refuse materials and rigid control of all incinerator operations, public and private. The city must also consider possible alternatives to incineration.

12. The city can act to reduce pollution caused by gasoline and diesel engines, even though it has no licensing powers over automobiles in general.

13. New York City exists in a geographical complex of cities—some of which are outside New York State—and must therefore coordinate its efforts with State, regional, and Federal agencies. The city should seek its full share of Federal and State aid for combating air pollution.

14. The city must seek new, advanced approaches and techniques in the fight against air pollution.

Respect the Law—It Respects You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues John B. Walsh's editorial in the Buffalo Daily Law Journal, May 2, 1966, commemorating Law Day U.S.A.

Mr. Walsh, executive secretary of the Eire County Bar Association, brilliantly pinpoints many problems and illusions in law enforcement and protection today. Not only does he remind colleagues and citizens alike that law must first bring order in society before justice and liberty, but he also calls for meaningful reflection and meditation by the law profession as to their role and contributions in the past year.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert into the RECORD the full text of Mr. Walsh's provocative editorial for all to read in its entirety:

A LAW DAY USA EDITORIAL

(By John B. Walsh)

Today the legal community will formally celebrate Law Day USA. Parades, luncheons, and dinners will be held and awards and speeches will be given all over the Nation, calling attention to the blessings conferred upon the people of this Nation by our rule of law.

For us of the legal profession, however, this should be a time for something more than speechmaking and back patting. This should be a time for reflection about the rule of law and our own unique position in its administration.

The theme of Law Day this year is "Respect the Law—It Respects You." This theme and the events of the past year should certainly suggest to us three important areas of meditation.

PRIMARY PURPOSE OF LAW

First and foremost, it seems to me, we should reflect on the primary purpose of law. Contrary to many popular notions, the primary purpose of law is not justice, is not liberty, but order. For without order there can be no liberty, justice, or tranquility. There can only be chaos and tyranny where the biggest and strongest person uneasily exercises his will over all others until someone stronger and bigger than he deposes him.

This truth, of course, refutes the theory of those who preach that an individual may disobey those laws he feels are unjust since such a subjective test runs counter to the lawful order of society and leads to the consequences stated above.

The secondary purposes of law are justice and freedom. In order to sustain our ordered society, it is necessary that we work within its framework to produce the maximum amount of freedom and justice for each individual as reflected by the current needs and demands of society and commensurate with the like rights of his fellow citizens. It is, therefore, necessary that we reflect today on these current needs of society and if changes are needed to urge and lead the way to those changes through the procedures set up in our legal system rather than through alien procedures which will tend to break down our society and destroy our system of law and order.

IMPARTIALITY OF LAW

The second area for thought is the impartiality of the law. Is the law really impartial or is justice peeking out from behind her blindfold watching out for a favorite son? Does the law favor the rich, the poor, the criminal, the victim, labor or management, or is it really one law for all the people?

Ideally, of course, the law is impartial and everyone stands before it on equal footing. Substantively it approximates this ideal as best it can, given our knowledge and our period of history. But unfortunately many people do not believe this and this feeling that the law favors one group over another fosters a disrespect for the law. The poor in some areas who feel that the law is an instrument of the wealthy are going to disregard it in an attempted alleviation of their own problems. The rich who feel that the law is designed for the poor or the criminal are going to feel above it and try to evade its economic pressures on them. It is our task to find a way to articulate the image of the law so that all the people will understand that the law is their law for their equal protection and benefit and hence respect the law as their own.

PROCEDURAL ASPECT OF LAW

It would do well also to reflect on the procedural aspect of the law, for if the impartiality of the law breaks down anywhere it breaks down in the practical aspects of the enforcement of rights; for a right without a practical way to enforce it is a hollow right indeed.

In this regard we must see what can be done to make our legal procedures less costly in time and money so that all people, the rich with personal funds, the poor with public funds, the middle income families with limited funds and all with limited time, have rights that are more than mere words in a statute or opinion but alive and meaningful in a practical way.

It would be wise too, to reflect on procedures in criminal matters to contemplate whether procedural defects without substantive merit are swinging the pendulum away from the practical enforcement of law and order.

The third and final area of meditation with which we should concern ourselves today is a personal introspection of our own individual involvement and place in the administration of the law.

It is unfortunate but true that most individuals translate abstractions such as the law and religion into the concrete reality of the persons involved. Law is good or bad in direct proportion to the experience that they have had with individuals engaged in the field of law.

THE IMAGE OF A LAWYER

In the minds of the public it is not McKinney's Consolidated Laws or the New York State Reports that are the law but the police officer, the lawyer, the judge, the legislator, and the public official.

It is time then to reflect on how we have conducted ourselves in our profession this year. What kind of an impression did we leave with our clients and the public, collectively and individually? Did we conduct ourselves in such a way that we commanded their respect or did we fail in this? If we failed, can we wonder that there is disrespect of the law? For to gain respect we must conduct ourselves in such a way as to command respect.

Today, Law Day, is a day of meditation. If our thoughts and reflections disturb us because we have found that we have failed to communicate to the public the proper perspective of our rule of law or if we have found either the law or ourselves wanting, then our task does not end with today's meditation. We should instead commence a program of action for improvement in these areas throughout the coming years, so that each succeeding Law Day will find a greater respect for the law among our fellow citizens which, in turn, will produce a happier and more law-abiding community.

Advertising in Tax-Exempt Publications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, for 6 years, Internal Revenue Service and the Treasury Department have been considering the problem posed by the publication of over $100 million per year of advertising in the tax-exempt publications. On April 12, 1966, the Washington Post contained an article written by Morton Mintz of that paper in which he highlighted the anomalous situation which permits an advertisement to run in one publication without tax and the same advertisement to run in another publication with tax. This is a situation which requires correction. When Congress passed the unrelated business tax in 1950, it intended to prevent unfair competition from tax-exempt organizations.

I call upon Treasury and the Internal Revenue Service to issue the proposed regulation without delay. No doubt public hearings will be required before the regulation can go into effect. That will give all concerned ample opportunity to state their case. We ought not to have a tax system which applies unequally on advertising.

The article follows:

IRS WEIGHS 6-YEAR-OLD QUESTION: ISSUE OF TAX-EXEMPT PUBLICATIONS AD COMPETITION STILL UNRESOLVED

(By Morton Mintz)

"Piety," the U.S. Court of Claims once said in a tax-exemption case involving a religious publishing house, "is no defense to the assessments of the tax collector."

Piety may not be a defense, but bureaucratic delay can serve in its stead.

It is more than 6 years since a major tax-exemption question was forcefully raised before the Internal Revenue Service, and it is still kicking around.

The issue is the tax-free status of revenues from advertising in magazines and other periodicals that are published by exempt organizations and that compete with tax-paying publications.

GROSS $100 MILLION

The tax-free publications number about 700 and gross an estimated $100 million a year. They range from highly specialized trade publications to general and prestigious ones, including the National Geographic, Nation's Business, which is published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and Banking, put out by the American Bankers Association.

"Our tentative conclusions are still under active review," IRS Commissioner Sheldon Cohen said in response to a recent inquiry. The issue is "a most difficult one" to resolve.

On January 19, 1960, the issue was brought to the fore by the Associated Business Publications, an organization then representing 164 tax-paying publishing enterprises and now called the American Business Press, Inc.

In a legal brief to IRS, the group's Washington counsel, Robert A. Saltzstein, protested the booming competition of tax-exempt publications "which are also commercial enterprises."

MANY EXEMPT

Their sponsors are exempt because they are organized as trade or business leagues, or for scientific, educational, religious, labor, charitable or other public purposes.

The American Medical Association is one such exempt organization. Its 12 journals for physicians and its magazine for laymen compete with publications that have no exemption. The AMA Journal has competed so well that, in some years, it has carried more pages of advertising than any other national weeklies except the New Yorker and the Oil & Gas Journal.

In 1964, the AMA grossed $10.3 million—44.8 percent of its total income—from sale of advertising, $2.8 million from sale of subscriptions to nonmembers and $1 million from sale of mailing lists.

In October 1964, Bernard D. Hirsh, director of the law department of the AMA, said in a speech here that "there is educational value" in the drug advertisements published by medical society journals. This is true, he asserted, "when the doctor knows that such advertising must meet rigid standards of acceptability for publication."

Two recent episodes cast doubt on the "educational value" and "rigid standards" of ads in the AMA Journal.

In one case, Wallace Laboratories pleaded no contest to falsely advertising a prescription product, Pree MT, in the Journal. The firm was fined $2,000 in Federal court in Trenton, N.J.

The second case involved Peritrate SA, a quantity of which was seized by the Food and Drug Administration. FDA said that this Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. product also was falsely advertised in the Journal.

A New Jersey physician who inquired of the AMA whether it invested in drug stocks received no reply. It would be, he wrote a Senate subcommittee in 1964, "reassuring to know that the AMA is not judging drugs in the capacity of a shareholder." The AMA valued its investment portfolio in 1964 at $8.7 million.

OPERATIONS CHALLENGED

Lawyer Saltzstein told IRS that there was no quarrel with the grant of a tax exemption to a publication that has a substantial relation with the approved public purpose of its sponsor.

But, he argued, there is no justification for exempting a publication that sells ads to individual businesses. All it is serving, he said, is "a private interest."

As for solutions, it matters little to him whether tax exemptions are erased where abuses exist, or whether the rule be simply that, with some exceptions, publications accepting advertising pay income taxes on their ad revenues.

During the 6 years since the brief was filed, Saltzstein has maintained a persistent effort to get a ruling out of IRS.

For 4 years and 7 months after the brief went to IRS, the Wall Street Journal took a definitive look at the situation and reported that IRS "is about to alter the situation," perhaps "even this summer."

ACTION AWAITED

As of that date—July 24,1964—the Journal said, the expectations was that IRS would rule against exempting ads in periodicals not related to the public purposes for which the sponsoring organizations were chartered.

The Journal cited estimates that the number of tax-exempt groups selling ads in their publications had grown from 416 to 695 in the decade ended in 1962, and that revenues had increased from $30 million to $73 million.

Since then, two summers and two winters have gone by without announcement of a ruling. "Our efforts," Commissioner Cohen said recently, "have entailed extensive and time-consuming analyses of legal questions and activities peculiar to different types of organizations with widely varying purposes programs and income sources.

It is hoped that these efforts will result in the development of published regulations * * * which will resolve the advertising question."

Inflation and the 7-Percent Investment Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, in its current review of appropriate steps with which to counter the rise in prices and the threat of more serious inflation, I hope the administration will find it possible to resist pressures leading to the suspension or elimination of the 7-percent tax credit for new capital investment.

In my judgment, Mr. Speaker, this particular weapon belongs well down the list of those available and as yet insufficiently utilized—a list which includes selective postponements of Federal spending.

The importance of the investment tax credit has been demonstrated: as an incentive to the healthiest kind of economic growth and as a stimulus to plant modernization on which we greatly depend for our capacity to compete with foreign manufacturers, maintain a favorable balance of trade, slow down the dollar drain, and create new jobs. The suspension or repeal of the credit could well be the kind of giant step which would reverse the direction of the economy rather than control the increase in prices.

I urge our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, to read the informed and sensible advice in this regard to the well-known economist, Rev. William T. Hogan, S.J., of Fordham University, which was prepared last month and which I include herewith under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD:

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT CONTROVERSY

(By William T. Hogan, S.J., director of research and professor of economics, Fordham University, New York, N.Y.)

In recent weeks pressure for the repeal or suspension of the 7-percent tax credit for new capital investment has been increasing. A proposal by Senator GORE, Democrat, of Tennessee, to suspend the tax credit for 2 years in lieu of increasing excise taxes on automobiles and telephone service was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 75 to 10. However, the recent report of the Joint Economic Committees contained a short statement concluding that the time has come when consideration should be given to suspension of the credit. This was followed by the present hearings at which economists, urging suspension as an anti-inflation measure, have been heard. The principal proponents of maintaining the credit as part of the tax law have been members of the administration and the Treasury.

The 7-percent investment tax credit was part of the tax bill for 1962 and together with a change in the guidelines, which allowed assets to be written off in a shorter period, constituted much needed depreciation reform.

Support for the 7-percent credit came from two groups: the first was composed of those who were anxious to have the tax laws provide for adequate depreciation in order that our plant and equipment could be modernized; the second group consisted of those who felt that it would provide a stimulus for economic growth and thus it was a means for plant expansion.

When the investment credit was installed, 24 percent of America's industrial plant was over 18 years of age and badly in need of replacement. Much has been done to achieve this objective, but much remains to be done, and the investment credit has been a definite factor in plant modernization.

VARIOUS POSITIONS REGARDING THE INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

It is interesting to note that many of the positions currently assumed by various groups are the ones that were taken at the time the investment tax credit was originally proposed. Some of these follow:

1. The credit was supported originally by some as a device to spur modernization of plant and equipment—a need that was critical at that time in light of our competitive situation. This need still exists.

2. The tax credit for new capital investment was and is opposed by some on the grounds that it is a handout to business and neglects the general public.

3. The credit was and is opposed by some on the grounds that it is a subsidy.

4. It was and is opposed by some in industry and favored by some in Government as a device that could be turned on and off to manage the economy. Many economists today who have testified before the Joint Committee see the investment credit as such a tool.

IMPORTANCE OF THE INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

The investment credit is a significant part of the whole atmosphere in which investment decisions are made. The investment credit came about in 1962 as a part of depreciation reform. There was pressure for recognition of some form of depreciation adjustment to compensate for price levels. The credit was an alternative to revaluation or other accelerated depreciation plans. It was and is an integral part of the whole depreciation problem.

Its importance can be judged in terms of the continuing serious need for modernization of the Nation's industrial plants. In 1962, when the tax credit went into effect, it was estimated that 24 percent of the Nation's plant and equipment was 18 or more years old. The situation has been improved since then, but much remains to be done. In fiscal 1963, according to Treasury Department figures, the investment tax credit amounted to $1.2 billion. This figure has been projected at $1.4 billion for 1964 and by some at $2 billion or more for fiscal 1966 and 1967. While the credit is important in terms of the funds it makes available for plant and equipment spending, it by no means accounts for all of the increase that has taken place in these during the past few years. A number of nontax stimulants to investment were also operative during this period, particularly after the fourth quarter of 1963.

The investment credit is significant in terms of the foreign competition and balance-of-payments problem. The credit promotes capital modernization with new highly efficient productive equipment which will help the United States compete with foreign producers already operating modern plant and equipment. Without this ability to compete, there will be further exporting of a lot of jobs and further balance-of-payments problems. For example, in the steel industry the spectacular increase in imports has resulted in a loss of an estimated 70,000 jobs in steel plants alone.

ARGUMENTS FOR REPEAL OF THE TAX CREDIT

The position of those favoring repeal or suspension of the investment tax credit at this time is that the credit is not needed to stimulate capital investment since this is already at a high rate that cannot be sustained. They therefore contend that it is inflationary because of its further stimulus on demand for capital goods.

The Joint Economic Committee report concludes that the investment credit is one of the major inflationary threats in the current situation and therefore should be suspended.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST SUSPENSION OR REPEAL OF THE TAX CREDIT

1. The tax credit is anti-inflationary. The credit assists capital spending for new, modern, efficient productive equipment which helps to reduce costs and thus combats inflation. Capacity increases which result from modernization also helps relieve the inflationary pressure of demand on producers. It should be recognized, however, that many major expenditures for expansion are primed by the competitive pressure of the marketplace rather than by the presence of the investment credit.

2. Suspension of the credit would hurt business confidence. Secretary Fowler said "tinkering with the credit" would create uncertainties. Suspension would impair its future usefulness for encouraging economic growth. The Secretary also said "Congress would face a question of good faith" because the change would catch companies in the middle of planned investments. In fact, business received a promise from the Treasury (Fowler in 1962) that the credit would not be taken away or manipulated for short-term objectives.

3. Suspension could unfairly penalize all those who have gone ahead and made commitments on investment plans. The credit is available only when the investment is substantially completed and in operation. For many projects, this is 1 to 3 years after the start of the project. Equity would require allowance for completion, in which case the impact on the economy would not be felt for 1 to 2 years in the future, whereas if there is need for anti-inflationary action, it is by some other means which would be immediately effective.

4. Suspension would place further capital expenditure programs in a chaotic state. Because of the long time required to engineer, secure equipment, and construct plant, which may take up to 2 or 3 years before the credit is available, plans would not be restored until the availability of the credit has been reestablished in law.

5. It is entirely possible that repeal of the credit might have reverse multiplier effects on the economy, causing reductions in economic activity far in excess of the dollar value of the projects cut off.

6. The impact of numerous anti-inflationary measures already taken have yet to be fully felt. These include the increased social security taxes effective January 1, 1966, increased withholding of personal taxes and speeded-up collection of corporate income taxes April 15, increased excise taxes and increased interest rates, and State and local taxes which continue to increase. These also have a multiplier effect.

All of this leads to the conclusion that suspension of the investment credit is not an effective tool for managing the economy.

TAX CREDIT PROVISIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Virtually every European country has a tax credit or something equivalent to it. This is pointed out in a recent study made by the National Bureau of Economic Research titled "Foreign Tax Policy for Economic Growth."

EFFECT OF TAX CREDIT REPEAL ON INTEREST RATES

The economy may already have "cooled off" more than is generally realized. Increased interest rates have created difficulty for some businesses and have taken some marginal borrowers out of the market. Repeal of the investment credit, however, would force more borrowing to provide cash needs for investment commitments. This borrowing would renew the pressure on available funds and interest rates.

THE INVESTMENT CREDIT AS A COUNTER CYCLICAL TOOL

In the controversy over the repeal of the investment credit, it has been stated that the credit should be used as a countercyclical tool.

In the minds of many it can be turned on and off to stimulate or curb investment. Unfortunately, the tax credit cannot be used in this respect for it has become an integral part of investment activity and long-range capital spending plans are to a great extent dependent on it. These plans often cover a period of 2 years and once they are underway cannot be turned off or seriously modified without detriment to the company involved.

Further, if the tax credit was suddenly withdrawn, most of the capital expenditures currently underway would be carried out even if it required that the company go to the money market to borrow additional funds. This would force the firm to borrow at high interest rates and further increase the cost of investment.

THE DEPRECIATION PROBLEM

The problem now is to retain the investment credit. This still leaves the longer range problem of securing simplicity, certainty and flexibility in the depreciation area. Principles that should be kept in mind concerning it include: any legislation must not have an adverse revenue effect and must have wide support of business. Depreciation has a direct bearing on the problem of foreign competition and this should be made clear to the public. Complicated tax provisions must be avoided since small taxpayers are at a disadvantage in securing expert tax advice.

The tax credit is an important part of the depreciation structure, a vital tool in investment activity and has contributed much to the modernization of plant and equipment. Only through modern equipment can we increase productivity, lower costs and compete with foreign producers. It is needed particularly in the years ahead to further encourage the modernization of our industrial facilities and thus should remain a permanent part of the tax law.

New Plan for Corporate Contributions in the Form of U.S. Savings Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, it is a source of inspiration and pride to me to bring to my colleagues' attention an imaginative and pioneering plan introduced this week by Secretary of the Treasury Fowler and Mr. J. D. Wright, chairman of the board of a bold and characteristically innovative firm, TRW, Inc.

Under this plan corporate contributions by TRW will be made in the form of U.S. savings bonds whenever feasible with respect to donees' financial needs. This approach not only helps the Federal Government meet its severe fiscal demands and combat inflation but, if recipients do not immediately surrender the bonds, will actually result in their receiving increased financial assistance in the form of interest and dividends.

TRW's contributions program exceeds one-half million dollars per year; I am sure that the magnitude of such a program, if adopted by business and industry on a nationwide basis, is readily apparent. I commend this suggestion to the attention of leaders across the country, I congratulate TRW for its high sense of civic responsibility, and I applaud Secretary Fowler and the Treasury Department for their enthusiastic responsiveness to new ideas. For additional information, the Treasury Department news release regarding this new concept follows my remarks.

TREASURY ANNOUNCES NEW PLAN FOR CORPORATE GIFTS OF U.S. SAVINGS BONDS TO NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

The Treasury Department today announced a new plan for business and industry to use U.S. savings bonds as corporate contributions, in lieu of cash, to charities, educational and civic organizations, and to other nonprofit groups.

In a special ceremony at the Treasury, J. D. Wright, chairman of the board of TRW, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio, originator of the idea, made a corporate contribution of $10,000 in series H bonds to Dr. T. Keith Glennan, president of the Case Institute of Technology, also of Cleveland. Case is the first recipient of savings bonds under the new corporate contribution program. TRW, Inc., is a leading manufacturer of aerospace systems and automotive, aviation, and electronics parts.

Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler commended TRW, Inc., for developing the idea, and expressed the hope that other companies would follow its example in planning programs for corporate giving.

"American industry is already playing a major part in the success of the savings bond program through its promotion of the payroll savings plan," Secretary Fowler said.

"The plan developed by Mr. Wright and his associates opens up another promising new path toward expanding and extending the savings bond program, which offers such abundant benefits both to individual buyers and to the national economy. This could be another important step toward reaching President Johnson's objective of restraining inflationary pressures in the economy while helping to finance our pressing commitments at home and abroad."

Clearing the way for the new plan for corporate contributions in the form of savings bonds, the Treasury last week amended its regulations to raise the annual limitation on holdings. The amendment provides that series H bonds having a face value of $200,000 may be received as gifts in any calendar year by a tax-exempt organization. The general limits on E- and H-bond holdings were also raised—from $10,000, maturity value, to $20,000, maturity value, for the appreciation-type E-bonds; and $20,000 to $30,000, face value, for current-income H-bonds.

[From the New York Times, May 10, 1966]

Gift Plan Is Set in Savings Bonds—Business Donations Urged to Worthy Organizations

(By Leonard Sloane)

A new plan was introduced yesterday by the Treasury Department to stimulate the use of U.S. savings bonds by corporations as charitable and educational contributions.

Under the plan, business and industry are being encouraged to give savings bonds instead of cash as donations to worthy organizations in order to provide additional revenue to the Government, to help strengthen the national economy and to protect the value of the dollar.

The establishment of the new Treasury program coincided, oddly enough, with an announcement by a group called the War Bond Committee of "a concerted and organized effort to redeem war bonds."

The committee, opposed to the Vietnam war, distributed a circular asking Americans who agree with this position to demonstrate their views "by redeeming all war bonds in their possession during the Memorial Day week."

WASHINGTON CEREMONY

The corporate contribution campaign in the form of saving bonds got underway yesterday afternoon with a ceremony in the Washington office of Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler. Participating with him were J. D. Wright, chairman of TRW, Inc., and Dr. T. Keith Glennan, president of the Case Institute of Technology, both of Cleveland.

The idea of promoting gifts and grants in the form of savings bonds was conceived last month by Mr. Wright, who heads the giant Midwestern industrial company. He outlined the concept to Mr. Fowler, who worked out the details and arranged for yesterday's presentation.

Since the bond-giving program is designed to make more money available to the Treasury Department, it would apparently be most useful to nonprofit organizations that intend to hold the bonds for an extensive period rather than cash them quickly. For example, a university could use such bonds for endowments, with the interest being applied to operating costs.

The donation by TRW to the Case Institute—part of its annual contributions budget of more than $500,000—was in series H savings bonds. The bonds in series H are purchased at face value, mature at the end of 10 years and pay interest compounded semiannually at the rate of 4.15 percent a year if held to maturity.

The Treasury cleared the way for its new program last week when it amended its regulations to raise the annual amount of series H bonds that a tax-exempt organization could receive as gifts to $200,000.

IMPORTANT STEP

According to Secretary Fowler, the plan devised by Mr. Wright is "another important step toward reaching President Johnson's objective of restraining inflationary pressures in the economy while helping to finance our pressing commitments at home and abroad."

One of these commitments abroad, the Vietnam war, was attacked in a circular by the War Bond Committee, which lists an address in Manhattan. The name of a Martin Shepard, M.D., is listed on the circular with the committee.

The circular notes that "there are currently over $41 billion outstanding in series E savings (war) bonds." Series E bonds are purchased at 75 percent of face value and also earn 4.15 percent interest compounded semiannually if held to their maturity of 7 years.

The committee asserts that "if as most polls show, a large segment of the more affluent community opposes this war, there is good reason to believe that a concerted and organized effort to redeem war bonds can substantially reduce the recent $12.7 billion voted on by Congress to support the war."

Redemption pledges are being collected for planned delivery to the White House on May 30, the first day of a proposed "National Turn In Your War Bonds Week."

Indiana University Expresses Faith in Intelligence of Students Hearing "Other Side"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the recent appearance of Herbert Aptheker as a guest speaker at Indiana University, my alma mater, has caused a great deal of controversy and concern in Indiana. Aptheker, a member of the Communist Party and a man often cited as its leading theoretician in the United States, presented an admittedly difficult and vexed sort of question to the university by his appearance. However, he was not invited by the university, but by two small groups of students, one of which, by the way, announced publicly that it disagreed with his views and supported only his right to talk.

Mr. Frank E. McKinney, president of the board of trustees of Indiana University, in a signed statement printed in the Indianapolis Star of May 6, 1966, forcefully and succinctly presented the university's stand on matters of this nature. No one questions the sincerity of the motives of those who disagree with the way Indiana University has dealt with this matter, but it is important to the university that its motives not be misunderstood, either. Frank McKinney has done a masterful job in presenting the university's case.

Indiana University Expresses Faith in Intelligence of Students Hearing "Other Side"

(By Frank E. McKinney, president, board of trustees, Indiana University)

The trustees of Indiana University have been asked by numerous, serious-minded Hoosiers to order the cancellation of the engagement of Herbert Aptheker to speak on the campus at the invitation of a small group of students.

They have emphasized the contradiction and the frustration of permitting an American citizen who is a member of the Communist Party USA, to speak on public property of the university before an audience of students and faculty and the press at a time when our United States is engaged in armed conflict in Vietnam to contain Communist military aggression.

They would unwittingly have us deny the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech in the anger and frustration of the world situation at this point in history.

We loathe and despise Communist totalitarianism and so does the president of our university. But we are aware that the enemies of our freedom would like nothing better than to destroy it by undermining our belief in our Constitution and Bill of Rights and our free institutions. We will not assist the Communist conspiracy by denying freedom of speech and thereby martying its mouthpiece. To martyr this man or to flatter him as a dangerous man to let open his mouth, is to grant him victory, because he will then have forced us to abandon our own principles.

We have strong faith in the intelligence of our students to separate fact from falsehood, to differentiate indoctrination from education and to expose the hypocrisy of a Communist-bred system wherever it is found and has brought violence and suppression to millions.

As Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey said on the Indiana University campus the other night:

"This country is too big to be afraid of anybody's talking about it. Communism has no bill of rights. We do have. Banning this talk would advance this man and his cause more than any favor you could bestow upon him."

We agree with General Hershey. With regard to the DuBois Club, we have supported the position that the Subversive Activities Control Board should have time to determine its staua. We have done this in the interest of the American principles of fundamental fairness and due process.

However, if the Subversive Activities Control Board has not acted upon the attorney general's petition by the time of our board meeting at commencement, we propose to review the entire policy of the university with regard to the registration of student organizations in a thorough and aggressive manner.

Freedom Day Assembly in Navarre, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I visited Fairless High School in the little town of Navarre, Ohio, for a Freedom Day Assembly arranged and produced by the students and the social studies department. It was an impressive program. There was a parade of the flags of the American Colonies and of the United States of America, patriotic music by the band and chorus, an honor guard made up of veterans of our wars, a stirring invocation by Reverend Behle of the United Church of Christ, and a benediction by Father Turk, illustrating the bonds between religion and patriotism in the history of this Nation. Mothers of students and of the Boy Scout troop had made the flags. The students had prepared the program. I was privileged to speak.

As I sat there, stirred by the depth of feeling of those present, I could not help but think about the headlines and columns of newspaper type and the breathless radio announcements whenever some misguided young person burns a draft card or stages a rally or an unpatriotic demonstration. I thought that the Fairless Freedom Day would probably attract little attention. And I was correct. The beatniks and the draft dodgers make news, as when a man bites a dog, but a fine patriotic assembly is not news, and perhaps that should be reassuring to us. It can only mean that patriotism and love of country is still the normal thing in America.

It does seem to me, nonetheless, that the students, faculty, and the parents of Fairless High should receive more recognition for their work, and I wish to include with my remarks the statement by Lawrence J. Marzulli, chairman of the Fairless Social Studies Department, and the patriotic remarks and poems written and recited by the students.

Mr. Marzulli expressed the purpose of the first Freedom Day Assembly as follows:

It is with great pleasure that the Social Studies Department of Fairless Senior High presents what we hope will be an annual event, the freedom assembly. It is our purpose to lend whatever assistance we can to the development of a deeper appreciation of our American heritage and the contributions of so many to our American way of life. We feel that it is vitally important to encourage a love for our country, its history and accomplishments in each of our students. We also feel that it is equally important to remind all of our citizens of their continuous obligation to make America a better land for all.

We have always held that the primary responsibility of our department is the inculcation in our youth a knowledge of their rights as American citizens; with the knowledge that those rights imply a respect for the rights of other citizens and a moral responsibility to use one's privileges creatively and constructively for one's own good and the good of the Nation.

Let each of the flags as they pass remind you of your heritage. Let each of the men in uniform remind you of their devotion to duty and of the countless number of young men and women who are now asked to defend freedom. Let this program show that whenever freedom is challenged our country is ready and able to help all nations, large and small, maintain their freedom and that we have no place today for another Munich.

This year's program has added meaning in that we will use whatever contributions have been made to purchase the symbols of our loyalty, a set of flags to be placed in the atrium of the new senior high.

We deeply appreciate all those who made this program possible. A list of acknowledgments follows. Without their unselfish aid we could never have undertaken a program of this nature.

The recitations of the students were as follows:

The American Revolution

(By Paul Werstler)

There were great events that led to the making of our country, events which started with the wild ride of a messenger through the countryside to warn of the oncoming army of red coats. There were great men and there were insignificant men, who fought side by side at Bunker Hill, and on the streets of Boston, and the hills of Yorktown. They spent a winter at a place in Pennsylvania and how often must they have thought of going home. They had little food to eat, they slept in the cold, and their clothing was made of rags which were battered and torn by wind and snow.

"But who were the men, and what made them stay?
This is the question I ask here today.

What of those men whose names we knew not,
Of the deeds and woes and the battles they fought.
We owe them more than can ere' be repaid,
But to those unknown men, I honor here pay.
They fought for our flag at Valley Forge,
And from their courage our Nation was forged.
They gave us a nation that stands still strong today,
A nation I'm proud and honored to obey.
Such were the men whose names I know not,
And what was the price for the freedom they bought?

Yes, we know from that time came men with honor strong,
But they weren't the only ones who fought so long.
Though their deeds were great,
We must remember it wasn't just fate,
That made our country great.

Yet back to the tale of those long forgot.
Is there a one who knows for what freedoms they fought?
Or was their lesson in history in vain and untaught?
I think not.

For today we have a nation grand and free.
Oh yes, it's true we still have an enemy,
But it's not a people, a race, or any God-forsaken place.
Instead it's ignorance, hunger, famine, and space,
And it's up to us today to replace,
Those unknown men who made our country such a great place."

The Civil War

(By Robert Ziegler)

The Civil War was a time for the Nation to test whether it was to be one and inseparable or divided. This was a time for men to die in the cause which they believed to be right; a time for the Nation to be reborn. It was a time for war and a time for weeping. After it was over, the Nation would have a time to mourn her dead, and a time to heal the wounds of war. There would be a time to plant, and a time to build, but most of all there would be a time for peace. Into this peace our Nation would emerge, one, under God, with a liberty and freedom for all.

The selection which I shall read to you seems to epitomize the American Civil War best. It is taken from Ecclesiastes, chapter 3, verses 1 to 9:

"For everything there is a season, and a time for every matter under heaven: a time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up what is planted; a time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up; a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance; a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing; a time to seek, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away; a time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silent, and a time to speak; a time to love, and a time to hate; a time for war, and a time for peace; What gain has the worker from his toil?"

The American Civil War

(By William Gruse)

Recently I had the opportunity, along with some other students, to visit the national shrine at Gettysburg, Pa. Here the course of a war was determined—a war which would either permit the division of a nation or bring union. At this battlefield the world's greatest frontal assault, Pickett's charge, took place. I would now like to commemorate this charge and famous battle with a poem entitled "Union Soldier at Gettysburg." (The poem was composed by William Gruse after a visit to the Gettysburg Battlefield.)

"A UNION SOLDIER AT GETTYSBURG

"July third began with a beautiful morn,
Not a trace or hint in the air to warn
Of the approaching carnage of bodies torn.

Through the stillness of the calm, blue sky
Cut forth that eerie rebel cry,
The sound of men destined to die
In one last great effort and final try.

The muskets blazed and the cannons roared,
Belching forth what we all abhorred
In a costly battle none could afford.

Through the heat and the sunlit day
Could be seen unwavering columns of gray
With nought but our bullets to block the way;
Oh! How dearly in lives they would pay.

Again and again the multitudes came,
But that charge of valor was all in vain,
For we cut them down like fields of grain.

Once did they come so near to victory,
But we hurled them back and it's plain to see
We've won the battle to make men free;
Their valor and our stand have marked history."

Also at Gettysburg is the location where President Abraham Lincoln delivered the immortal words of the Gettysburg Address—words with deep meaning that seem to tell the whole story of freedom, democracy, and our way of life.

"Four score and 7 years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

World War I

(By Peggy Muskopf)

How often have we heard the words of World War I. "In Flanders' Field the poppies blow; between the crosses row on row," without stopping to consider the facts behind this poem. Little did those boys lying there now realize that during the prime of their manhood, they would be soldiering for "Black Jack" Pershing or that the mud of the Battles of Belleau Wood and the Argonne would forever be crusted on their doughboy shoes; that they would be lying in muddy trenches bleeding on foreign soils.

Were the lives of these boys, that had to be sacrificed for freedom, as important as the principles for which they died?

Was this war actually fought in Europe or in the homes and schools where boys were taught to stand up and fight for the principles for which they believe? As Ralph Waldo Emerson said: "When duty whispers low, thou must; the youth replies I can." These were the boys who took the place of our Nation's early defenders—the Minutemen—and became the Minutemen of the world—the stalwart defenders of our principles.

This was the war that proved that America could unite and stand up against the forces of our opponents. No longer were we the Negroes, the Jews, the Irish, the Czechoslovakians, and the other individual minorities in our great melting pot. But instead we were the Yankees and we were proud of it. We proved that in an emergency, American could unite our arms, our thoughts, our men, and our ideas to defend our cause.

Here again, America faced the problems with which it was confronted and it emerged victorious. In order to safeguard our democratic heritage, as well as those of Europe and the free world, the Yankees went over there. They went over there and they didn't come back 'till it was over—over there.

The Years of Illusion

(By John Stuckyi)

At the end of World War I and well before the start of II,
There came a time of prosperous growth and great advancement too.
Yet, because we were too blind to see our own confusion,
We call this time in history, the years of great illusion.

The Americans were tired of war and carelessly in haste,
We but more firmly entrenched that which the war erased.
We made weak nations free again and even before we missed them,
Threw them in the rushing tide of supernationalism.

As one by one the weak ones fell we sat upon our rocker,
And listened to one's humble wail and took the time to mock her.
"We have no time to deal with you, for if we did we'd lend it,"
"We're quite well off and could care less, we gave you freedom, defend it."

And many more such plantiff calls would fall on deafened ears,
For we were living prosperously enjoying wealthy years.
These were years of fine silk hats, radio, fur coats,
And we'd no time for others' problems or sending men and boats.

What had we to fear from Europe, between us was an ocean,
And to think that they'd attack by sea was just a silly notion.
What difference would it make to us if Britain should fall soon?
We were quite safe so far away; content in our cocoon.

But there was coming yet a day when we'd find near too late,
That from the rest of God's known world we cannot isolate.
Yet there are those at this time wish not to fight abroad,
But should we wait until the day that enemies our shore plod?

Let us hope that from these years we learned a worthy lesson,
That we should fight and fight again for freedoms' sacred blessings.

World War II

(By Linda Kurtzman)

This was the flag that flew high o'er the *Arizona* on that bright December morn;
These were the Stars and Stripes that our enemy would scorn.

'Twas this same flag that our enemy tramped beneath their feet;
And this was the flag that never saw defeat.

But her honor and glory did not diminish in our eyes.
Instead it grew and grew;
And was carried by each division, squadron, platoon, and crew.

'Twas the same flag that was carried at the invasion of Normandy's Bay;
And was raised by six Marines on Suribachi on an infamous day.

But why did they respect her?
Risk life and limb to save her?

This reason can best be expressed in William Tyler Page's, "The American's Creed,"
For it is this, in which all our fighting men do truly believe.

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic, a sovereign nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed, their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

House passed Military Medical Benefits Act of 1966.

Senate

Chamber Action

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held Thursday, May 12, at noon.

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

NASA AUTHORIZATIONS

Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences: Committee, in executive session, tentatively approved for reporting H.R. 14324, fiscal 1967 authorizations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. As approved by the committee the bill would authorize a total of $5,008 million, $4 million below the budget requests.

APPROPRIATIONS—INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee continued its hearings on H.R. 14921, fiscal 1967 appropriations for independent offices, receiving testimony in behalf of funds for their agency from William F. McKee, Administrator, and other officials of the Federal Aviation Agency. In an afternoon executive session these witnesses testified and answered questions with regard to the supersonic transport program.

Hearings continue tomorrow.

APPROPRIATIONS—TREASURY-POST OFFICE

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee, in executive session, approved for full committee consideration H.R. 14266, fiscal 1967 appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies.

NOMINATIONS

Committee on Banking and Currency: Committee, in executive session, ordered favorably reported the nominations of Francis M. Wheat, of California, for reappointment to membership to the Securities and Exchange Commission; Don Hummel, of Arizona, and H. Ralph Taylor, of Connecticut, to be Assistant Secretaries of Housing and Urban Development; and Bernard L. Boutin, of New Hampshire, to be Administrator, Small Business Administration.

Prior to this action, in open session, testimony in behalf of Mr. Boutin was received from Senators Cotton and McIntyre and Representatives Cleveland and Huot. Senator Fannin was present to introduce Mr. Hummel to the committee. Testimony in behalf of Messrs. Hummel and Taylor was received from Secretary of HUD Robert C. Weaver. The nominees were present to testify and answer questions on their own behalf.

OBSCENE TELEPHONE CALLS

Committee on Commerce: Subcommittee on Communications held hearings on S. 2825 and S. 3072, to amend the Communications Act so as to prohibit obscene or harassing telephone calls, having as its witnesses Senator Long, of Missouri; Rosel H. Hyde, Acting Chairman, Federal Communications Commission; Brig. Gen. W. W. Berg, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Military Personnel Policies; Hubert L. Kertz, vice president, American Telephone & Telegraph Co., New York City; William C. Mott, U.S. Independent Telephone Association, Washington, D.C.; and Paul Rodgers, National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners.

Hearings were recessed subject to call.

FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATIONS

Committee on Foreign Relations: Committee continued its hearings on S. 2859, fiscal 1967 authorizations for foreign aid, and S. 2861, proposed Military Assistance and Sales Act, having as its witness Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara.

Hearings were adjourned subject to call.

WARSAW CONVENTION

Committee on Foreign Relations: Committee met in executive session with Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Thomas C. Mann to discuss recent developments regarding the Warsaw Convention of 1929.

ANTITRUST—NOLO CONTENDERE

Committee on the Judiciary: The Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee held hearings on S. 2512, permitting private antitrust litigants the same benefits from a nolo contendere plea as they now receive from a guilty plea by defendants in a Government antitrust action. Today's witnesses were Thomas C. McConnell, attorney of Chicago; Harold E. Kohn, attorney of Philadelphia; and Richard E. Cullen, representing the National Association of County Civil Attorneys. Hearings were recessed subject to call.

Subcommittee will meet again tomorrow to resume its hearings on the subject of alleged price-fixing of library books.

Appendix

Judge Oscar Dancy, Oldest County Judge in the Nation, Announces for Reelection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the most devoted conservationists, most respected county judges, and a stanch Democrat, has announced for reelection as county judge of Brownsville, Tex.

This man is Judge Oscar Dancy, now 87 and the oldest coutny judge in the United States. Running without opposition in either the primary or general election, Judge Dancy will continue his record of accomplishments at the same record pace that astonishes men half his age. No greater record has been made by any county judge in America.

To illustrate the fine character and wisdom of this outstanding Texan, I ask unanimous conesnt that an article entitled "Brownsville's Judge Dancy Just Keeps Rollin' Along" from the San Antonio Express-News of Sunday, May 1, 1966, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Brownsville's Judge Dancy Just Keeps Rollin' Along—Veteran Valley Politician, 86, Has No Opponent as He Seeks His 19th Victory in 20 Tries

(By Clarence J. Laroche)

Around the courthouse in Brownsville, local folklore experts have always declared a person's long life depended on one of two things—drink water from the Rio Grande or tequila.

In the case of Oscar C. Dancy, it has to be the water.

For one thing, he is a teetotaler.

And for certainty, water has to be one of the main ingredients that has kept this 86-year-old county judge packed with energy and ideas almost a quarter of a century beyond normal retirement age.

Despite the head-nodding folklore sages, drinking Rio Grande water really hasn't affected the Cameron County judge as much as his fight for its conservation and development.

OLDEST IN NATION

Oldest county judge in the Nation, both in age and point of service, the bushy-browed, craggy-faced Dancy goes into next Saturday's Democratic Party primary without opposition.

To add to his chances of a 19th victory in 20 campaigns, the Republicans aren't even fielding a candidate against him. Last time around, in 1962, he swamped his GOP opponent better than 2–1.

Appointed to the office in 1921, he spun a skein of five straight victories at the polls until 1932.

"I think they blamed President Hoover and me for the depression," he reminisces.

Two years later, Cameron County voters decided they had make a mistake: they sent him back into office on a wave of ballots in 1934. He's been there since.

As he neared his 80th birthday almost a decade ago, Judge Dancy told us: "I expect to do my best work in my eighties.

Here was a challenge this amazing man was setting up for himself. With four more years to go before his eighties run their course, he might well meet that promise.

And when a glance is taken at his record as county judge during the past 40 years, surpassing his achievements of four decades is not an easy feat.

PUSHED FOR PAVED ROADS

In the Roaring Twenties, he was in the forefront pushing for highway and paved road construction, not only for his own county but for his region, State and Nation.

He was one of the fathers of the farm-to-market road idea. One early such road in Cameron County was dubbed "Dancy's Sidewalk." Instead of building a two-lane, concrete farm road he made it one-lane—to double the distance.

"We had to get the farmers out of the mud and into the market places," he emphasized, at the time. Two wheels on concrete were better than four in the mire.

In the 1930's and 1940's, as still today, water was one of his major concerns. First as something to be controlled, then to be conserved.

He led in flood control programs in his part of the State; later quit worrying about water devastation and looked to its conservation and distribution.

SUPPORTED WATER TREATY

Judge Dancy was one of the earliest and staunchest supporters of the vital United States-Mexico Water Treaty of 1944, a pact that already has led to Falcon Dam and is seeing Amistad Dam being built to control the Rio Grande and conserve water.

In another watery area, he has promoted and supported efforts to develop Padre Island and Texas Gulf beaches since the 1920's. He was one of the very fist backers to establish a national seashore on Padre Island.

No one knows precisely what the initial "C" in his name stands for, but everybody agrees it means "Concrete." That's the stuff Dancy built highways of.

It could also mean his unshakeable position, once he has taken a stand on something.

FINANCIAL WATCHDOG

Aside from his record of accomplishments as a county judge, an astounding political fact is his winning election after election in one of the state's more conservative counties. This is astounding because Judge Dancy has been considered "liberal" in his views.

Liberal in the humanities and conservative in fiscal matters. He is a financial watchdog who doesn't let a penny be frittered away.

His impeccable morality, scrupulous honesty, and genuine concern for his fellow man are the factors that make this octogenarian liberal a winner.

Being county judge has been Dancy's life. Today, this is true more than at any other time: He has outlived his wife and all but one of his five children.

"I miss my family more than I can tell," he says. "It's an awful thing, you know, with them all gone. But I cherish their memory."

He lives alone and reads voraciously and keeps up with the world of 1966. In bed by 8 p.m., he's up by 4:30 a.m., cooks breakfast and walks to the bus stop.

For this man who helped put his state and nation on wheels, rolling on paved highways, has never owned nor driven an automobile.

BIRTHDAY IS DECEMBER 22

Three days before Christmas this year, Judge Dancy becomes 87. God willing, he observes, he begins a term in office that will carry him to his 90th birthday.

With this in mind, he already is looking afield to broadening interests for his section of Texas and the state as a whole.

To be sure, water is very much in the picture. So is Padre Island. But the judge has added the need for closer work with Mexico and Central America, now that those concrete ribbons are tieing us closely together.

For one thing, in the broadening water picture he likes that plan to divert water from areas of excess to areas of need. On a local basis, he is studying a multi-million-dollar plan to reclaim salt-threatened delta land in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.

The canal from East Texas, he declares, will "cost lots of money, but will pay for itself in increased property values if nothing else, even before it is completed."

California, he notes, has been far ahead of Texas in such diversion of water.

"If we had the energy and farsightedness that California has, Texas, instead of California, would right now be the leading state in the Union."

He looks for even more Padre Island development, declaring "it is cinched," but, he quickly qualifies, "we will have to pitch in and work to make this cinch secure."

BACKS PADRE HIGHWAY

The judge will be in there pressing for construction of a paved road to connect the north and south ends of the island.

He declares the State Highway Department is sold on it, "if we can produce at this end. * * * And I believe, if we get busy, we can produce at this end of the line."

His concern for the problems of Latin America and how Texas and his section fit into the overall picture, is now taking Judge Dancy on increasingly frequent trips to Mexico and Central America.

After one trip, commenting on the threat of communism, he observed:

"It's a wonder that the whole country down there isn't run over with them."

These two areas could be Judge Dancy's target for "my greatest work," during his nineties.

Military Medical Benefits Act of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14088) to amend chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize an improved health benefits program for retired members and members of the uniformed services and their dependents, and for other purposes.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman from California [Mr. Gubser] yielding to me. Also, I want to associate myself with his remarks.

The need for this legislation is overwhelming. Anyone familiar with the problems of military personnel and their families must agree to vigorously support this bill. It is for this reason that I rise today to add my voice to the committee member's presentation.

Putting it bluntly, the military personnel and their families have been overlooked too long. The benefits for medical care has not kept pace with their civilian counterparts. We have made improvements in the salary structure to develop some semblance of comparability but the medical provisions have been totally inadequate. As many of the committee members with whom I have talked know—I have related rather forthrightly my personal gripes as to the inadequacy of their benefits, particularly for dependents of Active Duty members of our armed services. The lack of facilities, the lack of choice and flexibility in seeking medical attention have left these people with a feeling of neglect—this is no way to treat people whose husbands and fathers are on call around the clock to meet the demands associated with our national and international security commitments.

During this past year, I visited and held one of my regular meetings with a very responsible servicemen's organization, the Sergeant's Association at Hamilton Air Force Base. This group represents an exceptionally well qualified unit of noncommissioned officers. They are not the type of johnny-come-latelys that are inclined to complain at the drop of a hat.

During our visit, they brought to my attention many of the problems they were having with what would be categorized as inadequate medical facilities and programs for their families. Impressed as I was, I returned to Washington with the feeling that something must be done.

As we vote today in support of this bill, I want to express my appreciation to the chairman and members of the Armed Services Committee for adhering to our requests. While I believe there is still room for improvement, I am equally pleased to see that this oversight is on its way toward recognition and correction. I sincerely urge all Members to support this bill.

Sermon on the Rising Tide of Crime and Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, there came to my attention recently an excellent sermon on the rising tide of crime and juvenile delinquency in all parts of the country. It was written by Rev. Harald Bredesen, pastor of the First Reformed Church of Mount Vernon, N.Y., and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Time for God To Act

"It is time for Thee, O Lord, to act, for they have made void thy law." (Psalm 119 v. 126)

When the cup of iniquity overflows, God intervenes. "When the enemy comes in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him." (Isaiah 59: 19.)

The cup of our Nation's iniquity is full; the flood has come. Violence. Crime. Injustice. Adultery. Divorce. The repudiation of God's truths in what were once its strongholds. These floods we see surging around us.

Dope addiction and homosexuality, once looked upon with horror, have lost their power to shock.

All these things point to the fact that, as a nation, we have made void God's laws. But the society that thought it could break God's laws is breaking up upon them—for they are unbreakable. Racism, riots, hatred, backlash, assassination express this breakup.

This is a time of judgment, beginning with the house of God (I Peter 4: 17). Where does the responsibility lie for setting forth the laws of God? It lies primarily in our churches and theological seminaries. But what are we doing? In our seminaries we are meticulously "demythologizing" the Gospel, instead of proclaiming it. This is like "dewarping" and "dewoofing" a rug: All you have left is fuzz.

The Scriptures state that the Gospel, unabridged, is the power of God unto salvation. All it needs to accomplish its mission is to be told, as is. The Holy Spirit does the rest. If we will not have the Gospel, we cannot have the power of God in our churches.

And if we do not have the power of God in our churches, our society becomes the prey of every evil force.

Basic, classical Christianity has gone out of fashion in more and more of our churches and seminaries. The great, central truth that it is "the blood of Jesus Christ that cleanses men from all sin" is ignored. We seek to lift the onus of sin through calling it by other names—nicer names that do not need the purging blood of Christ. It is not our guilt, but our guilt feelings, that we want removed, and that requires a couch instead of a cross.

Theologically we have made void God's law. In almost direct proportion as God's answer for sin has been abandoned, sin has abounded. Let's look at the record. Major crimes—murder, rape, assault, robbery, burglary, and larceny—according to Federal Government figures—are rising at a rate five times greater than that of our population increase. If the trend is not stopped, the law-abiding citizen will soon become a member of a minority group.

In some areas of New York City the situation is so out of hand that men have had to form citizen's patrols to police their neighborhoods at night. We seem to be returning to the conditions prevailing in the Old West before the Circuit Riders brought the taming influence of the Gospel to bear upon it.

But perhaps the most blighting offense of all is that which violates the human family.

We have made void God's law on divorce.

God hates divorce with the hatred of perfect justice for injustice. God is God, not only because of what He can do, but because of what He cannot do. In the physical sphere He can do anything, but in the moral realm He cannot love, He cannot accommodate what He hates.

"For I hate divorce, says the Lord, the God of Israel." (Malachi 2: 16).

"You ask, Why does the Lord not accept our offering? Because the Lord was witness to the covenant between you and the wife of your youth, to whom you have been faithless, though she is your companion and your wife by covenant. Has not the only God made and sustained for us the spirit of life? And what does he desire? Godly offspring. So take heed to yourselves, and let none of you be faithless to the wife of your youth. For I hate divorce, says the Lord of hosts. So take heed to yourselves, and do not be faithless."

These words of Malachi 2:13 through 16, addressed to Israel, have equal force to our nation today. Divorce, once hardly known, is now rampant.

God hates divorce because he loves children.

In divorce the children become the rope in a tug of war between the parents—and the strain is always on the rope.

More children's lives are seared and scarred by divorce than by any other scourge.

What divorce does to children is seen in a statistic that came out of the Korean War. As inconclusive as it was in many ways, the conflict forced upon us some jarring conclusions regarding the state of our nation's youth, and the reasons for it.

Of a group of 21 Americans who, during their captivity, defected to the Communist side, 17 came from broken homes. This statistic can be no accident. The proportion of defectors from broken homes is so overwhelmingly greater than the number of defectors from unbroken homes—in spite of the fact that a minority of the forces were from broken homes—that it cannot be thrust aside. This was the broken-homes minority far outdoing the majority when it came to defecting to Communism under pressure.

We are obliged to conclude that something happened to those children in the break-up of their homes that made them vulnerable. They did not have the immunity to the Communist virus that those from sound or happy homes enjoyed in that time of testing. Those from broken homes broke first.

Where are we to lay the blame for this—upon those broken men who cracked under pressure, or upon the men and women who, in pursuit of their own selfish pleasure, broke the homes that broke those men?

No one knew that those men were broken until the stress of war revealed the hidden defect that divorce wrote into their personalities.

Not the men, but their parents, the parents whom God and nature had appointed them, were the traitors. Break a home and you break a child—you break a life.

But the most appalling demonstration of all of the high cost of divorce can be found in the great city that adjoins us. Go down to 42d Street, where the homosexuals preen themselves for partners, and ask how many of them had fathers who left them high and dry in childhood, and you will find that 15 out of 20 come from broken homes.

The human child is so constituted as to need both a mother and a father for quite different things. Both have indispensable roles to play. The mother as gentle, guarding feeder, bather, nurse, and nurturer; the father as protector, provider, and preceptor. The sex of the child determines which of the parents the child will imitate.

For example, a little girl, when she gets to be around 4 or 5, models herself after her mother. She copies her mother's ways, thereby learning to act as a girl should act. On the other hand, the little boy adopts as his model his father. He patterns his mode of behavior, the way he walks, talks, and carries himself, after his dad. Now, if the little girl's mother is missing, she doesn't have any female pattern to follow. And if the little boy's father is gone, he lacks the pattern that he absolutely needs in the formation of his personality. The result in a high percentage of cases is sexual deviation.

When this system that God has established in nature is rent, almost irreparable damage is done, which in most cases will hobble and psychologically cripple the victims from their earliest days straight through to their graves.

Twenty-four centuries ago the kingdom of Judah braced herself to meet one of the greatest onslaughts of her history. Three neighboring nations had leagued themselves to destroy her. Even now their armies were closing in on Jerusalem, the capital city. Realizing the paltriness of his own forces in the face of the enemies' might, King Jehosaphat did the only thing he could do—he prayed. He prayed: "We have no might against this great company that cometh against us. Neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon Thee."

During these moments, in which we have surveyed some of the most menacing evils which threaten the very existence of our society, I find in my heart the same alarm that Jehosophat expressed, the same sense of helplessness apart from God and utter dependence upon Him.

"It is time for thee, O Lord, to act."

More than a year ago Monsignor Edward M. Betowski of the Roman Catholic Church of Christ the King in Yonkers stated the need. Having noted that, in Yonkers, the problem of dope-taking among 900 youths had arisen in less than one year, he said: "More parks, more playgrounds, more dances—none of them have worked. What did our Lord say?—Do you remember? 'There are some devils that are not driven out except by prayer and fasting.'" Monsignor Betowski called for a parish-wide day-long fast from food and water.

What he proposed on a local scale, we should do on a national one. As a nation, we must fall on our knees in confession and repentance and humble dependence upon God. We have His promise that "If my people which are called by my name, shall humble themselves and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from Heaven and will forgive their sin and will heal their land."

"It is time for thee, O Lord, to act, for they have made void thy law." Let us put our text in the First Person and confess: "We have made void thy law." Let us make it yet more personal: "I have made void thy law."

And having confessed our sins, let us go over to the counter-attack, for it is time also for a Christian counter-attack on these ever-rising evils.

Let us sheathe the paper sword of merely human reasoning and methods, because they do not work in the pinch. There is no power in them.

Let us unsheathe the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God and once more give God's law its rightful place in our national and personal lives.

Let us pray.

Insurance Program Endangered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the San Diego Union editorial for Thursday, April 28, is entitled "Insurance Program Endangered." It illustrates the pitfalls inherent in full federalization of our unemployment insurance programs. Each of my colleagues will benefit from perusing this excellently written editorial.

I include it as a portion of my remarks:

Federal Meddling Feared: Insurance Program Endangered

The federal government operates on an open-the-door policy. Once you get your foot in, the rest, with patience, will come naturally.

In 1935 the Social Security Act provided the basic legislation for an unemployment insurance program which carefully defined the roles of the state and federal governments.

From the beginning the role of the states has been a major one and, though some changes have been made over the years, up to now all efforts to drastically alter the federal-state relationship have been turned back.

The federal role in the civilian field has been restricted to defining the pattern of coverage, though leaving the states free to expand on it, if they so desired; taxing of employers to finance administration of the program and the federal loan fund; providing for special emergency recession funds; and setting up of two special programs of recession benefits.

The program has served the nation well.

Now, however, an Administration bill would in effect federalize the program under the guise of modernization.

It would dictate the level and length of time benefits are to be paid under state systems; set a ceiling on the amount of earnings states could require for benefit payments; limit nearly all disqualifications to a 6-week postponement of benefits; bring large numbers of new groups into the programs, including agriculture; establish a federal benefit program for certain claimants exhausting their state benefit rights; and require additional federal and state payroll taxes.

While the benefits would be higher, so would the taxes.

The objections to the bill, however, lie principally in the wide loosening of qualifications. In California, for example, where retail employers are becoming alarmed at the bill's intent, it would make benefits easier for persons who quit their jobs without good cause or who are discharged for cause.

This, as has been pointed out, would undo the attempt of the 1965 state Legislature to reduce abuses by requiring such people to go back to work before they can draw benefits.

The experiences of 30 years since the start of unemployment insurance does suggest that some beneficial changes could be made on the federal side without disturbing the time-tested federal-state relationship.

But that isn't the true goal. We suspect that the changes desired by the Administration reflect the steadily-growing ideological interest in a new "right" now being proclaimed by liberals. This is the "right to an income" regardless of whether you want to work or don't want to work.

Unemployment insurance is being used as the "foot in the door" to get what they really want.

Frances G. Knight and the State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, a recent edition of the Manchester Union Leader carries a most enlightening edition which bears upon a current situation existing in our Department of State. I ask unanimous consent that this outstanding editorial appearing in the Monday, April 18 issue of the Manchester Union Leader appear in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

This Knight Is Your Protector

When it comes to handing out citations for bravery "above and beyond the call of duty," our first nominee is a woman.

The battle Frances G. Knight is waging against stupidity and cupidity in the U.S. State Department is every bit as much a campaign against communism as the fight being waged by the GI's in Viet Nam.

The director of the Passport Office does not consider her lonely battle against an entrenched anti-anti-Communist (if not pro-Communist) bureaucracy at Foggy Bottom as being related to personal bravery. She simply believes that she is doing the job she is paid to do, while at the same time she keeps faith with the men who are sacrificing their lives half way around the world. Miss Knight sees no sense in fighting communism on the battlefield while the government at home hands out passports to domestic Reds as it would to any other American citizen.

The campaign to remove Miss Knight from office has been a long and determined one—and thus far, a dismal failure.

No tactic is considered too low if it is used to thwart Miss Knight's determination to comply with congressional directives to tighten up security procedures regarding the handling of passports in cases of persons with pro-Communist backgrounds.

Recently, Philip B. Heymann, deputy administrator of the department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, sternly rebuked Miss Knight for sending cables asking two American embassies abroad to keep an eye on an American professor when he travels to Europe this fall. Heymann's stiff memorandum was endorsed by William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration.

So eager were the officials to attack Miss Knight that they didn't bother to ascertain that the information sought in the cables had been requested by the FBI in a communication sent to the Passport Office 5 weeks prior to issuance of the memorandum of rebuke. Nor did they bother to determine that Miss Knight was away from the office when the cables to the embassies were sent, or that the cables—bearing her name—were signed by someone acting in her stead.

Miss Knight's superiors also sent messages instructing the embassies to disregard the earlier message from the Passport Office, then were forced to back down when they discovered that the request for information—not surveillance—came from the FBI.

Although Miss Knight was warned in the Heymann memo not to seek such information unless it is requested by an agency charged by Congress with investigative responsibilities, and although the FBI obviously is such an agency, no apology has been forthcoming for Miss Knight.

On the contrary, the Establishment immediately launched an offensive on a new front: The State and Justice Departments decided to reroute such requests from investigative agencies and channel them through the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Under the new procedures, the requests would be approved "by a responsible officer" in the State Department—i.e., apparently by one who does not share Miss Knight's views.

The new directive also specifies that messages requesting information on a traveling citizen will contain no characterization of his or her political views. In other words, the embassies are to pass on information—but are to be kept in the dark as to what type of activity the traveler might be likely to engage in.

The new policy is the direct result of Senator Edward Kennedy's public opposition to the FBI reports.

The campaign against Miss Knight launched by Abba Philip Schwartz, former chief of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, is being continued by his handpicked successor, Mr. Heymann.

Let us hope the victory will not be an expensive one. It was under Schwartz that Lee Harvey Oswald, assassin of President Kennedy, was granted a passport to Russia. It was under the Schwartz-directed Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs that Oswald, after he had repudiated his American citizenship, was given a new passport and his return to the United States paid for out of taxpayers' money. It was Schwartz who doctored a memo on a passport applicant removing a reference to Communist Party membership, before passing it on to his superior.

But Schwartz is "in" (via his proxy, Heymann). Miss Knight, however, may be on her way out if Congress and the American people do not soon focus their attention on the lonely battle she is waging.

Adult Reading Center Aids Illiterate Youth's Job Quest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Feb. 7, 1966]

Adult Reading Center Aids Illiterate Youth's Job Quest

(By Faith Corrigan)

Jimmy is a graduate of Thomas Edison Industrial School. But he could not get a job. Jimmy could not read.

Shortly after the Cleveland Public Library opened its new adult reading center, Jimmy came to ask for help. His reading ability tested at first-grade level. He could not even read such everyday signs as "Exit," "No Smoking" and "Elevator."

With such a handicap, Jimmy could not even fill out an application blank for a job. When he wanted a driver's license, he had a friend take the written examination for him. But significantly, he passed the actual driving and parking test on the first try.

He had technical abilities, but he could not use them because of his inability to read.

At the reading center, Jimmy was introduced to a new machine, the Languagemaster, which reads sentences and words aloud from cards fed into it.

Jimmy wanted quick results. He did not wish to return to a classroom environment. He found he could go to the main branch of the library and work on his reading.

After 6 weeks, Jimmy was able to get a job as a cleanup man in a department store. One month later, he was promoted to assistant mechanic with an 80 percent raise in wages.

Why didn't Jimmy learn to read in school? He was not interested until he recognized his inability to read was a handicap in finding a job.

The adult reading centers are reaching more than 200 people like Jimmy, adults who do not wish to go back to school, mature people who need reading materials suited to them. They may come and go at the main library to suit their daily schedules.

A complete wing is now devoted to this purpose and most of the $111,000 federal grant making the program possible went into equipment, books and furnishings.

The library was able to hire a reading specialist, Stanley Klosek, who spends 2 days a week at the branches for consultation about adult reading problems.

Klosek is at the Quincy branch on Tuesdays from 12:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. and at the Carnegie West branch on Thursdays from 12:30 p.m. until 9 p.m.

Parents who wish to learn how to read to their children can take them to a pre-school tour at the Carnegie West branch at 10 a.m. on Wednesdays or to the Quincy branch at 10 a.m. on Fridays.

Also made possible by the federal grant was an expansion of the library's citizenship training collection of books to a new Adult Education Book Service which allows teachers of adult students to borrow in bulk to supply their entire classes.

Word of the service is being carried to the culturally deprived of Cleveland through special "outreach" librarians.

Miss Mildred Door takes children's books to the waiting room of Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital and tells parents of the reading centers.

Miss Katherine Conradi, a former teacher and social worker, now on the staff of Carnegie West, goes door to door in her area. Mrs. Valerie Morgan, at the Quincy branch, is performing the same person-to-person service.

"The people who come to us are truly motivated to learn," remarked Dr. Fern Long, director of the Adult Education Department of the library.

"Since these people no not read, the usual methods of telling them about the service are closed to us. But we did get our best response from a flyer we put into a welfare check mailing with the permission of the county auditor."

READING CENTERS PROJECT

Funds: $111,000 from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare under the Library Services and Construction Act.

Sponsor: The Cleveland Public Library.

Purpose: To establish special materials, and counseling centers for functionally illiterate adults, school children who are poor readers and pre-schoolers.

Location: Adult Education Reading Center, Main Library, 325 Superior Avenue; Carnegie West branch, Fulton Road N.W. and Bridge Avenue N.W.; and Quincy branch, 2390 E. 79th Street.

Enrollment: 240 people.

Headquarters: Adult Education Department of the Cleveland Public Library. Dr. Fern Long, director. Phone number: 241-1020, Extension 193.

H.R. 12117

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I am again urging that H.R. 12117, a bill providing for a commission to stop the spread of noxious, obscene, and smut material, be given immediate hearings and be immediately passed.

This loathsome profession has become a multibillion-dollar business and is one which must be stringently controlled.

This is an interstate business and only the Federal Government can control it. I hope, Mr. Speaker, action can be taken immediately.

Revolt Against Freeman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the Rowland Evans-Robert Novak column in the Washington Post of May 12 is most interesting and revealing so far as it discloses the political concern of certain Members of the Senate about Secretary Freeman's actions. The column follows:

Revolt Against Freeman

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

The political revolt against Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman got so overheated last week that he called a secret breakfast meeting in his office with eight Democratic Senators.

Whether it was the Secretary's ham and eggs, or his promises to do better next time, the Senators left the breakfast table momentarily mollified. But they are far from happy.

What angered the Democrats, all of them Westerners and four of them up for reelection next fall, is the fact that under the persistent prodding of President Johnson, Freeman has been making statements that seem to blame the farmer for the rising cost of living.

For example, on April 1, the Secretary said in a speech that he was pleased that hog prices had fallen from their peak. The effect of those words in the farm belt was dynamite. They put Freeman in the position of advocating a decline in farm income.

But more than words causes Freeman's trouble. Under orders from the President, he has released wheat and feed corn from Government storage for sale at less than market prices, an action that had the immediate effect of depressing the price of farmer-sold wheat and corn. This infuriated wheat and corn growers.

Then the Commerce Department slapped a ban on the export of rawhide, ostensibly to keep the price of shoes from going up. The farmer did not like being blamed for the high price of shoes.

The Commerce Department also opened the door to imports of cheddar cheese from Canada, which, coming on the heels of Mr. Johnson's cutback in the school milk program, enraged the dairymen.

Accordingly, the eight Democratic farm-bloc Senators complained to Freeman that his excellent reputation was falling to the level of Ezra Taft Benson's in the Eisenhower Administration—the most hated Secretary of Agriculture in this century. One of the eight, Senator Lee Metcalf, of Montana, told Freeman that his reelection next fall hinges on the Administration's changing its image in the farm belt.

Metcalf told Freeman that his slender 4,000-vote margin in 1960 was a direct result of his breakthrough among normally Republican wheat growers. Today, he said, he would not come close to getting that vote.

The Democratic Senators warned Freeman that if he did not explain the political facts of life in the farm belt to President Johnson, they would make a trip to the White House themselves and do it.

They told him he must get the President's permission to make political war on the Budget Bureau, the Council of Economic Advisers and other arms of the Administration that are blaming inflation on the farmers. They warned Freeman against any more presidential suggestions that housewives buy the "cheaper cuts" of meat, not the choice cuts, in order to help the campaign against inflation.

Finally, they told Freeman that although he personally was not the cause of all the growing resentment against the Administration, he was getting the blame and had better speak up for the farmers' point of view or face demands for his resignation. The breakfast meeting was the roughest and frankest Freeman has had in his five years as Secretary.

The fact is that Freeman is caught in a classic cross-haul. To appease the labor unions and the important voting blocs in the big cities, the Administration has singled out the farmer as the biggest culprit in the rise of the cost of living. Good citizen Freeman, playing like a member of the team, has been willing to go along with the President at the sacrifice of his own constituency, the farmers.

But no longer. As a direct result of last week's lecture he persuaded the President to expand the wheat acreage allotment by 7.7 million acres for 1967. Freeman is now out to show that he still loves the farmer.

There is just one trouble: farmbloc Democrats are fearful it may be too late.

Military Medical Benefits Act of 1966

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14088) to amend chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code, to authorize an improved health benefits program for retired members and members of the uniformed services and their dependents, and for other purposes.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I support this legislation. I believe this is direly needed. In view of the confusion which has arisen in the last several years with respect to the obligation of this Congress to our retired military people with respect to health benefits, I believe this legislation clears the air to a reasonable extent.

Certainly it is critically needed because of the current drain on our stateside military hospital facilities. The alternative provisions for civilian care which are provided by this legislation are critically necessary.

At this time I ask the gentleman from Louisiana, the manager of the bill, with respect to the transition coverage for retired people from this legislation to social security legislation, is it the gentleman's understanding that all military personnel who are retired, who reach the age of 62 years or 65 years, are then automatically covered by the social security medicare legislation?

Mr. HÉBERT. They would be under the law, as the social security provisions of the law provide. They apply to everybody at age 65. However, at age 65 he must pay the $3, the same as everybody else, if he wants to obtain the full benefits of the civilian health care program. However, he continues to remain eligible for care at uniformed services medical facilities after reaching age 65 whether or not he participates under the social security program.

Mr. LEGGETT. The effect of it will not be to downgrade the coverage after age 65 by transition to the medicare social security benefits?

Mr. HÉBERT. Quite the contrary. The whole purpose of the bill is to upgrade and not downgrade the benefits given to the man in uniform. That is why we specifically added language to that effect.

Mr. LEGGETT. With respect to another matter, I believe coverage of the handicapped who are born to members of military services is extremely good legislation. Provisions like this might well be applied to civilians who are covered under the Social Security Act, who might also have totally disabled children through no fault of their own, for which children we currently make no provision of any benefits.

The Department of Defense, by this legislation, is assuming its responsibility to its military members who have these totally disabled children. It is extremely good legislation and in the public interest.

With respect to recoupment of the Department of Defense for the care provided under this legislation, as I understand, a flexible schedule is provided for the recompensation benefits. I ask the gentleman from Louisiana if that is correct.

Mr. HÉBERT. The gentleman has correctly stated the situation. There is a flexibility of payments ranging from a minimum of $25 a month to $250 a month. This is graded on the rank of the individual affected.

For instance, an enlisted man who has a retarded child would not pay more than $25 a month and, under certain circumstances, even this could be waived by the Department.

The four-star general would pay no more than $250 a month. It is graded on a scale of the individual and his compensation in an area now where there is no provision at all to help these people.

Mr. LEGGETT. As I understand it, there is a limitation that the intent of the legislation is that 75 percent of the cost shall be borne by the Department of Defense, with a maximum to be recouped from the individual of from $25 to $250, depending upon the scale.

Mr. HÉBERT. The gentleman has stated it satisfactorily and correctly.

Mr. LEGGETT. I thank the gentleman very much.

Questionnaire Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. For the 6th consecutive year, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members the results of the congressional questionnaire conducted in Michigan's Eighth District. Before listing the results, I would like to mention that the questionnaire was mailed to some 120,000 homes throughout the district. In addition, most of the 26 weekly and daily newspapers in the district's five counties ran the questionnaire ballot as a public service, which resulted in greater participation. Over 11,000 returns have been received. The results were based on the tabulation of 8,428 completed by a private business firm, Control Data Corp.

A news release issued on the poll is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Wider use of American air and sea power in the Vietnam war was the most popular view expressed by Michigan Eighth District voters in Congressman JIM HARVEY's annual Congressional Questionnaire.

In announcing results of the questionnaire, Congressman HARVEY emphasized that the majority of the returns had been received before the recent riots by the Buddhists in South Vietnam cast some doubts whether the Ky government would be able to continue to represent the people there.

HARVEY said that some 8,428 questionnaire returns were tabulated by the Control Data Corp. "A few returns are still coming in, weeks after the mailing of some 120,000 to every postal patron in the five counties," HARVEY said. "These results also include hundreds of ballots which were printed in most of the District's weekly and daily newspapers. I would guess that our final total will be about 11,000."

In the four-part question on the Vietnam crisis, Eighth District voters emphatically turned down a withdrawal of United States forces or even a holding operation by U.S. forces aimed at making secure the areas now controlled by the South Vietnamese government.

Of those voting, 68.7 percent opposed a withdrawal of U.S. forces, as against 10.4 percent favoring it. On the holding action, 54.5 percent were against such strategy, with 15.6 percent voting for it.

On the increase of American air and sea power, 52.3 percent were recorded for it, and 19.8 percent against it. A clear majority also called for an increase in U.S. ground troops, 50.7 percent as against 28.4 percent.

The closest vote in the 12-question ballot centered on the question for an increase in the present $1.25 per hour Federal minimum wage. Led by the nearly 2,000 hourly employees who participated in the questionnaire, the increase was narrowly voted down, 51.7 percent to 43.6 percent. Hourly employees were the only ones of the eight occupation groups which favored it, 57.7 percent to 38.8 percent. All others—salaried employee, businessman, professional, farmer, housewife, retired and the general "other" classification turned it down.

Another surprising result was the top-heavy defeat on the question of the right-to-work law. In asking of Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act should be repealed, nullifying State right-to-work laws, 69.6 percent were against repeal. Only 19.7 percent favored repeal.

More interesting perhaps was the fact that 57.6 percent of the hourly employees were against repeal, while 30.8 percent wanted the law discarded. The question has been included for the last 2 years on Mr. Harvey's questionnaire and both times has been turned down by all occupations.

Other results were rather decisive. Eighth District residents remain opposed to possible future dealings with the communist world. They reject expansion of trade with communist-block nations, 66.3 percent to 26.2 percent, and again do not favor admission of Red China to the United Nations, 63.2 percent to 29.6 percent.

One of the most lopsided votes was against the Administration's efforts to all but eliminate the existing school milk program, since restored by Congressional action. The vote was 73.1 percent to 19.3 percent against curtailment of the popular program.

Voters turned down the War on Poverty program, 52.8 percent to 38 percent, with many expressing dissatisfaction with its operations.

The biggest margin was shown on the question of restraint in domestic spending in order to fight inflation. Some 74.5 percent favored such action, with 19.4 percent against it.

Enactment of compulsory Federal standards for the manufacturing of vehicles, tires and accessories to further highway safety was favored, 61.7 percent to 32.1 percent.

The complete results are as follows: Do you favor—

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No answer
1. If a satisfactory settlement in Vietnam cannot be secured by negotiation in the foreseeable future:			
a. Withdrawal of U.S. forces even though this means a Communist take-over of South Vietnam?	10.4	68.7	20.7
b. Increase in U.S. ground troops to whatever size is needed to clear most of South Vietnam from communist control?	50.7	28.4	20.7
c. No increase in U.S. ground forces but wider use of American air and sea power?	57.3	19.8	27.8
d. A holding operation by U.S. forces aimed at making secure the areas now controlled by the South Vietnamese government but not winning back parts of South Vietnam controlled by the communists?	15.6	54.5	29.8
2. Expansion of trade with communist-bloc nations?	26.2	66.3	7.5
3. Admission of Red China to the United Nations?	29.6	63.2	7.3
4. Repeal of Section 14–b of the Taft-Hartley Act, nullifying state right-to-work laws?	19.7	69.6	10.7
5. Administration's proposed 80% curtailment of the school milk program?	19.3	73.1	7.5
6. An increase in the present $1.25 per hour Federal minimum wage?	43.6	51.7	4.6
7. The War on Poverty program?	38.0	52.8	9.2
8. Restraint in domestic spending in order to fight inflation?	74.5	19.4	6.2
9. The enactment of compulsory Federal standards for the manufacturing of vehicles, tires and accessories to further highway safety?	61.7	32.1	5.2

San Diegan Raps Wavering Policy on U.S. Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of America's wisest men in the field of mortgage banking comes from my hometown of San Diego, Calif. He is Mr. Ewart W. Goodwin, who is currently serving as president of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America.

His recent trip to Washington gave him the opportunity of personally reviewing and evaluating the Johnson administration's credit policy and their efforts to adequately control harmful inflation. As an extension of my remarks, I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today an article written by Mike Konon who is the San Diego Evening Tribune business writer, entitled "San Diegan Raps Wavering Policy on U.S. Economy." The article appeared in this newspaper in San Diego, Calif., on Friday, May 6, and stems from an interview of Mr. Goodwin.

SAN DIEGAN RAPS WAVERING POLICY ON U.S. ECONOMY

(By Mike Konon)

San Diegan Ewart W. Goodwin, president of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America, charged today that the federal government has "no discernible credit policy."

Goodwin, who is president of the Percy H. Goodwin Co. of San Diego, addressed the association's National Mortgage Banking Conference in New York.

"We find a repeated shifting of ground," Goodwin said, pointing to government statements in January and February that there "wasn't to be any inflation" and March statements that inflation posed a "grave threat to economic stability."

"There seems to be about as many policies as there are agencies, with neither coordination nor consistency among them," Goodwin said. "The result is an increasing difficulty in maintaining contact between those who make the decisions and those who are affected by them, with the corollary that the decision-making process itself becomes more and more disassociated from the realities of the marketplace."

MONEY TIGHTENED

The head of the national association pointed to Federal Housing Administration and Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA) regulations which have tightened the money market for home loans, and charged that the government's own direct credit agencies, such as the Veterans Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Farm Credit Administration and Small Business Administration, have not curtailed activities.

"Nor, to our knowledge, has FNMA been asked to place any restriction on the financing it provides for special programs of the Federal Housing Administration."

NEW GRANTS CITED

Goodwin also charged that while recent letters were being mailed to businessmen asking them to curtail capital investment to curb inflation, the Department of Housing and Urban Development was announcing new grants and advances for urban renewal, college housing and other projects.

The home mortgage market has been restricted sharply by moves of FNMA, Goodwin charged. The limit of $15,000 on mortgages bought by the federal agency "discriminates in favor of the borrower who could be satisfied with $15,000" and also discriminates geographically, giving the South broad access to FNMA but cutting off particularly the West Coast where mortgages are higher.

ACTION IS URGED

Earlier this week, C. A. Duncan, Jr., president of the U.S. Savings and Loan League, urged corrective action by the government to forestall creation of an "Appalachia" of the economy in the housing industry.

The Federal National Mortgage Association today reported record buying of nearly $800 million in FHA and VA mortgages during the first three months of the year. The agency reported a sharp curtailment of privately held funds with sales of only $62,000.

CONTRAST REPORTED

This contrasted with mortgage purchases of $95 million in the first quarter of 1965 and sales of $20 million.

The agency said the performance was indicative of tight money periods. It sells mortgages in greater amounts during periods of monetary ease and purchases rise in tight money periods. The purchase record, which prompted the move in March to curtail purchases of mortgages over $15,000, was an all-time high for the agency.

Exploring Educational Bypaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Apr. 24, 1966]

EXPLORING EDUCATIONAL BYPATHS

(By Joseph Michalak)

Next fall, Gunnison, Colo., will start putting teachers on its school buses to make educational use of the hours or so daily that pupils spend in transit between homes and classes.

Kennebunk, Me., will circulate among its schools a custom-built "Roving Reader"—a van complete with records, filmstrips, tape recorder and other equipment—designed to provide remedial help to pupils retared in vocabulary, comprehension and related skills.

Akron, Ohio, will conduct a science elementary "summer school in the woods," using the city's 3,800 acres of parks—including quarry formations, caves, burial mounds, Indian fortifications and fossils—as classrooms.

Macon County, Ala., will hold Saturday and summer classes in stringed instruments for four-to-six-year-olds; Springfield, Mass., will use teacher aides from France, Spain and Germany to help in a summer program of language study; Alameda, Calif., will try to teach blind children to travel alone.

And even that butt of jokes about ossification and bureaucracy—the New York City public school system—will inaugurate a similar series of projects to demonstrate that it, too, has an innovation brain in its collective head.

TITLE III PROJECTS

The cause of this unusual spate of nationwide educational change will be the little-publicized Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Dubbed PACE—Projects to Advance Creativity in Education—the title provides $75 million of seed money for two years to help school systems, working in cooperation with colleges or universities, private schools, museums, musical and other cultural organizations, to devise new and improved methods of teaching. Hopefully, the ideas will serve as models for programs in other school districts.

Last week, the U.S. Office of Education announced approval of 336 such supplementary education projects from among 971 submitted before a Feb. 9 deadline. In January, it had financed the first round of 217 projects from among 746 submitted. The final deadline of the year is May 25. So far, $32 million worth of ideas have been approved, some of them programs in operation but most of them planning projects that will require extra funds to implement.

The first batch of approvals included five, worth a total of $480,000, for New York City. These were for an educational center of the social sciences and humanities; a project to bring live Lincoln Center performances of music drama and dance into city schools; creation of a nature conservation center in High Rock Park, the city's newest on Staten Island; and a series of concerts in elementary and "600" schools presented by Young Audiences, Inc.

Without public fanfare, four more projects, worth some $284,000, were approved last Tuesday. These included the following:

$176,463 to establish 60 tuition-free afterclass and Saturday creative art centers for gifted and disadvantaged pupils from the third to ninth grades in public and parochial schools (which are entitled to share in all ESEA funds).

$34,473 to plan how an educational park—a new idea that combines schools with all grades on a single site—might benefit the pupils in all of the neighboring schools and enrich the educational and cultural facilities of the surrounding community. The specific target is the nation's largest housing project, to be known as Co-op City, on the Freedomland site in the Bronx, where four primary schools, two intermediate schools and one comprehensive high school are to be constructed. Jacob Landers, superintendent of integration planning for the public schools, said aims of the project are to insure that the park is racially balanced, and to determine what joint facilities should be established—and where—to serve both the co-op and the surrounding area.

But potentially the most far-reaching grant—of $50,000—went for a program that school officials have labeled "Concrete Roots" (there presumably being no "grassroots" in New York City.) The project is an outgrowth of a call issued in January by School Superintendent Bernard E. Donovan for the recently reorganized 30 school districts to establish educational planning committees—comprising community leaders, civic organizations, parents associations, local school boards, cultural agencies, the staffs of public and non-public schools and other community interests—for "creating new and exciting approaches to the education of all youth."

An accompanying instruction sent to the local areas freely acknowledged that "the New York City school system has long been regarded as a monolithic, bureaucratic organization controlled from the 'top' with no independent planning allowed at the lower levels of administration * * *. While the organization changed on paper [in the decentralization plan creating the 30 districts] there is not yet strong belief in the actuality of the change."

Within two months, the district responded with 119 ideas, which were evaluated by a national screening committee of educators. Of these, 18 proposals—from 14 of the districts—were recommended for development into full-blown Title III Applications by the next closing date for fund requests, May 25. And other sources of government and private funds will be pursued for the proposals that were not recommended at this time. Among these that passed the first muster were the following:

In Harlem's District 6, the Glickenhaus Community Workshop and 138th St. Block Association consisting of areas merchants, proposes to prepare children as young as three years of age for school. The center will arrange afterschool and Saturday trips to museums, parks and carry on other cultural activities; an adult literacy program, tutoring at all ages, and vocational guidance. It also hopes to improve the living standards of the area and to make the community aware of its needs and obligations.

District 24 of Corona, Queens, will explore the possibility of a "Youth Fair" on the site of the recent World's Fair at Flushing Meadow. The area would offer sports facilities, swimming pool, day-care center, summer camp, clinical and remedial instruction; cultural resources such as a museum, children's zoo and theater; and a television transmitting control center, including provision for wirecasting over telephone lines to homebound pupils.

District 10 in the Bronx will create a "living science center" in cooperation with the Bronx Zoo; District 21 in South Brooklyn will cooperate with the New York Aquarium to provide traveling exhibitions of live sea specimens as well as a research source for pupils and teachers; and District 25 in the Flushing area will use the Queens Botanical Gardens to pursue programs of conservation and beautification.

In time, innovation may become so widespread that everyone will be able to make full use of one of the most novel and practical of the approved Title III projects; Eldorado, Ill., is writing up the most efficient ways for school districts to take advantage of, and apply for, Federal and State funds, and of supervising programs conducted with the funds.

Strong Foe of Union Corruption Slain Gang Style in San Francisco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, on April 5 of this year, one of San Francisco's outstanding labor leaders, Dow Wilson, recording secretary of Local No. 4, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paper Hangers, AFL–CIO, was assassinated outside of San Francisco's Labor Temple.

Frank Porter, Washington Post staff writer, has done a great service with his recent series of four articles on my good friend Dow Wilson and I should like to share them with my colleagues and the public:

STRONG FOE OF UNION CORRUPTION SLAIN GANG STYLE IN SAN FRANCISCO

(First of a series)

(By Frank C. Porter)

SAN FRANCISCO.—"Take your best shot," Dow Wilson often taunted his enemies.

On April 5 at 1 a.m., a half block from San Francisco's Labor Temple, a gunman took the cue literally and mowed Wilson down Chicago style.

It ended the career of as flamboyantly unorthodox a labor leader as the Nation has known.

From the nominally obscure position of recording secretary for San Francisco Local No. 4, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paper Hangers, AFL–CIO, Dow Wilson rose to challenge other area labor leaders, city officials, and —finally—the entrenched national hierarchy of his own union.

His death at age 40 was far more than that of a minor union functionary. It may well have severe repercussions throughout the 180,000-member Painters Union and its relationships with the labor movement as a whole.

Wilson's avowed aims were to restore union democracy to the rank and file, give the Painters a more militant stance, and break up what he considered a corrupt form of collusion between some union officials and construction contractors.

He was a gadfly, a rabble-rouser, a bohemian and radical leftist sporting a black beard that made him look like Fidel Castro.

In many ways his life paralleled that of Jack London, for whom he had a special affinity. Both were born poor. Both went to sea. Both became absorbed in social protest and were articulate about it. Both loved the outdoors, adventure, and hunting. And both died young.

Wilson's assassination unhinged the usual urbanity of San Franciscans. Controversial union politics are hardly unknown to this ideologically combative city; but union killings are rare.

"We've never had this kind of an operation," Mayor John F. Shelley, a onetime bakery truckdriver and Teamster official who became head of the State Federation of Labor, told me.

"As one born and raised in the labor movement, I think it is outrageous and reprehensible."

San Francisco police, unwilling to tip their hand, are uncommunicative about the case. Newspapers here quoted one official as saying the murder looks like a professional job.

Wilson's friends in Local No. 4 are convinced he met death at the hands of hired assassins and that the plot may have been hatched far from San Francisco—a possibility that detectives reportedly are checking.

In the grotto-like darkness of Oreste's Restaurant, a rococco hangout for labor skates and City Hall types, a Building Service Employes local officer spoke with warmth:

"We should raise the ante to 100,000 bucks. Anyone who'd get mixed up in a deal like that ought to be ready to talk for that kind of money."

Local No. 4 has already advertised a $10,000 reward for the killers.

MANY OFFERS OF FUNDS

Other labor groups have kicked in another $17,000. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has promised help as has Cesar Chavez, leader of the grape strikers in the San Joaquin Valley. (Wilson's local unlike most in the building crafts, had given Chavez active support in his battle for recognition by the growers.)

And Walter P. Reuther's 12-million-member United Auto Workers is considering a contribution.

What kind of a man was Dow Wilson?

Although his title was recording secretary, Wilson was nonetheless the de facto leader of Local 4 and the strongest voice in area painter politics. Wilson chose not to run for local president because the secretary's job left him less vulnerable to national or regional discipline.

He has a flair for inspiring adulatory, gung-ho loyalty on the one hand, and nearly pathological hatred on the other.

"As far as I'm concerned Dow Wilson's dead and the whole labor movement will be the better off for it," a rival union leader told me. "I'm just sick of the son of a bitch."

But other union leaders wept openly as California State Assemblyman Willie Brown, a Negro, told a memorial service attended by nearly 2,000:

"He will become the same symbol that Kennedy was to us, that Medgar Evers was to the Negro community."

Still another judgment came from Wilson's old friend, President Harry Bridges, of the ILWU, hardly a paragon of quiet conventionality himself.

"He was a wild man," Bridges told me.

As leader of Painters Local No. 4, Wilson merged the City's two housepainters locals into one over the International's objections, won greater autonomy for Bay area locals, exposed wholesale cheating on the City's public housing projects, broke the color line for maintenance workers on the Golden Gate Bridge, and defeated a move at the Union's national convention to strengthen the International's control at the local level by making business agents appointive rather than elective.

BIGGEST CHALLENGE

But his big challenge to the national leadership came last fall.

Wilson had led a 5-week strike in midsummer that brought Bay area painters what they claim is the richest contract the Brotherhood has ever known: $6.51 an hour in wages and fringe benefits after July 1, 1967.

During the strike, however, several of the 15 housepainter locals in the Bay area broke away and went back to work on the contractors' terms. Contending this violated an agreement for all locals to sign together, Wilson publicly branded Ben Rasnick, secretary-treasurer of the Oakland-based District 16, a "fink" and a "strikebreaker"—rather mild expletives in Wilson's purple vocabulary.

Rasnick and other area Painter officials filed identical charges of slander and "conduct unbecoming a union official" against Wilson. Representatives of Local No. 4 accused the International of soliciting the charges. On November 8 the Brotherhood's General Executive Board brought Wilson to trial at a San Francisco motel.

With 300 members of Local No. 4 picketing the GEB for "union busting," Wilson delivered a slashing counterattack in which he accused the International of violating its own constitution by acquiescing in the strikebreaking activities of Wilson's union rivals.

Wilson had also accused S. Frank Raftery, of Washington, president of the Brotherhood, of siding with the employers on the "free use of tools"—i.e., rollers and paint sprayers. And associates said Wilson had told them Raftery had opposed the size of the contract on grounds it was inflationary and would hurt the Brotherhood in its competition with nonunion painters.

CHARGES DISMISSED

After 3 days' testimony, the GEB dismissed the charges "without prejudice to renewal of such charges or similar charges should it become necessary to do so and if a repetition of the charges should thereafter take place."

Although the GEB found him neither innocent nor guilty, it was clearly a victory for Wilson.

But Wilson kept on fighting the national leadership. As his close friend, Representative PHILIP BURTON, Democrat, of California, put it shortly after the murder:

"He almost baited his enemies. He would give them no quarter and tormented them even when he was winning."

Tomorrow: How Wilson was shot down.

VOLATILE DOW WILSON WAS ELUSIVE AS TARGET FOR ASSASSIN

(Second of a Series)

(By Frank C. Porter)

SAN FRANCISCO.—As a creature of volatile habits, Dow Wilson was a hard man for a would-be assassin to track down.

At any given time, the late recording secretary of San Francisco Painters Union Local No. 4 might be at his office, leading a picket line, arguing with friends or enemies over a bottle of Jack Daniel, hunting elk in Wyoming, or touring the country to line up support against the Union's national leadership.

He was tough, profane, sensitive, restless, adventuresome, inquisitive, and radical—very much like his idol, vagabond novelist Jack London, a native of San Francisco.

He had become a legend even before his death. And the reverberations from his murder are likely to echo through the labor movement for years to come.

On the evening of April 4 Wilson parked his car—a slate gray Buick with black hardtop and bright orange "Moscone for (State) Senator" stickers—around the corner from the San Francisco Labor Temple on 16th Street. He wore a heavy black beard, red ski sweater, and blue jeans.

Then he entered the Temple's auditorium to report to his local's executive board on the recent Washington Legislative Conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO.

Midway through the meeting he left to confer with two members of Redwood City Local 1146, Mike Masia and John Basili, who had sought his advice.

They talked for nearly 2 hours in Wilson's cramped, dingy upstairs office. Then, at about 11 p.m., they removed their conversation to a booth at the B & E tavern, a block away on 16th Street and across from a burlesque theater.

TABLE POUNDER

Bartender Joseph Abella later said their talk appeared heated at times, with Wilson pounding the table with his fist to drive home a point.

But to those who knew him, this was Wilson's standard forensic technique. He would argue as passionately with his friends as he would with his enemies.

About 1 a.m. the three men left the bar. Masia and Basili later recounted that Wilson walked with them to their car, parked in a service station next to the Labor Temple. He then went to his own auto nearby on South Van Ness Street.

As they swung their car into 16th Street, Masia and Basili told police they heard two sharp reports which they took to be backfires.

Bartender Abella also heard them and ran out on 16th Street. But he couldn't see what was happening on Van Ness Street around the corner.

Minutes later two radiocar patrolmen found Wilson dead on the street beside his car, the keys in his hand. No attempt had been made to rob him of the $7.80 he was carrying.

An autopsy showed Wilson had been killed by a bullet (not buckshot) from a shotgun charge that entered his eye. Seven other similar slugs punched holes in the windows and wall of a nearby barber shop. A larger rifle slug, sometimes used in shotguns for hunting, had torn up Wilson's chest.

According to police, witnesses reported seeing two men in a parked car near the scene shortly before the killing.

Morris Evenson, who has succeeded Wilson on an acting basis and will stand for election as recording secretary later this spring, said that he, Wilson and Business Agent Duane Hellesto had all received telephoned threats earlier but had not taken them seriously.

Evenson and other labor leaders theorize that the timing of the ambush and the unorthodox configuration of the two shotgun charges indicate the killing was a professional job carried out by hired assassins.

A source close to police dissents, claiming the fact that seven of eight bullets in one shotgun charge missed the target from apparently close range suggests a sloppy job by amateurs.

HAD MANY ENEMIES

All agree, however, that Dow Wilson had enemies and many of them.

He was described once by a rival union leader as "a maniac that's over here trying to set himself up as a little Hitler or something like that * * *. He's got to be stopped."

A half dozen Bay Area painters union officials brought charges against Wilson last fall after he called them "finks" and "strikebreakers" for allegedly undermining a 5-week walkout led by Wilson. The strike brought what Local 4 officials claim is the richest contract in the history of the union, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers, AFL–CIO.

The Brotherhood's General Executive Board reluctantly dismissed the charges after a 3-day trial: The Supreme Court ruled in an earlier case that unions cannot try their members for slander, that the proper remedy lies in the courts.

But Wilson continued to flog his rivals. He publicly called them "economic Neville Chamberlains," "labor fakers and phonies," "sick, feebleminded sellout artists," "chicken-fed leaders," "political cowards," and "high-class pimps who lead the workers into the bordellous of illusion."

STRONGER IN PRIVATE

In private, the language was somewhat stronger.

Wilson and his associates didn't confine their invective to regional enemies. They took on the national hierarchy.

The Bay Area Painters News trumpeted: "Continuation of the attacks upon the Housepainters Locals in the Bay Area by the General Executive Board will bring them nothing but the full resistance of the rank and file, fully mobilized for action—any way they want it—legally, conciliatory, mediation, talkathon, conferences, or in the streets, anytime, anywhere. We'll be there."

Earlier Local No. 4 and its allies had picketed the California State Conference of Painters in Hollywood after the Executive Board had taken parking lot striping work from the housepainters and awarded it to a ship painters' local. Pickets were withdrawn after the conference passed a resolution urging return of the work to the housepainters.

In private discussions, Wilson locked horns with Brotherhood President S. Frank Raftery and Vice President O. T. Satre. He scorned a job as general representative (nearly $23,000 a year in pay and expenses compared to $13,000 as No. 4's recording secretary) which his friends say the national leadership offered him.

Raftery declined to talk to the Washington Post, sending word through a secretary that "the International has no comment" on the

Wilson case. Thus far neither Raftery nor the General Executive Board has offered condolences to Local No. 4 or Wilson's widow.

Wilson also tangled at national conventions and in private encounters with Martin Rarback, a Raftery ally and head of New York City's powerful District 9. Invoking the Fifth Amendment, Rarback has refused to testify before a Federal Grand Jury which has already indicted a public housing official on charges of accepting $400,000 in bribes in the City's current painting scandal.

According to an associate, Wilson accosted anyone he saw wearing a Painters button at the March conference of the Building Trades Department in Washington. He would hand out literature attacking the national leadership and introduce himself: "I'm Dow Wilson of Local No. 4. Our new contract calls for $6.51 (an hour) in wages and fringes next year. How are you fellows doing?"

Wilson's appetite for further strife with his enemies was apparent in a letter he wrote an Eastern friend in February. "It appears they have lost the desire to do combat with us," he wrote, "and as such, we shall be opening new flanking moves to bring them back on the battlefield and out of the hotel rooms."

Tuesday: How Wilson grew a beard to disconcert management negotiators.

SLAIN UNIONIST FOUGHT AGAINST SHODDY WORK

(By Frank C. Porter)

(Third in a series)

SAN FRANCISCO.—Barbara Wilson sat in Oreste's Restaurant here reminiscing with friends about her husband, a local Painters Union leader, who had challenged the Union's nation hierarchy before he was killed by anonymous gunmen on April 5.

"Dow liked to act out a role and he thought costume was very important," she said.

"He would dress up for a local union meeting. Then he'd wear a ski sweater and blue jeans tg a negotiating session with the contractors.

"He grew the beard for negotiations. He liked to shock people. He thought the beard would throw them (the contractors) into a turmoil."

TURMOIL AT MEETING

The beard helped throw more than management into turmoil. A rival union leader recalled a meeting last July 26 of the Sacramento Painters local, to which Dow Wilson led a delegation of his San Francisco Local No. 4's rank and file—a device which helped make Wilson the dominant force in Bay area painters politics:

"One of the guys got up and says I'd like to have Dow Wilson say a few words." And the guys hollered, "Boo-o! Dow Wilson. Castro son of a bitch up there. The hell with him!

A different assessment of the 40-year-old labor leader came from Alexander Saxton of Sausalito in a letter to the San Francisco Chronicle.

"I wept when I read of the murder of Dow Wilson," Saxton wrote. "I had not seen him for many years; but I remember him from the time just after the Second World War as a fiery and magnificently naive young seaman.

"The situation Wilson confronted was a power structure of aging bureaucrats, atrophied in office, presiding over a skilled and privileged trade from which Negroes and other racial minorities were almost totally excluded and in which rank and file participation was at a minimum.

"Wilson hurled himself against this structure with vigor and with almost incredible courage. He was elected and reelected. On the local level at least he was winning his battle. And now he is dead. It is too bad—too bad for San Francisco. He was a man of whom the labor movement might well be proud; but probably won't be."

UNION'S LARGEST LOCAL

Wilson's job as recording secretary of No. 4, with 2,500 members, the largest local in the Painters Brotherhood, was tailor made for him since it left him less vulnerable to national or regional discipline than if he'd been president.

His threat to the power of President S. Frank Raftery of Washington and the rest of the Brotherhood's General Executive Board was enhanced by his ability to convert opponents to his cause.

Late in 1962, for example, Wilson and his two chief lieutenants, Business Representatives Morris Evenson and Duane Hellesto, opened a campaign against shoddy painting and lax inspection in public housing. Contractors, they claimed, were cheating on specifications and "stealing" coats, using one or two where two or three were required.

At first, officials of the Painters' District Council denounced Wilson for violating "protocol" and upsetting the union's good relationship with this San Francisco Housing Authority.

PROVOKED PUBLIC HEARINGS

But Wilson persisted, won the district council leaders to his side, stirred the concern of the Federal Housing public hearings and secured formal union representation on the inspection teams.

Unlike his wife, who was graduated from the University of California, Wilson was a high-school dropout and proud of it. "Each time he told it, he dropped out of school a year earlier," Barbara Wilson recalls.

Wilson's literacy belied his lack of formal education. He opened one attack on the public housing scandal with a quote from Macbeth: "Fair is foul, and foul is fair: Hover through the fog and filthy air." In a single scathing letter to President Raftery, he paraphrased Sir Isaac Newton, Emile Zola, and Victor Hugo.

"He liked 'We Shall Overcome' and Verdi," his widow said. "And he liked Joan Baez, the pacifist folksinger, whose records were played at his memorial service.

"He thought she was one of the most attractive women he'd seen, particularly with her being for peace," said Mrs. Wilson, adding with a smile: "In fact, he used to threaten me with Joan Baez quite a bit."

FOND OF HUNTING

Wilson's appetite for life seemed insatiable. He loved to hunt duck, deer, elk, and mountain goats. He was a fisherman, a hiker, and a skier. His wife describes him as an amateur cook who would sometimes lug a special high-heat oven to a friend's house to roast the game he'd shot. He also filled the modest, walkout flat he shared with Barbara and three children with bottles in the process of making home brew.

Of Italian extraction, Dow Wilson grew up amid the poverty of the Great Depression in Uniontown, Pa. Friends say this laid the foundation for his later predilection for the Left.

After dropping out of school, he shipped as a merchant seaman, giving him an early exposure to the hurly-burly of union infighting. He openly contested the regime of the National Maritime Union's tough president, Joseph Curran. "He was twice tried by the union and twice beaten up," said Barbara.

"He never approved of violence," she continued. "He always believed one man alone could win more than one with a hundred goons."

AVOIDED POLITICAL TAG

Wilson leaned toward Marxism but he was too ideologically unmanagable to be tagged with a political label. "If he'd lived a hundred years ago, he would have driven Karl Marx nuts," a good friend, Representative PHILLIP BURTON, Democrat, of California, said at Wilson's memorial service.

He was as disputatious with his friends as with his enemies. "Nobody had as many arguments with him as I had," said Harry Bridges, the leftist president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and one of the few top labor leaders Wilson's associates said he admired. Bridges described Wilson as "a real rebel" and a "provocative needle artist."

Automation was one subject on which they disagreed sharply. Wilson criticized the famous Mechanization and Modernization Agreement negotiated by Bridges which permitted West Coast shipowners to reduce stevedoring costs by introducing any labor-saving machinery they wanted in exchange for great job security and benefits for union members.

Wilson, on the other hand, stoutly resisted what the painting industry calls the "free use of tools"—introduction of paint rollers, sprayers and the like.

PUT SECURITY FIRST

"Now we are for the free use of tools," Wilson once said. "We advocate the free use of tools, we believe in lessening the rigors of labor at the point of production. All of this we firmly believe only when our people are guaranteed a full week's wages, holiday pay, vacation pay, health and welfare for our families, a pension plan in our old age. We say yes, give all these things and you can put the paint on any way you want, by rag, mop or broom, we care less. But until you provide our families with all these securities we'll tell you how the paint is going to be applied."

Wage increases negotiated by Wilson last summer would give guideline-conscious Government economists the horrors. Wilson's wage and fringe benefit package brought hourly labor costs to $6.51, reportedly the highest level in any painters' contract. The increase figures out to be better than 8 percent a year, making a shambles of the Administration's 3.2 percent wage guidepost.

From the Government viewpoint, Wilson's arch-enemy Raftery is on the side of the angels. He advocated freer use of tools in the Bay Area and indicated to Wilson that the settlement was too rich.

LOSS FELT AS BLOW

But Wilson supporters consider such economic issues subordinate to the blow they feel his death dealt to union democracy and reassertion of the rights of rank and file.

Frank Schonfeld, a close Wilson friend and painter who has been fighting the Painters Union establishment in New York City for years, says bitterly:

"If you can get away with blacklisting a man, if you can get away with firing him, if you can get away with beating him up, then you can get away with murder."

Tomorrow: The painting scandal in New York City.

PAINTERS UNION BATTLE MAY FLARE UP IN NEW YORK

(Last of a series)

(By Frank C. Porter)

NEW YORK.—The next round in the battle of rank-and-file dissidents to unseat the entrenched leadership of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, AFL–CIO, may come in this city's multimillion-dollar painting scandal.

Already a city housing authority official has been indicted by a New York County grand jury for accepting $400,000 in bribes and for conspiring with a "certain labor official" to rig bids on public housing contracts.

Seven contractors have also been indicted—six for perjury and one for contempt. Some 30 contractors, city officials and union officers have refused to waive immunity and testify before the grand jury, including Martin Rarback, secretary-treasurer of District Council 9 and de facto boss of the Painters Union in New York.

ALLY OF RAFTERY

Rarback is an ally of the Brotherhood's national president, S. Frank Raftery of Washington. He was also an arch enemy of San Francisco's Dow Wilson, whose militant leadership galvanized opposition to the union establishment among Bay Area painters before he was killed by shotgun blasts on April 5.

Some dissidents profess to see a connection between Wilson's quarrel with the leadership and events transpiring here. At any rate, there is a relationship in that Wilson's allies in San Francisco and a small band of resolute rebels in New York led by Frank Schonfeld have the makings of a giant pincers movement on the embattled national national leadership.

Wilson was a lusty, bearded, passionate, nonconforming infighter who won an almost fanatic loyalty from his followers. His friend Schonfeld is a a quiet, unassuming man, mild of manner and conservative of dress. But the New Yorker's mildness belies enduring capacity for combat.

Communists have always been rare in building trades unions. But they had a firm grip on District Council 9 back in 1947.

In that year Schonfeld, secretary of the District's anti-Communist caucus, helped Rarback unseat Louis Weinstock, a Communist Party member.

Bit by bit Schonfeld became disillusioned with Rarback as a union reformer. He charged the regime with blacklisting dissidents, staging drumhead trials against them, beating them up, conspiring with contractors and undermining work standards and pay scales.

In 1963 Schonfeld managed to pierce the Council's cumbersome nominating machinery and run against Rarback for secretary-treasurer. He lost, 3751 to 1916.

CAMPAIGN STEPPED UP

Since then he has stepped up his campaign against Rarback in alliance with reformer H. W. Benson, who sustains himself as a machine tool consultant to manufacturing firms while publishing a highly literate nonprofit newsletter, Union Democracy in Action. Besides the Painters, Benson has picked fights with the leadership of the American Association of Machinists, Harry Bridges' west coast longshoremen, the Building Service Employees International Union and others.

Schonfeld, who still works as a painter, claims some 500 out of New York's nearly 10,000 union painters as members of his labor committee against corruption in the painting industry.

He also edits an insurgent union paper, Painters Free Press, stages anti-Rarback rallies at which Norman Thomas has been a frequent speaker, and serves on the Bronx County Democratic Committee.

CONTRACTOR ASSAULTED

The painting scandal came to light 2 years ago when Jack Graham, a Long Island contractor, was nearly beaten to death in a Brooklyn parking lot. Two hoodlums, who said "someone" had promised to pay them well for the job, went to Sing Sing for the beating.

Graham told police that he'd been threatened with death for not going along with a union-contractor plot to rig painting contracts on public housing. He claimed to have saved the city $3 million by submitting low bids.

This touched off the grand jury investigation.

As pieced together from union dissidents and press reports, the alleged bid-rigging racket worked this way:

The conspiring contractors would divide up a large part of the annual $7 million in city painting contracts, agreeing as to who would submit the low bid for each project.

OUTSIDER HARRASSED

Any outsider who underbid them would be subjected to harassment and fines by union officials policing the labor contract, thus making his costs prohibitive. Meanwhile, union officials would wink at violations by conspiring contractors such as hiring nonunion painters, working employes overtime on straight time pay and applying fewer coats than called for in specifications.

Housing officials would approve the splotchy, shoddy work that often resulted. One informant said contractors regularly allotted 3 percent of gross receipts for bribes.

Last fall the New York Times quoted "reliable sources" as saying the grand jury "definitely will indict" a union official accused of taking $800,000 in bribes since 1957. The jury recessed for several months, recently has reconvened and is expected to hand down a number of further indictments soon.

DEMANDS REMOVAL

Meanwhile, Schonfeld has demanded of Raftery that he remove Rarback on grounds that the AFL–CIO Code of Ethical Practices stipulates that if a union official "decides to invoke the Fifth Amendment for his personal protection to avoid scrutiny * * * into alleged corruption on his part, he has no right to continue to hold office in his union."

Schonfeld has also bombarded Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, AFL–CIO President George Meany, Industrial Union Department President Walter P. Reuther, three Congressional committees and others with requests to investigate or intervene in both the New York and San Francisco cases—all to little avail.

Schonfeld also has filed a suit with 20 other painters against Rarback as an individual. Seeking an estimated $3 million in damages on behalf of union members, the suit charges that Rarback connived to enter "sweetheart" agreements whereby employers have been allowed to pay less than scale wages the past 2 years, to pay straight time for overtime work, to skip insurance fund contributions on overtime and to commit other violations.

In a pre-trial deposition last week, Rarback refused to answer questions by pleading the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination.

To all of this, Martin Rarback, who could not be reached by The Washington Post, has a stock answer.

"My opposition in New York City," he told the Painters general convention in 1964, "consists mostly of the Communist and the Trotsky parties."

Mass Inoculation for Tetanus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLARD S. CURTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, in these days of expanding medical problems and expenses, it is very satisfying to witness an example of the complete cooperation of a county medical association in seeking to assist with these problems.

I am reminded of this by an article that appeared in a leading newspaper in Allentown, Pa., which is a part of the district that I have the honor to represent, and which speaks of the activity of the Lehigh County Medical Society in a mass inoculation for tetanus conducted in their area.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include therein a copy of the said newspaper article, which appeared in the Morning Call on Monday, March 28, 1966, and which is as follows:

85,400 Inoculated for Tetanus—10,000 Over Highest Estimate

Operation Knockout Lockjaw, conducted yesterday by the Lehigh County Medical Society in Lehigh County and the Northampton Borough area, proved an outstanding success.

There were 85,437 persons who put in appearances at 28 clinics to receive inoculations of tetanus toxoid, a serum used to build up antibodies to fight any tetanus infection that might invade the human nervous system. The count was more than 10,000 in excess of what the project organizers had hoped to see.

The largest turnout was at Dieruff High School where 6,614 persons received inoculations. They queued up outside the school most of the 5 hours (noon to 5 p.m.) that the clinics were in operation.

The second biggest turnout was at Parkland High School, Orefield, where 5,573 persons were counted. A close third was at Emmaus High, with 5,397 counted.

Dr. Charles K. Rose, general chairman for the campaign, said he was elated about the results of yesterday's programs, the first of 2 days set aside to provide shots on a mass basis.

The second inoculations will be given April 24. At that time all individuals who receive the inoculations will be advised to go to their family physicians next fall for the third and final shot. This will provide protection for from 5 to 20 years.

SMOOTH OPERATION

Dr. Rose said the program moved smoothly all afternoon. "The volunteers, both professional and lay people, were terrific. There was no thought of self. Some stayed on the job at least 6 hours (including preparation for opening) without a break. Some doctors worked straight through.

"The overall cooperation of all personnel was one of the most dramatic things I've ever seen," said Dr. Rose, who visited 20 of the 28 clinics—and would have seen all of them, but had to end his tour to give an assist at one place.

William H. Hewitt, of the Wyeth Laboratories, Marietta, Lancaster County, which supplied the tetanus toxoid, was informed of the success of the venture. He wired congratulations to Dr. Rose and his volunteer "army."

"The citizens of Lehigh County can retire tonight more secure because of your efforts," he said.

MOST SUCCESSFUL

Samuel Bouse, who represented Wyeth locally for the drive, said, "This was terrific. I have just checked with the home office and this is the most successful mass tetanus program of its size in the United States. You have a lot to be proud of in the Medical Society and the many professional and nonprofessional volunteers who worked to make it a success."

Dr. Leo Eddinger, director of community relations for the Lehigh County Medical Society, said results of the campaign were "far beyond my personal expectations. Success of the drive reflects the interest of the community in good health. It shows they are disease-prevention conscious."

Among those inoculated yesterday was Mrs. E. Elmer Sensenig, 90, widow of an East Side Lutheran pastor. Doctors were impressed by the large number of senior citizens who turned out.

The physicians were also impressed by the number of teenagers. They appeared at clinics with parents.

Vietnam Warriors Cheered by Children's Crayon Drawings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to invite you and all of my colleagues along with the many citizens across the country who read the Congressional Record to share with me the following short story about a group of California schoolchildren who sent a small package of their letters and crayon drawings to the aircraft carrier *Hancock* which was in service off the Vietnam coast. This humble and heart-touching gesture had a remarkably strengthening and cheering effect on the weary warriors aboard this Vietnam engaged ship for each of these boys were at once vividly reminded of our American purpose in the world. This brief story is both heartwarming and of great significance and I am sure will encourage you as it has *me in continuing our work here in the* Congress on behalf of the citizens of this wonderful country.

I include it as a portion of my remarks.

VIETNAM WARRIORS CHEERED BY CHILDREN'S CRAYON DRAWINGS

(Lt. Comdr. David W. Plank, Chaplain Corps, U.S. Navy)

This is the story of a bundle of children's drawings that were addressed and mailed to "The U.S. Navy, Vietnam." What follows could have been repeated aboard many other ships and military installations. Hence this is not a story about the 7th Fleet Alameda-based attack aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Hancock* (CVA-19); it is about 24 grease-crayon pictures painstakingly drawn by second-grade boys and girls in Oakridge School, Sacramento, Calif.

The story necessarily begins on April 6, 1966, the day a small ordinary-looking cylindrical package arrived in the Chaplains' Office aboard *Hancock*. At the time, she was busy operating in the tropical waters of the South China Sea, catapulting Vietnam-bound planes from her flight deck, one every 26 seconds. The package which Ship's Chaplain David W. Plank found was tattered and badly scarred from its long journey. For it had been 70 days enroute—28 January was the postmark it bore. In a child's scrawled handwriting it was addressed to, "The U.S. Navy, c/o Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Vietnam." It had come from "Miss Burns Second Grade, Oakridge School, Sacramento, Calif."

The Chaplain opened the package. Out tumbled twenty-four grease-crayon drawings, and nineteen oversized letters. The pictures bore scribbled titles such as, "Our Janitor In The Hospital," "My House," "This Is Me, This Is You," and "Evelyn The Clown." The letters read in part, "Thank you for fighting for our classroom and country. I hope all of you don't die," "We have sawdust in our hair," "My mother went to the hospital. Do you have a brother?" "I am praying for you. I am crying for you. Please come back."

From where had this forlorn package of pictures and letters come? Who sent it to *Hancock*? How did it happen to arrive on board? Where had it been for 70 days? No one seemed to know. Or care. The Chaplain's first impulse was to simply discard them all, then write a perfunctory letter of thanks to Miss Burns.

But then came a thought. Why not give these children's expressions of concern, encouragement, and appreciation an opportunity to be heard themselves by those for whom they were intended, men of the United States Navy fighting in Vietnam? Mount and display them, of course? They may not be artistic masterpieces—certainly they had no commercial value. But the message they held to tell could be priceless!

Two days later, the "Miss Burns' Second Grade Class Grease-crayon Drawing Exhibit" officially opened in *Hancock's* Library when Captain James C. Donaldson, Jr., the ship's Commanding Officer, cut with a Navy ceremonial sword the paper chain-ribbon which stretched from wall to wall in the Library "gallery." By posters and flyers, by notes on barbershop mirrors and by word of mouth; from bow to fantail, from boiler room to bridge, the word of the unusual art exhibit spread.

The men came first by ones and twos, then by dozens. During the first week of the exhibit alone, one thousand men, nearly one-third of *Hancock's* crew, crowded into the Library and browsed among the pictures. To add to the enjoyment, they participated in a contest to choose which they thought were the best pictures and letters. Officers and enlisted men came at lunch hour, before plane launches, after recoveries, during the coffee break of an engine room watch; early in the morning, late at night. They toured the picture exhibit in green flight suits and red crash-crew jerseys; in sweaty T-shirts and mechanic's overalls: hardly what you would expect at an Art Exhibit. But *Hancock* is a fighting ship. And the men that make her *so*, work hard, hot, round-the-clock hours. These are the ways of war. The men look the part they play.

Thus during the heat of battle, the men of "Fighting Hannah" have been chosen-by-chance as "The U.S. Navy, Vietnam." They have paused and pondered twenty-four crayoned drawings; they have thoughtfully read the penciled letters. Though these be the creations of children's tiny hands in far-away Sacramento, Calif., they might have been the heart's handiwork of children anywhere. Weary naval warriors rested and listened to the pure voices of 7-year-old boys and girls from home telling them of their love and prayers, their concern and gratitude. To their duties the men of *Hancock* returned with quicker pace and lighter heart. The true spirit of America had somehow touched and lifted her distant fighting sons—through the fingers of little children.

Into the midst of war, 24 second-grade boys and girls have unwittingly stepped to remind us of our American purpose: to strive always to obtain and preserve for them, and all children, both those living and those of generations to come, justice and equality, peace and freedom, in Vietnam, or any oppressed place upon earth, in order to make certain that children everywhere can always draw what they please, and write whom they wish.

As was said centuries ago, "A little child shall lead them."

Big Government Needs Big Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I am very interested in S. 1160, a bill that defines the public's right to information about Government agencies. I believe in an informed public, and I think it is time we spelled out what information is available and what information must be withheld for security purposes.

I place in the Record the following editorial from the May 9 issue of the Oak Ridge, Oak Ridge, Tenn. This, I believe, very well covers the background of this bill and the need for such a law:

BIG GOVERNMENT NEEDS BIG INFORMATION

Hopes are high in newspaper circles that Congress may soon pass the first "freedom of information" bill in many, many years.

There has been a bill of one form or another in both Houses of Congress for the past several years. In 1964 one was passed overwhelmingly by the Senate but died in a House committee.

Last year, as a new 2-year Congress session began, hearings were held before both House and Senate committees. They again had separate bills—one in Senator Edward Long's Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, one in Representative John Moss' House Government Operations Subcommittee. Again, the Senate passed its bill handily, but the House did not act during the portion of the session held last year.

But now it appears that the House is about to act on the Senate bill—that is, vote on the bill that the Senate has already passed without subjecting it to the added process of a conference committee (a committee to draw a single bill from both Senate and House versions).

This is the closest any of these bills has ever come to passage. It is a moment long awaited by many within the various newspaper organizations that have been working on the bills.

But not only newspaper associations. Last year, in the midst of the "free press and fair trial" debate between newsmen and attorneys, the American Bar Association joined with news groups in heartily endorsing the information bills.

The current bill is relatively mild. It would reemphasize the basic right of the public to free access to information about government agencies—and their policies and practices. But it would exempt military and diplomatic matters.

The bill's principles are open to interpretation and will likely be interpreted in many and opposite ways. But, very importantly, the bill now seemingly on the verge of approval would provide for prompt recourse to the courts by any newsman, or any individual or group who feels that information is being wrongfully withheld. This should be an effective restraint on those who would, when in doubt, withhold.

Having spent some little time ourselves lobbying for the Senate bill now before the House—Senate Bill 1160—including testimony before both House and Senate groups a year ago, the whole matter takes on a personal as well as a professional importance.

Primarily, these will eliminate foggy language now part of government directives on release of information. For example, some state that a government employe may withhold "for good cause." Now what does that mean? This new bill would be very specific about what may be withheld with all else presumed to be available.

Access to information about government has always been vital. But access to information about government becomes increasingly important the larger the government becomes and the greater its influence on the people.

And that is specifically what is happening right now.

Senate Bill 1160 is very much needed. When it comes to a House vote, may our local congressmen, Representative John Duncan and Representative Joe Evins, be high on the list of those voting "Aye."

Catholic Pupils To Be in Public School Classes on Saturdays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

Catholic Pupils To Be in Public School Classes on Saturdays—Federal Government To Provide Funds for Remedial Instruction

(By Jacob H. Wolf)

Children in Catholic schools here will attend remedial education classes each Saturday in St. Louis public schools, the Post-Dispatch learned yesterday. Federal funds will pay for the instruction.

Lutheran school officials said the possibility of children from Lutheran schools attending the classes was being studied but that it was not known how soon a decision would be reached.

The Saturday classes, tentatively scheduled to begin February 12, would run from 8:30 a.m. until noon. Forty classes would be held in public school buildings in the Banneker, South Grand, Enright, Turner and Ashland elementary school districts.

$2,600,000 RECEIVED

A part of $2,600,000 received by the public school system from the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 will be used to provide funds to operate the classes. They are for children in elementary grades who have acute learning difficulties.

The terms of the federal act required public school officials to formulate a proposal that would accommodate parochial school children, as well as those in the public schools, to qualify for the funds.

Public school officials are authorized to remain in direct charge of the project but parochial officers assist in implementing portions of the program directly involving parochial school children.

The Reverend John E. Bokel, assistant superintendent of Catholic elementary schools, said it was hoped that "300 or 400 children might be accepted" in the Saturday classes. Children are to be recommended as candidates for the classes by the principals of Catholic elementary schools.

TESTING FOR PROBLEMS

As explained by Gerald Moeller, assistant director of federal relations for the public schools, children first will be given diagnostic tests for academic difficulties and health problems. Those who show the greatest needs will be enrolled in the classes, whether they are from public or parochial schools, he said.

The classes are a project conceived by public school officials as "Rooms of 20," in which enrollment is restricted to 20 children in each class. It is believed that teachers will have the opportunity to provide more concentrated instruction and individual attention.

OPENINGS FOR 800

Because 40 classes are to be held each Saturday in the spring semester, there would be openings for 800 children. Moeller said it was not known how many of the public school children would be proposed as candidates for the Saturday classes.

Public school spokesmen explained, however, that ample vacancies were expected to be available for parochial children because as many as 500 public school children could be enrolled in 25 "Rooms of 20" that will begin operating Tuesday.

The classes beginning Tuesday will continue throughout the spring semester and be held five days a week, Monday through Friday.

ATTENDANCE LAW

Father Bokel explained that children in Catholic schools would not be enrolled in the weekday classes because of compulsory attendance requirements imposed by state law. The law requires a pupil to attend only one school for six hours each day.

Because of the requirement, public school boards have had to schedule Saturday classes and summer sessions in educational programs financed with federal funds requiring participation by parochial children.

At the special session of the State Legislature this spring, Gov. Warren E. Hearnes is expected to seek a change in the attendance law. The change would permit parochial pupils to participate in classes conducted in regular weekday school hours.

Father Bokel said Catholic schoolchildren there would be enrolled in "Rooms of 20" to be conducted this summer. The project, he said, "is a good program and we believe the children will benefit by making up much lost work."

Both Catholic and public school officials noted that the children will be able to walk to classes and transportation problems will not be involved. Saturday classes have been scheduled in public school buildings in convenient neighborhood locations.

Ernest Jones, director of the "Rooms of 20" project for the public schools, expected to meet later this week with Lutheran educators about the possibility of Lutheran school children's enrolling in the program. He said he would discuss the matter with H. A. Leimer, superintendent of school of the Western District of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod.

Leimer told the Post-Dispatch the "Saturday classes are being investigated but we have only a small number of children who need the remedial instruction to be given in the Rooms of 20 program." He said, however, "I feel we will co-operate but no decision has been made." If Lutheran school children do enroll in the program, they would attend only the Saturday classes, he said.

In a related development, Cardinal Joseph E. Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis, said that "a lay advisory board on education for the Archdiocese has been appointed to work closely with public school boards throughout the Archdiocese in the implementation of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act."

The members of the board are to meet Sunday at Bishop DuBourg High School to discuss their new duties. They will be briefed on the federal education law by representatives of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The Time Is Now for Wyoming Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide coal and uranium with the same depletion allowance now granted to gas and oil.

This action is necessary because of the tremendous demands for power generated by our technological advances and population increases. It is also necessary because of the changing concept of energy production.

It is no longer adequate to merely react to today's problems. We must, as far as possible, anticipate future needs and act to meet them.

This anticipated need for more energy can be met by encouraging development of the tremendous coal reserves in this country and the uranium resources of our Western States.

My State of Wyoming has coal that represents one of the greatest supplies of hydrocarbons to be found in the North American Continent. The Department of Interior estimated in 1950 that Wyoming coal resources amounted to 121,553,850,000 tons. Wyoming has known or probable coal-bearing lands on 40,055 square miles, or approximately 41 percent of our State.

The uranium ore in Wyoming constitutes 36 percent of the known reserves in the United States. Our reserves are rich in quality, substantial in volume, and have shallow overburdens, permitting efficient and economical production. Truly, Wyoming is the energy capital of North America.

The problem therefore is not one of scarcity, but rather one of inactivity. From its wartime high of 9,836,000 tons in 1945, coal production in my State has declined, dropping to 1,629,000 tons in 1958. It has increased to more than 3 million tons in 1963, but this represents only a fraction of what could be done.

Our objective is to encourage development of this coal, and in this regard, the utilization of tax incentives has been a reliable catalyst to activity.

The oil and gas developers presently enjoy a 27½-percent depletion allowance, permitting them to deduct this percentage from their income without taxation.

Uranium presently has a 23-percent depletion allowance and coal lags behind with only a 10-percent allowance, although it can be a more costly means to obtain energy in comparison to gas and oil recovery.

Gas, oil, coal, and uranium are all forms of energy and should be treated equally with respect to tax incentives—for in the long range, they must compete as equals for the energy market.

My bill would graduate the depletion allowance for uranium to 27½ percent after December 31, 1967. It would raise the depletion allowance for coal by 2½ percent annually until it reaches the 27½-percent level after December 31, 1972.

This legislation serves as recognition of the fact that there is no longer a need for distinctions between various forms of energy. The fuels all serve one purpose ultimately, and in view of the fact that companies no longer restrict themselves to one fuel source, it is time for our tax laws to correspond to this new concept.

I am hopeful that the immediate affect of this legislation will be to encourage private industry to look once more upon the tremendous potential of coal, even as we recognize the possibilities of uranium. This attention will hopefully lead to activity in our idle coal fields and a resurgence of interest in this proven, plentiful resource. Because Wyoming ranks fourth in coal reserves and holds more than one-third of the Nation's uranium, I assure you this legislation can do much to bring Wyoming's energy potential to realization.

The Welfare State: Beware of Too Large a Dose

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege last fall to go to South America with a subcommittee of the House to study one aspect of our Alliance for Progress program. One of the fringe benefits was that I learned a little about the barios, the shantytowns which have sprouted like weeds around many large cities.

My curiosity was whetted and, since my return, I have read many articles about these flimsy communities. Those I saw were places where poor people lived; but there is one shantytown, apparently, for the middle class. I read about it in a story by Georgie Anne Geyer, a foreign correspondent for the Chicago Daily News. It appeared in that estimable paper May 9 and I believe it will bear reading by all:

TOO MANY WELFARE DEDUCTIONS—URUGUAY MIDDLE-CLASS IN SHANTIES

(By Georgie Anne Geyer)

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY.—A stream flows through the valley and cows graze on the green hillsides, but this idyllic scene outside Montevideo is broken by rows of shanties that are one of the strangest phenomena in Latin America.

At first glance, they appear to be like any of the shantytowns that proliferate around the burgeoning cities of the continent. But a closer look shows the strange reality.

Around the shanties are carefully planted gardens and neat fences. Here there are none of the drunken fights common elsewhere. And the people who live here are neatly dressed and often well-educated.

The shantytowns of Montevideo, like this one called "New Paris," are inhabited by middle-class Uruguayans who can no longer afford to both pay rent and eat in the continent's oldest welfare state.

Buffeted by inflation that reached 85 percent last year and by social welfare deductions that take up to half a man's pay check, these very respectable people are now inhabiting shantytowns with dirt floors.

"The fundamental problem is rent," said Carlos Albert Artegoitia, 21, a handsome mechanic. "With what a worker earns, you can't live, and I earn a good salary. Half of all my salary goes to social benefits."

Did he think it was worth it?

"No," he answered, shaking his head. "I don't think it is. It all goes to the administration, and we get very little in return. In fact, we get nothing. Today, I'm just paying for the day I retire."

His pretty wife, Lorelei, 21 and expecting their first child, came out of the house, simply but immaculately dressed. Her mother, Mrs. Selina Monte, was washing clothes in a wash pan in the yard and chickens were running about.

They are cultured, well-spoken people, educated and hospitable. They are religious—devout Roman Catholics—and in their shanty the only decoration is an elaborate little shrine.

But aside from this there is only a table, a gas cooking plate and single bed. The floor is dirt and there are no windows.

Before, they said they all lived in apartments in Montevideo and Carlos' father had his own shoe repair shop.

But last year even though his 200 pesos ($3.30) a day is a good one.

He brought out his paycheck stubs from the private factory where he works and showed the deductions—16 percent to the retirement fund, 2 percent for other taxes, 25 percent for sick benefits, and additional deductions for lunches in the factory.

In "New Paris" there are several hundred people mostly they said, middle-class former city dwellers like themselves who could no longer make ends meet.

Carlos built two houses, one for himself and his wife and one for his mother-in-law. They bought the materials, big light pieces of board, for about 2,000 pesos, or $33, a house. It is impossible in Montevideo to get even a simple apartment for under 1,000 pesos a month. Here the land belongs to the government and they pay no rent at all.

The story of these two young people and her mother is illustrative of what is happening today in Uruguay.

The social benefits in Latin America's first welfare state helped turn the country into a largely middle class (90-percent literacy) country with progress, stability and an enviable un-Latin record of nonviolence.

But today these same benefits initiated at the turn of the century are clogging the economy and destroying initiative. They have built up a bureaucracy of some 380,000 on the public payroll (in a country of 2,600,880.)

The primary problem is that the rural areas where the wealth of the country is produced in sheep and cattle products, support this huge urban bureaucracy, which in turn takes most of the welfare benefits for itself.

In Uruguay, for instance, a government worker can retire at 55 on more than full salary.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that two conclusions may be drawn from this story: first, that state welfare has its uses in that it brought Uruguay a large middle class and political stability long before its neighbors enjoyed these benefits; second, and more importantly, that there is great danger to the individual in the welfare state.

We in the United States seek a different result from our State-sponsored welfare programs—different because we already have political stability and a large middle class. But we may lose our objectives, as the Uruguayans have done, if we fail to restrict our generous impulse toward welfare.

Prayer for Political Prisoners of Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, the Interfaith Council of New Orleans is conducting a "prayer crusade" for Cuba, May 20–27. May 20 is Cuba's Independence Day, but there is no freedom in Cuba today. The island is ruled with bloody, iron hands of communism. Many thousands have fled their homeland; other thousands have been jailed or executed without due process of law. The rest merely exist, all deprived of political, civic, and religious liberty.

For the more than 70,000 such political prisoners in Cuba, the Interfaith Council of New Orleans offers the following prayer:

We pray today, O Lord, not for ourselves or those close to us, but rather for others: for those who, in this hour of trial, suffer bitterly for their loved ones now living in misery in the Communist jails of enslaved Cuba.

We pray to You for these prisoners, O Lord, because in imitation of You they have accepted the burden of their trials with dignity; they have withstood temptation without betraying their principles; and they have not permitted their longing for freedom to diminish their fortitude; for in the midst of the horrors of captivity they have kept their courage high, held their homeland dear, and above all, they have trusted in You.

God of infinite compassion, they are wasting in dark prisons, united in their ideals, firm in their convictions, and constant in their hope, for they know that You will not abandon them to their persecutors and they trust that the cruel treatment and oppression, the hunger and thirst, the dreary monotony of their days and the sleeplessness of their nights, the bodily suffering and mental anguish which they undergo there, will all bring them closer to You and will grant them a place in the history of their country and in Your Kingdom of Heaven.

Look upon them, O Lord, as they endure with utmost patience the evils and provocations of a cruel regime: see them upright, their heads held high and their hearts true, brave and ever confident in their Lord and with these words of their national anthem on their lips: "To die for country is to live * * *."

In the shadow of their martyrdom, they believe in You and live in You. Have pity on them and open wide the gates of their prisons, so that such sacrific, such strength and heroic resolve will not be lost behind the walls and bars erected by infamy; and that the meaning of the ideals of freedom and democracy which her founders bestowed upon Cuba, as well as the spirit of brotherhood, justice, and human dignity which embody the God-centered meaning of this life, will be reaffirmed in You. Amen.

A Republican Answer to Writer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, May 7, 1966]

A REPUBLICAN ANSWER TO WRITER

As a member of the local Republican committee responsible for development of our party's candidates, I would like to take exception to Robert J. Donovan's May 1 column.

He asks, where is the Republican leader who is attuned to "the aspirations of masses of voters" as were Presidents Kennedy, Wilson, and F.D.R.?

I would submit the examples are ill-chosen: the "masses" did not "aspire" to Kennedy's debacle at the Bay of Pigs, Wilson's fumbling at Versailles or F.D.R.'s Yalta conference which partially created the problems of the Cold War.

He says the Republicans produced a "paucity of great national leaders" during the last 50 years after the "great figures" we had in the White House from Lincoln to T. R. Aside from Lincoln and T.R., who does he mean: Hayes, Garfield, Harrison? These were so lackluster the average civics student cannot even recall their names. As to those in our party since then, was not Dulles great? Was not Taft? Was (and is) not Dewey?

He asks why we do not produce a Kennedy, an F.D.R., a Lyndon Johnson, or a Harry Truman. I would gladly match Romney, Percy, Taft, Nixon, Rockefeller, Tower, etc., with any of them.

He says we have not attracted the "young men who grew up fighting the great battles of social welfare reform. * * *" If he means the bearded and tattered unbathed youths who alternate between filthy speech and pro-Viet Cong campaigns, I say, we would rather not have them.

And then he terms us a "standpat" party. Were we "stand-pats" when we put containment in force to keep the Soviets out of Western Europe? Were we "standing-pat" when Ike called out the National Guard to enforce the Supreme Court's first integration decisions? Are we "standing-pat" now when it is our party that gives the President the bulk of his support on Vietnam?

Donovan says one of our chief problems is a division of opinion in our ranks between liberals and conservatives. Perhaps he has forgotten a central maxim in U.S. politics: that the American eagle, with only one wing (be it the left one or the right one), can only fly in circles—it takes both to fly straight. I would say our diversity, as long as it is reasoned, is more a source of strength than of weakness.

ROBERT LAWRENCE,
Member, Los Angeles County GOP Central Committee.

Dual Banking—Its Importance to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. G. Russell Clark, chairman of the board, Bank of North America, and president of the State Bank Division of the American Bankers Association, at a meeting of the Independent Bankers Association of America held in Las Vegas, Nev., on May 5, 1966. Mr. Clark's remarks are most timely.

DUAL BANKING—IT'S IMPORTANT TO AMERICA

(Address by G. Russell Clark)

Let me confess I was somewhat surprised when I received your Association's personally gratifying invitation to address this Convention. (And I wish my mother had been here to listen to the wonderful introduction. She would have believed it.)

But I am surprised by the warmth of your reception, and no doubt you—some of you at least—were surprised to see my name on your program. The bank of which I am Chairman is a big bank, $400 million in assets; that is a big bank in terms of the average bank in the United States. New York is a big city; most of you come from smaller cities and many from country banks. My bank is a bank with an expanding system of branches; your opposition to the spread of branch banking is well known. As President of the State Bank Division of The American Bankers Association, I preside over the collective interest of banks chartered by States, most of which legalize branch banking in some form or other, rather than outlaw it. As New York State Superintendent of Banks, I spearheaded revision of the State's banking law and passage of the Omnibus Banking Bill of 1960 which enlarged the branching powers of New York City banks and unfroze the bank holding companies in the State.

You may well, indeed, wonder what I am doing here, what message I can have for you.

Which reminds me of the preacher conducting an evangelical service at a State asylum. After a long sermon, he warmed up to the question of salvation: "Why are we here? WHY are we here?" As he paused, in the back of the congregation came loud and clear: "Because we are not all there."

Well, we are all here, and it is because we have common interests which explain why I am here, and why I welcomed the invitation to appear before you.

First of all, as President of the State Bank Division of the ABA, I share with you a common interest in the tradition of States' Rights in banking and in the Dual Banking System. Branch banker or independent banker, State-chartered or National banker, we do, or we should abhor the thought that the Federal banking authority could become so overwhelmingly powerful as to emasculate State banking as a vital element in the nation's financial structure. Of equal importance is our interest in the effectiveness of State bank supervision. And generally speaking, your members are also members of the State Bank Division.

Furthermore, your Association and its legislative representatives are our natural allies in every fight to preserve and enhance the vitality of the State Banking systems as a segment of our Dual Banking structure. Your membership and that of our division represents the front line in each of the States.

Let me say that it is not the State Bank Division alone that is dedicated to the ideals of State equality in banking. Aligned on the States' side is the official policy of the entire American Bankers Association.

On the matter of the common interest of our two organizations, I might note the present discussions over the cease-and-desist bill, now before the Senate. There is no question that the bill as written is far too extreme and, in addition, can damage our State supervisory systems. On this point I am sure that the Independent Bankers Association and The American Bankers Association are in full accord. Certainly, we agree also that if the Federal banking agencies are to be given additional authority, such authority must be carefully circumscribed with traditional administrative and judicial safeguards. Of course, the ABA does support the basic objectives of this proposed legislation, and I would expect that all of us recognize that some more flexible authority is needed by our Federal agencies if they are to carry out their assigned functions, without having to resort to such extreme penalties as withdrawal of deposit insurance or closing a bank. I am hopeful that in the final analysis the ABA and the IBA will not be too far apart on this most important issue.

The New York Journal of Commerce last year discussing our banking system asked bluntly: "Can the Dual Banking System survive?" Its answer: "Recent developments hint very strongly that dual banking is on its way out, and may not last 10 or 20 years longer." By recent developments, this newspaper referred to the conversion to National charter of big State-chartered banks and surveys pointing to weaknesses in certain States' banking supervision.

Charles R. Howell, New Jersey Commissioner of Banking, speaking as President of the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, said recently: "There is a crisis for State Banking. There is abundant evidence that the State system shows signs of weakness, or what is perhaps even more exact, an aging and enfeebling of its competitive vitality. This is no cause for panic. But if the trend continues unchecked, it could result in eventual domination by the stronger system."

It is significant that as a result of conversion from State to National charter the total resources of the State-chartered commercial banks continues to decline relative to National bank totals. As of December 31, 1964 (the latest yearend date), total National bank resources amount to $190,266 million, compared with $156,629 million, or 45.2 percent of the total, for the State commercial banks of the 50 States and the District of Columbia.

Final data for December 31, 1965, are not yet available, but it is estimated that the total resources of State-chartered commercial banks will be about 42 percent of the total. Back in 1960, the State bank ratio was 45.9 percent with resources of $118,292 million against the National banks total of $139,237 million.

In the 6 years 1960–65, 118 banks converted from State to National charter, swinging assets of $17,103 million from State to National supervision. This compares with 42 conversions from National to State charter involving assets of $395 million. Clearly, imbalances have developed.

State-chartered banks are still more numerous. As of December 31, 1965, the number of State-chartered commercial banks in the 50 States and the District of Columbia was 8,989, compared with 4,814 National charters.

Of course, we all know what has been happening on the National bank side. James J. Saxon has been wholeheartedly devoted to the concept, as he sees it, that banking has been unduly restricted. As Comptroller, he has interpreted his powers to ease the restrictions mightily. He rationalizes his decisions by insisting there is no reason why similar and equal liberalization of branching, lending, capitalization and other aspects should not be adopted by the States for their banks.

Meanwhile, Mr. Saxon has not permitted the lag or reluctance of the States to accord their bankers similar relaxation to inhibit his own determination to give National bankers all the freedom that his concept of the Federal laws envisages.

Well, that's the challenge. No matter in what guise it appears, whether in the competitive relaxation of administrative interpretations of laws governing National banks at a pace too fast or scope too broad for the States to follow, or whether in agitation for giving National banks branching powers in States where they are restricted by State law, or whether for superseding the State supervisors and Comptroller by concentrating all bank examining, chartering, and merging powers in one central agency—the challenge has been a recurring phenomenon in our banking history.

It appeared in 1791 when the first Bank of the United States was chartered, and again in 1816 in the second Bank of the United States. It came near to dominance in 1863 when the National Currency Act was enacted, and the demise of State banking in toto was expected, a consummation virtually achieved when taxation of State banks' note issues resulted in conversion of 1,500 former State banks to National charter, and reduction in the number of State banks in 1868 to a mere 247. It appeared again in the early 1900's when branching for National banks was strongly proposed, and in 1913 when the Federal Reserve System was created and its campaign against country banks' reliance on exchange fees for riskless income stirred the ire of the country banks. In 1932 we saw it again when Senator Carter Glass and Comptroller of the Currency John W. Pole collaborated in an effort to enact trade area branching for National banks regardless of State laws and lines.

Previous to 1927, branching was permitted in some States, but not to National banks. The National Banking Laws referred to "the place," not "places," where a National bank did business, and this was regarded as a ban on branching. But in New York State, for instance, citywide branch powers had been given to State-chartered banks in the 1890's and by 1918, 200 branches had been authorized. Obviously, in this situation the National banks had less than equal rights. Then the McFadden Act in 1927 and the Banking Act of 1933 equalized this imbalance by granting National banks power to branch equally with State-chartered banks. That was equality in duality, and perfectly logical.

But are those who now urge branching for National banks irrespective of State laws similarly logical? Or are they simply arguing for a new imbalance by giving National banks privileges unavailable to State banks? And is the imbalance which has developed by way of relaxed regulations in the past 5 years logically defensible by anyone who at the same time voices belief in the equality of State and National systems? So far as the American Bankers Association is concerned, just 2 weeks ago the executive council strongly endorsed Federal legislation which would restrict branching by National banks to all of the significant limitations which are placed on State banks. In other words, we are determined that in the matter of branching there must be parity between our two great banking systems—State and National.

Now let me detour into my personal experience with this problem of branching. I cannot disguise my own convictions on this subject. Basically, it is this: I believe it is possible for a well-managed smaller institution, even in a large city, to occupy a profitable place in the financial sun of a community and provide a closer form of personal service, particularly to small businesses and individuals than a much larger institution can offer. Indeed, it is more important to practice personal service than to so advertise and not perform. If I need an example of this, I might point to my own bank, whose growth has been excellent, although we are competing with banks ranging from 10 to 40 times our assets, and, in a city of giants, there are 10 banks bigger than ours, all serving the same neighborhoods as we do.

Now please forgive the excursion into my personal experience, it has diverted me from my main theme of equality in duality in banking.

That theme is the restoration of the imbalance which has developed in our dual banking relationships, and the correction of that imbalance.

First, let me talk about leadership. Will there be leadership toward restoration of balance? Yes, the leadership is there. But what about followership, without which leadership is a voice crying in the wilderness, generals without armies.

Leadership is in the officers and committees of your own body, the Independent Bankers Association. It is in the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks. It is in the American Bankers Association. But the followership—that is up to you, and to me, after I step down from my present responsibilities, and to all bankers in their individual capacity as citizens and as leaders locally in banking matters.

Leadership deserves support. In passing, let me here and now express my appreciation for the splendid support given through your bank's membership in the State and National Bank Divisions of The American Bankers Association. I also appreciate your loyalty to the Independent Bankers Association and its loyalty to the dual banking system and the cause of States' rights and independence in banking.

Every 5 years, the State Bank Division makes a survey of the state of the Nation, as it were, so far as State bank supervision is concerned. The latest survey, now about 18 months old, gives cause for continuing concern.

It showed, among other points:

Only 19 State supervisors reported an adequate budget allowance, 5 less than the 1959 survey showed.

Only 28 States had banking boards, just 3 more than 25 years before.

Many supervisors' salaries lag behind comparable Federal and leading State levels.

As to terms of office: Quoting our Division's survey: "The office of bank supervisor has long been noted for the short term served by most incumbents." Thirty-four states changed supervisors in 1954–59, compared with 33 in the 1959–64 period.

Starting salaries for assistant State examiners in three States are at a shocking low, $4,000 or less, and in 13 other States, between $4,000 and $5,000. The median salary for examiners was $9,150, only 19 percent higher than 1959. As our report says, "Such salaries cannot be expected to induce capable young men to enter this field." Let me say right here, the upgrading of such State banking departments ought to begin at the bottom—and work right through to the top so far as salaries are concerned.

And what is the attitude of the State supervisors toward the prestige and power of their office? Perhaps we find a clue in the fact that two-thirds of the 50 State supervisors "did not find distasteful" that their newly chartered banks must undergo review by a Federal agency before they get deposit insurance. And 16 others said the arrangement is "justified," although the tenets of duality and equality would appear to require the newly chartered national banks should also have to undergo FDIC review on the same terms as new State banks.

It should also be kept in mind that in cases of failure of banks covered by FDIC insurance, the depositors are paid off to the insurable limit, not by Government moneys, but more importantly from the fund created over these many years by your contributions. Laxity in the chartering and insuring function by supervisory authorities is indirectly but ultimately paid for by you and your bank.

The Comptroller's measures of relaxation have as yet to stand the test of time, and of the public interest. There are those among you, I am sure, who may question whether inequality in certain areas may not be a departure from conservatism in policy, and others who may ask whether this is in public interest.

Certainly, the most important common denominator that must be utilized in the conduct and expansion of our banking is the public interest. We shall advance or regress in proportion to how well we serve that interest.

I am not one who believes the old way is necessarily the best way for us bankers. We have grown from an agrarian to an industrial, urban and suburban society. The needs of the American people and its businesses have enlarged and afforded greater opportunity for service. The times call for a new look at old issues. This is indeed a way of life in a changing world. It is a prescription for personal and collective progress, a signal for exercising the mind, for examining prejudices, for reaffirming convictions after reexamining them, for making friends with new ideas, for resisting hardening of our psychological arteries, for finding new answers and solutions for new problems, or adapting old methods to changed needs.

Just how far each State may want to go in modernizing its banking laws is up to each State to decide for itself. But I do want to suggest that before you leave this convention, there ought to be an ad hoc committee formed for each State here, to get together with other bankers in your State Association to discuss the pros and cons of change in your State's banking law. Next week, The American Bankers Association is holding a National workshop in Chicago, of which I am General Chairman, to consider problems such as these. I suspect a number of you will be there.

In this area, let me call to mind one circumstance which States countenance that helps to persuade big State-chartered banks in other States to switch to National charter. Do you know that certain States' "doing-business-in" laws seem to favor out-of-state National banks over out-of-state, State-chartered banks. Each State bank that converts to National, whether within your State or outside, contributes to making the National system, in a manner of speaking, more equal, and adds to the imbalance of National versus State banks. Bear in mind also, that States where the banking department is supported by assessments on banks for expenses, as banks switch to the National system, the remaining banks must increase their contribution to banking department expenses.

Also, within some States, the State's own chartered banks are taxed on a basis unfavorable to them vis a vis National banks. Is this true in any of your States? If so, something needs doing, and may I say the State Bank Division stands ready to assist bankers of any State with data to reinforce possible tax reform aims.

As you may have noted, my message has been more and more one of a personal evangel. For it has been my experience that only the personal activities of interested men change the course of history, or safeguard it from regression. Today there are men who desire change in American banking in the direction of bigger branched banking, more big banks, more prestige for National banks, more power for centralized supervision—such men are engaging in the personal activity of their choice. Who is countering them? Are you, by your own personal endeavors, doing something to uphold State banking and the dual banking system, and to sustain it against further erosion? Or are you, by inaction, accepting the growing tendency to imbalance? Are you personally letting somebody else determine your future, defaulting on your obligation to support and maintain a sound and conservative banking system?

I think it was Charles F. Kettering of National Cash Register and General Motors, who once said, "We should all be interested in the future, because we are going to have to spend the rest of our life there."

But what future are we choosing, by action or inaction, for banking?

As I look ahead, I see us all at a double gate, beyond which are two diverging paths. The sign to the right is "duality." Pointing to the left of us is another sign, "more National control," opening on a vista of centralization, nationalization, and bureaucratization (if I may coin a word), and on the distant horizon, concentration of the money power in two or three big cities.

Down the path of duality, we see a familiar scene, much like the road we have traveled thus far, but with the weeds and stumbling blocks cleared away. Down the path of more National control you would see State-chartered banks withering away. Their reserves are set uniformly by percentages set by the National authority, in the National interest.

You would see their examinations conducted by Federal agencies, in the National interest. You would see charters, mergers and branches judged and approved by agencies of the Federal authority, in the National interest. You would see National branching fostered, first on a trade-area basis, and then on a regional basis, and then, inevitably, as State banking rights withered, on a National basis, presumably, of course, in the National interest. You would see State banking law engaged in a constant struggle to measure up, or down, to National banking's standards. You would see aggrandizement of larger banks and survival problems for smaller banks, that is, any bank smaller than the mightiest. You would see the National interest paramount, the State and local interest served only to the degree it might be compatible with the National interest. And the public interest would be no more than what the National interest found agreeable.

However, I must admit, the outlook down the path marked "duality" is at present clouded. It is befogged with questions of whether we will see a revivified consciousness of State bank prestige, more energetic interest in State banking law revision, strengthened ties between ourselves as individual bankers and our State's representatives in the Congress, whether too, we are sufficiently aware of the need for closer and more creative relationships between ourselves and our State legislators and officers, whether we are going home from this convention complacent about everything except the potential Federal threat to your anti-branch-banking status quo.

It has been one of the boasts and defensive declarations of the dual system that it permits variants and innovations. Will we accept that concept as a challenge for doing something in our own States? The time is now to discard our generalization on this subject and to move rather specifically to draft new codes—and then to work diligently and aggressively to get them passed. Obsolete State laws permit National banks to move unchallenged and, thus by default, into competitive advantage.

We cite the dual system and existence of State banking jurisdictions as a barrier against monopoly tendency, toward monopoly and concentration of banking power. Because of this, we see the public interest served better and more fully. But if we let the enfeebling of State systems go on, that barrier can only crumble away.

The choice is ours, now, as we stand before these two paths into the future. Already too many yesterdays have seen needed action put off until tomorrow.

Finally, out of my personal experience, not only as a State official, but also as a citizen banker petitioner before both State and Federal agencies and legislative bodies, let me emphasize how important is the informed word of one sincere man in the councils of the lawmakers. Man to man, this is a force we can multiply a thousandfold.

We need to realize that very few legislators can be fully aware of our problems and their ramifications in the public interest. It is a common error on the part of many businessmen to assume that public officials are fully educated on matters on which he must make decisions, often far reaching.

And while we are at it, let's bring our directors into our pleadings on behalf of a banking policy which we view as serving the public interest. As bankers, we are closely identified semantically with that word "bank." But those businessmen who are our directors are merchants, manufacturers, industrialists, accountants, lawyers, doctors—successful men in their own right. When they go before a State or Federal body on behalf of a course which would benefit both banking and the public, they speak with a different voice, and are listened to with a respect accorded their business acumen as well as their banking connection.

Informed directors can be a government relations asset beyond all price. Let me assure you that the average legislator would welcome this type of assistance—directors primed on important bills affecting banking who can explain their purpose and offer memoranda. And how many of us have had our legislative representatives in our banks, perhaps to sit in at a directors' meeting, so that we can become more of a flesh and blood reality than a distant generalization?

One of our New York State Senators, in a most important legislative post, once told me that as a young lawyer he had opened an account with one of our big banks. But though he had kept the account over the many years as he advanced in stature, he has never been contacted by any ranking officer of the bank. To him any bank is still an impersonal institution.

And so I wonder how many of us have enlisted our influential directors in the cause of dual banking. Are they informed? Have we imparted to them the same missionary zeal on behalf of States' rights in banking which we ourselves feel?

And here's another thought: What is being taught in your high schools and colleges about the banking system? Is the wave of the future being shaped in educational institutions which may not take into consideration how the values of our dual banking system as an element in a system of checks and balances between Federal and State power which are as important in education as in banking? If we do not know the answer to this question of what is being taught, I would say it is high time we found out.

You are individuals. I have taken the liberty of talking to you as individuals, not as a composite of faces—an organization, for I recognize that all our organizations—the Independent Bankers Association of America, the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, The American Bankers Association and its State Bank Division, are at their maximum effectiveness only as individuals in their membership line up to carry the ball. But working together, we can effectively dull the arrogance of power.

How often have we heard quoted in oratory addresses, John Stuart Mill's warning, penned more than a century ago. Remember, he said:

"A people may prefer a free government, but if from indolence or carelessness or cowardice, or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it, they are unlikely long to enjoy it."

Let us remember also the challenging words of Edward Everett Hale, the author of "The Man Without a Country," in his message to the Lend a Hand Society:

"I am only one,
But still I am one.
I cannot do everything,
But I still can do something.
And because I cannot do everything,
I will not refuse to do something I can do."

Thank you for hearing me out.

Guerrilla Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, much has been written and published about the Vietnam position of certain Senators but to my mind, one of the best columns I have had the privilege of reading is by William S. White, which appeared in the Washington Post of May 12. His column follows:

GUERRILLA WARFARE: FULBRIGHT-MORSE JUNTA

(By William S. White)

The unlimited assaults of a Democratic splinter on the very honor, and not simply the wisdom, of American policy in Vietnam can no longer be described by the most generous as the fair exercise of "the right to dissent."

Now plainly at work is an implacable campaign by Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas; WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, and a handful of unbelievably embittered associates to destroy the collective judgment, lawfully arrived at, of a vast majority of both political parties. It is a judgment supported as well by our only two living former Presidents, the Republican Eisenhower and the Democrat Truman.

By the most tolerant of definitions, this is no longer civil political debate. This has become guerrilla warfare by a tiny junta, a self-nominated "elite" against the orderly and constitutional conduct of this Nation's affairs. The Fulbright-Morse junta calls itself "liberal" and "democratic." Its methods are in demonstrable truth the precise opposites.

For its efforts is not merely to force a majority amply to justify a course and to obstruct that course until it can be amply argued. It is, instead, to deny the right of majority will to have its way even after endless discussion; it is to repeal that majority will. It is to take the power of ultimate decision over foreign policy out of its constitutionally designated minds, those of the President and Secretary of State, and to lodge it with a maximum of 6 of the 100 United States Senators.

Where this spasm will end no man can say. Already it can be said soberly that rarely in American history have so few done so much reckless harm to so many and so much.

The world outside has been given the impression that powerful and above all responsible forces in the Senate will at length force this Nation to abandon the commitment of three Presidents to assist the people of South Vietnam against Communist invasion. The fact is that these forces have never been powerful, as has been demonstrated by their inability to marshal so much as 10 per cent of the Senate in any crucial vote. The fact is that they can make no valid claim any more to responsible behavior.

Senator FULBRIGHT's public denunciations of his own country, from a seat as Chairman of the once influential but now hissingly ineffectual Foreign Relations Committee, have no parallel within 40 years.

The Fulbright-Morse junta's behavior toward the lawful custodian of American foreign policy, Secretary of State Dean Rusk has been the most venomous, from its stance on the so-called New Left, since a right-wing fragment attempted the destruction of Secretary of State Dean Acheson nearly two decades ago.

Rusk has been beaten and belabored, notably by Sen. MORSE, as only Acheson had been in this century. Tragically burdened though it is, Rusk has appeared 57 times before FULBRIGHT'S Committee since taking office. Thirteen times he has appeared in a single year; 13 times he has patiently attempted an impossible explanation of the policy in Vietnam—impossible because no explanation will ever satisfy men who are determined to drive us out of Vietnam, no matter what any majority of any size may say.

The democratic side of the Senate, itself, is in a chaos similar to that into which it was driven by a similar left-wing putsch of 1948, when the adherents of Henry A. Wallace sought to smash the Truman resistance to Communist aggression in Greece-Turkey at the cost of smashing also an Administration and a political party.

But this Senate disarray is one shamble, at least, that need no longer prevail. The huge, unhappy Democratic majority has only to cast off its chains; to tell the Fulbright-Morse junta that too much is too much; to denounce this little center of intolerant, unappeasable disorder that has gone so far beyond the outermost limits of tolerance in the most tolerant forum in all the world.

New Area School Libraries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Des Moines Register, Apr. 17, 1966]

NEW AREA SCHOOL LIBRARIES

Title II of the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965 has brought Iowa a federal grant of $1.4 million for buying books and other school library materials. This is a small amound compared to some federal programs, but it presents valuable opportunities.

The grant is the beginning of a five-year program in which public and private school teachers and students will be able, for the first time, to draw on a common source to supplement instructional material they are using now. Like the arrangements for shared-time being made between private and public school systems in some areas, the Title II program recognizes that private schools, which have always planned their curriculums and selected their instructional materials independently, fill an important role in the nation's educational system.

There is room for experimentation, particularly in the first year. Title II money is not supposed to be spent for material the schools could buy with funds available before this program was started. Guidelines approved by the U.S. Office of Education allow local and state education officials to spend a large percentage of the money on audio-visual materials, other than books. But let us put in a good word for books. They are still the basic stuff of education and of widening horizons for young minds. And no library can have too many.

The amount of Title II money available for each area in Iowa has been known for only a few days, and the 16 advisory committees selecting materials are required to have their orders in to the Department of Public Instruction by early May. It is important that they make choices to meet real needs. Although the proportions of audio-visual aids and books could be changed in the future, important precedents will be established by this year's decisions.

Interest Rates on Single Family Home Mortgages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, inquiry has been made concerning the possible effect on interest rates for single family residential mortgage loans as a result of the legislation on sales participation as embodied in H.R. 14544.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter on this subject dated May 10, 1966, from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs:

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., May 10, 1966.

The Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Veterans Affairs Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in reference to your recent inquiry about the probable effect of sales of participations, as contemplated by H.R. 14544 and S. 3283, upon interest rates for single family residential mortgage loans, particularly home loans made to veterans by private lenders and guaranteed by the VA.

Participation sales provide an efficient and effective means of inducing the maximum contribution of the private sector in the credit programs of Government departments and agencies. In respect to the Government's housing credit programs, such as our loan guaranty and direct loan activities, the sale of participations in the general investment market has the definite advantage of spreading the role of the private sector to reach those types and classes of investors who normally do not place their funds in mortgages. Consequently, sales of participations do not tend to create pressures in the motrgage market to the same extent as would result from direct sales of mortgage loans, which are made almost exclusively to institutions oriented to mortgage lending or investment. In this respect participation sales tend to enhance the availability of funds for mortgages, with a neutral effect upon interest rates for GI loans and other types of residential mortgage loans.

The realization of assets through participation sales is the alternative to providing revenues through Treasury borrowings.

Manifestly, the sale of direct Treasury obligations would reach essentially the same market as sales of participations. Thus, in the final analysis, participation sales would not influence interest rates generally to any larger extent than Treasury borrowings.

As I advised you in my letter of April 22nd, the proposed legislation embodies a principle of financing that has been successful and proved sound by the experience of the Veterans Administration. It is legislation this agency can support with full conviction that it will strengthen the Government's financing of Government loan programs.

Since the enactment of the Housing Act of 1964, the VA has entered four mortgage pools with FNMA as trustee for the Government Mortgage Liquidation Trust. Cumulatively, we have set aside approximately $1,250 million of such loans as the basis for sales of $925 million of participation certificates.

Let me emphasize again, as I did on April 22, that the VA remains the administering agency, and that the veteran continues to deal directly with the VA. The Participation Sales Act of 1966, which extends to other Government agencies the authority to pool loans for sale to private enterprise, will require no changes in our basic policies in servicing loans, and we anticipate no operational difficulties under the provisions of the legislation.

The experience of the Veterans Administration is a firm testimonial in support of the objectives of the Participation Sales Act of 1966.

Sincerely,

W. J. DRIVER, *Administrator.*

A Salute to Lilly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Eli Lilly & Co. of Indianapolis is one of the truly great pharmaceutical firms in the world today.

Lilly's recently celebrated its 90th anniversary and the occasion was a source of pride for the entire State of Indiana.

A fine editorial commemorating the anniversary event appeared this week in the Indianapolis Star. It graphically illustrates the role that Lilly's has played in the fight against disease and the wonderful discoveries that have resulted from Lilly's continuing experimental and research efforts.

Under unanimous consent, the editorial from the Indianapolis Star is inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that all Members of Congress be apprised of the achievements of this wonderful company.

The article follows:

A SALUTE TO LILLY

The research scientists, the executives, marketing experts and skilled employes of Eli Lilly and Company would be the last to call themselves miracle workers, and yet the phrase applies to the things they do.

This firm, truly an aristocrat among the businesses of Indianapolis and the nation, marks its 90th birthday today, ending a year of solid accomplishments and starting one that is certain to bring more. Its sales and earnings have been the highest in the company history, exceeding the $300 million mark for the first time. It has built new plants and facilities and branches in Lafayette, Puerto Rico, Taiwan, and Japan and is constructing new research facilities near London, England.

These will increase the production of Lilly plants all over the world which now employ more than 15,000 persons.

The firm is marketing a new antibiotic, an oral treatment for diabetes, new herbicides and an oral contraceptive that could become an important factor in helping stem the population explosion in underdeveloped countries.

Lilly products number in the thousands. The stories behind the development and discovery of many of them are among the most exciting, dramatic and significant in the history of medicine. There is no way of calculating the number of lives they have saved and the number of individuals they have spared from the twilight-life of ill health once thought incurable, and from suffering pain.

To these accomplishments must be added the strides that Lilly research and manufacture have taken in producing healthier livestock and improved output of agricultural crops, which have increased the health and strength of the American people and millions of people overseas.

Eli Lilly and Company is certain to blaze new trails and reach new horizons this year and in the years to come.

Today we salute this great company and the fine men and women who have made and are making it what it is.

How My Organization Promotes Good Community Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the Oklahoma Farmers Union selected this prize-winning speech in the contest among the 4-H Clubs of my State, which was given by Dennis Busch, Route 3, Cushing, on the subject, "How My Organization Promotes Good Community Living." I believe we could all benefit by taking to heart the ideals and practical suggestions my young constituent has set forth in his speech. It is, therefore, a privilege to insert it in the RECORD:

How My Organization Promotes Good Community Living

(By Dennis Busch, Cushing, Okla., Route 3)

The 4-H emblem is the four-leaf clover with four H's representing the Head, Heart, Hands, and Health, and a fifth H is included in the ritual for the Home. This makes for a total development program, not only for the member but for his family, his community, and his country.

Let's see how we use the H's. With the head we strive to think, to plan, and to reason. We think about problems in health, safety, fire prevention, better use of natural resources, improving crops, developing better livestock, and learning new practices in the home. We set up a plan of work that develops the member's ability to improve himself and to help others. We work with other groups in trying to make this a better place in which to live. We reason that if we are going to preserve a rich heritage for the future then we must meet the problems of today and be so educated as loyal American citizens that we will not be influenced by communism or any other ism or propaganda that keeps an individual from thinking for himself. This heritage was given to us by groups like the Farmer's Union whose stated objective is, "The security of the family farm in an economy of abundance—secure as to tenure and as to income."

We use our second H, Heart, to be kind, to be true, to be sympathetic. In the home a child first learns consideration for others. Pets or animal projects often help develop kindness and sympathy in children who tend to be selfish. In my own club we choose one or more service projects each year where everyone can participate in serving others. We have helped many in our own locality, sent clothing to the Appalachian region, and helped in projects over seas. We feel that an individual develops a deeper sense of understanding by sharing. Edwin Markhan expressed this idea in the words:

> "There is a destiny that makes us brothers
> None goes his way alone
> All that we send into the lives of others
> Comes back into our own."

Our Hands are trained to be useful, to be helpful, to be skillful. We believe that you learn by doing and we try to teach our hands to do well every job assigned to us. Every child chooses projects where something is either made, created, or cared for. This establishes a sense of accomplishment, a touch of living in a competitive world where skill is necessary, and being helpful by sharing with others things learned through demonstrations, exhibits, or talks.

Health is essential to all. We strive to resist disease, to enjoy life, and to make for efficiency. Health is first an individual problem as we try to build strong bodies by proper cleanliness, food, rest, and exercise. Then as soon as we know how to properly care for our own bodies we become concerned with those around us because health hazards in a community are of vital concern to all who live there.

In our fifth, the Home, we strive for true character, comfort, and contentment. The home is the first community which we know. In it we receive our first and usually our most lasting impressions. Our homes are the very basis for the life, character, and progress of our nation because no nation is stronger than the home and the communities from which its citizens come.

Four-H Club Work Develops—

Character by responsibility;

Loyalty by interest in the home, community, and country;

Originality by assuming new duties;

Kindness by ownership;

Discipline by competition;

And Cooperation by working with others.

Don't you see how my organization, the 4-H Club, literally joins hands with groups like the Farmers Union in promoting good community living everywhere so that our American way of life will be preserved?

I thank you.

Suddenly, It's Not So Far Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the May 9 lead editorial of the Daily Times, Salisbury, Md., which comments sadly on the news that a young Salisburian gave his life for his country.

Such grim reports are now daily news in cities and towns throughout our country.

Suddenly it is not so far away, that war in Vietnam. Suddenly, it reaches us at home because a fine young man has paid his price for our freedoms.

The editorial follows:

Sp4c. Barnes

The awareness of the Viet Nam war was brought home sharply, tragically to the Salisbury community over the Mother's Day weekend.

Word was received here that SP4c. Barrie V. Barnes, an infantry man, was killed in action. A sniper's bullet cut him down as he was leading a patrol into enemy territory.

Barnes was 19.

He had only been in combat 3 days.

His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Rome L. Barnes, had seen their son recently. They visited him while he was training at Honolulu. And during a 5-day leave young Barnes joined them on a tour of the island.

Barnes was a graduate of Wicomico High School, liked sports, hunting, and was a member of the high school wrestling team.

Friends recall Barnes as an industrious young man, polite, and with a sunny dispostion, and eager to help his neighbors.

Barnes met his death serving his country.

The community is grieved over the first Salisburian to be killed in action in Viet Nam.

Admiral Burke Cites Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, each of us here, and my colleagues from the House Armed Services Committee in particular, will welcome the opportunity to read the San Diego Union editorial of Monday, May 2, 1966, commenting on the wisdom of that fabulous military man, Adm. Arleigh Burke. The article is entitled "Admiral Burke Cites Danger" and with unanimous consent I insert it as a portion of my remarks:

Fall of Carthage Is Example: Admiral Burke Cites Danger

The idea that times have changed and world peace is attainable rests on an assumption that man, too, has changed. But has he?

As the lawyers say, let's look at the record; in this case, the past.

In a forward to a new book, "The Reluctant Warriors," by Donald Armstrong, Adm. Arleigh Burke, U.S. Navy, retired, former Chief of Naval Operations, writes that in the years before the final Punic War, Carthage was rich and powerful, and wanted peace to pursue her even way of life beyond all else.

"Rome," he writes, "set out to reduce the power and influence of Carthage and eventually to destroy her.

"To maintain peace, the Romans first demanded tribute. Carthage paid annually.

"To prove the peaceful intent of Carthage, Rome next demanded the destruction of the Carthaginian fleet. Carthage destroyed her fleet.

"To prevent attacks on Carthage, Rome later demanded hostages. Carthage gave them.

"To prove that Carthage sincerely desired peace, Rome finally demanded surrender of all arms, and dependence on the Romans for their protection. Carthage complied.

"Over the years, Carthage only asked what would satisfy Rome. What could they pay or do to persuade the Romans to let them live in peace? They met all the demands—but that was not enough.

"At last Rome notified the fearful, pleading representatives of Carthage that Carthage would be rased to the ground."

Admiral Burke writes that too late—much too late—the Carthaginians realized the significance of their past actions and the end that awaited them and their civilization.

"They finally fought, gallantly, desperately, skillfully—but uselessly."

Does it all begin to sound familiar?

Century after century nations disavow aggression as a national policy, and assert their peaceful intentions. Rich nations with high standards of living strive to avoid conflict, to maintain the status quo.

But as with individuals, states become envious of their neighbors and covet their possessions and power, and interpret their victims' efforts to maintain peace, and to placate, as signs of weakness and deterioration.

We can ask ourselves why it is that the atheist Communist leaders of Red China are choked with hatred of the United States and why the Communists of the Soviet Union demand one concession after another, supposedly as a price of peace?

History proves it is better to put your faith in guns and not in men.

Another Bit of Arrogance by the Post Office Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a recent edict made by the Post Office Department from Washington will adversely affect most areas of our Nation.

Like most edicts from Washington, little thought or consideration was given to the neighborhoods and individual postal patrons.

The Post Office Department decrees that all householders in new subdivisions shall erect a mailbox at his property line.

Mr. Frank Orr, the editor of the Watsonville, Calif., Register-Pajaronian, has very ably described some of the consequences of this bureaucratic edict.

Because Mr. Orr has presented the arguments against this new Post Office proposal so clearly, I insert his editorial at this point:

ANOTHER BIT OF ARROGANCE BY THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

While Lady Bird Johnson goes about the nation pleading for beauty and inveighing against ugliness, one of her husband's executive departments issues an order which—if made effective—would subtract from beauty and add to ugliness in every new residential area of the land.

The Post Office Department decrees that hereafter, every householder who builds in a new area shall erect an RFD-type mailbox out front, preferably implanted in concrete along the curb like the hitching posts of old. As a "concession," if city councils and planning commissions get sticky about it, the householder is permitted to stick this thing of beauty into his front lawn, just so it's reachable from the sidewalk.

The service rendered by the Post Office Department has deteriorated steadily in recent years. Matching the deterioration in service has come an increasing flood of orders to the taxpayers.

The era of twice-a-day mail delivery is long gone, and with it the penny postcard. Large users of the mail are now told that if they don't use ZIP codes their letters won't be delivered. Commercial mailers are to be told to abbreviate California as "CA," and individual mailers are told they must not. If you are looking for a letter from Monterey, don't look for it the day after it's mailed; wait two days. If you hire a post office box in order to get your mail on the numerous federal "holidays," don't expect to find much in it because the department won't provide people to get the mail to you.

No patron of the postal service wants to be unreasonable and require his mail carrier to walk a long distance to deliver litters to his door. Local postmasters and carriers are reasonable, too. But if curbside or walkside mailboxes are to be required in new subdivisions, can they be far away for all of us?

A mailbox at the curb is a traffic hazard as well as being unsightly. A sidewalk-side mailbox is a hazard to pedestrians and children, an invitation to theft, an attraction to every passing dog, an infernal nuisance to the fellow mowing his lawn, and an eyesore above all.

The Watsonville Planning Commission has voted to protest. In our opinion, it should go farther.

The edicts of the postmaster general are not necessarily superior to local law. City ordinances in places like Livermore and Pleasanton prohibit any structures on curbs outside homes. What's to prevent these communities, and ours, from requiring that a mail receptacle or slot be attached directly to every home? Better, what's to prevent us from applying the existing city ordinance, which requires buildings to be set back from the sidewalk, to other structures (mailboxes) as well?

"If the new residents do not provide curbline mailboxes," says a regional postal official, "we can only provide them services at the general delivery windows." Oh?

The ultimate ambition of the slide-rule boys in the Post Office Department, it would seem, would be to require every citizen to hire a postal box, or to visit General Delivery for his mail. That would save a lot of carriers' salaries, wouldn't it?

The city planners and the city council might look seriously into the suggestions above. It may be that Washington is all-powerful in postal matters, but we have a hunch that application of appropriate ordinances, plus a thunderous voice of objection from people who don't want their neighborhoods to look like a picket fence, might put this ponderous machine in reverse and give us back just a little fraction of the postal service we once had.

In addition to the shortcomings cited by Mr. Orr, thousands of elderly, infirm, ill, or physically handicapped persons will be unable to receive their mail daily. One lady I know was required to go to her invalid mother's rural home daily for many years to take the mail from the RFD mailbox on the roadside to her home where she was confined. This same imposition will befall many who now live in the new subdivisions within cities.

The Post Office Department was established to serve. We should not permit the Post Office to neglect its responsibilities.

If professed economics now require mail to be delivered to curbside boxes only, more stringent economies which appear imminent may require that mail be left at the major street intersections only.

Defiance of the Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, ever since the National Labor Relations Board found the J. P. Stevens Co. guilty of unfair labor practices, a matter about which I shall have more to say at a later date, the Stevens Co. has had its propaganda machines very busy.

An article was published in the Wall Street Journal of May 11 reviewing the resistance to labor organizations occurring in the southern textile areas. The facts of the Stevens Co. case are dwelt upon at length.

No matter what the divergent views about the Wall Street Journal might be, I think all can agree that it certainly is not a publication with a prounion bias. I believe this gives greater significance to the fairness of the article. I particularly invite the attention of Members to the last paragraph of the Stevens story which quotes a 20-year veteran of the Stevens Co.; he says that most of the employees of the company think that J. P. Stevens is too big for the Federal Government.

UNIONIZING DIXIE: A CAMPAIGN TO ORGANIZE SOUTHERN PLANTS MEETS FORMIDABLE OPPOSITION—NLRB SAYS UNION MEMBERS ARE FIRED BY TEXTILE MILLS—CIVIC LEADERS BACK FIRMS—THE BATTLE AT J. P. STEVENS

(By Kenneth G. Slocum)

GREENVILLE, S.C.—Charlie Jenkins worked 35 years for textile producer J. P. Stevens & Co. here. Half that time he was a mechanic, or "loom fixer," the highest paid hourly job in the industry. During his final 8 years with Stevens, he didn't miss a day's work, and the company once awarded him five silver dollars for superior performance, he claims.

But for the past 2½ years the stocky, mustached 52-year-old hasn't been able to find work of any kind in textile mills in this part of the country. The reason for Mr. Jenkins' ostracism, from every indication, is that he has acquired a reputation as a "union agitator." As such, he is about as popular with most Dixie businessmen as a "civil rights agitator" would be at a gathering of white supremacists.

Stevens claims Mr. Jenkins was discharged for poor workmanship. But the National Labor Relations Board, after investigation, asserted that he was fired by Stevens for joining a union and urging fellow employes to do the same. Recently the NLRB ruled that Mr. Jenkins, who has been living lately off the earnings of his wife's factory job, had been discharged illegally for union activity and ordered him reinstated with back pay he estimates at $17,000. But union officials fear that the case of Mr. Jenkins, along with 70 other discharged Stevens employes whose cases were similarly decided by the NLRB, will drag on for years in the courts and that the NLRB finding perhaps may be reversed.

FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES

The discharged employes of Stevens, a *family-run business with 42,000 workers at 70 plants largely concentrated in the South-*

east, attest to formidable obstables confronting unions in Dixie, much of which remains a holdout against unionism. Opposition comes not only from individual companies seeking to thwart unionization drives but also from community leaders and organized groups of businessmen.

One such business group, Central Piedmont Industries, was formed in Charlotte in 1958 with the primary purpose of obstructing unionization. Says Edward J. Dowd, Jr., executive vice president: "Labor down here is considerably more productive than elsewhere because workers don't know anything about featherbedding or make-work approaches of entrenched unionism. We plan to keep it that way."

Unions have tried off and on for many years to make headway in the South, and they are well established in some Dixie industries, such as Alabama steel plants. But still outside the union fold are some 7 million nonagricultural workers employed by hundreds of companies in nine Southern states. In hopes of speeding up unionization of these firms, unions in 1963 began an all-out organizational drive in Dixie. Involved are 29 different unions, ranging from the United Auto Workers to the International Woodworkers of America. But the brunt of the effort is being borne by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department (known as the IUD) and the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union. And the main focus of their push is the textile industry in the Carolinas.

RIPE FOR UNIONIZATION?

Both North and South Carolina would seem to be ripe for unionization. North Carolina manufacturing workers averaged $1.82 an hour in 1965, ranking, along with Mississippians, as the lowest paid in the country, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. At $1.88 an hour, South Carolina factory hands weren't much better off. These wage levels compared with an average of $2.61 for the nation as a whole and $3.22 in heavily unionized Michigan.

North Carolina also ranks at the bottom in unionization, with only 6.7 percent of nonagricultural workers enrolled in unions. For South Carolina the proportion is 7.9 percent. Nationwide, 29.5 percent of nonagricultural workers are union members. The figure for Michigan is 38.9 percent, while Washington, at 43 percent, is even higher.

But if all this makes the Carolinas an inviting target for union organizers, it doesn't make them an easy one. Evidence of the difficulty of unionization is provided by the NLRB scorecard on elections for union representation of workers in the two states. From 1963 through last year unions won 236 of these certification elections and lost 279. While the number of elections won by unions may look fairly impressive, most of these victories involved small, single-plant operations averaging less than 100 workers, according to one labor leader. Four elections at Stevens plants in North and South Carolina were all lost by the Textile Workers Union.

GOING AFTER STEVENS

The 153-year-old Stevens concern, which is headed by Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army in the Eisenhower administration, has become the chief target of the organizing campaign. One reason for the unionists' decision to go after Stevens with special vigor is that the company's workers initially seemed receptive to organization. Another consideration was the firm's sound financial state, which, the union felt, would make it difficult for officials to plead poverty when presented with union demands.

Perhaps the most obvious reason for singling out Stevens, however, was its reputation as the most militantly antiunion company in the generally antiunion textile industry. A union foothold at Stevens could carry symbolic significance for the whole organizing drive in the South.

"If we can crack Stevens—and we will—it will automatically follow that people in the other textile plants will want to unionize to obtain the wages and other benefits won there," declares Jim Pierce, who heads the Southeast drive for the IUD. "That would undoubtedly ease the way for organizing plants other than textiles."

But, as the NLRB election results suggest, cracking Stevens is proving difficult. A look at the confrontation between Stevens and the union movement here in Greenville shows just how difficult.

Greenville, a bustling community of 70,000 people, likes to call itself "the textile capital." Within a 50-mile radius are clustered close to 100 textile plants, 15 of them belonging to Stevens.

The Stevens plant in a section of Greenville called Dunean has been the scene of two elections for representation by the Textile Workers Union. In the first, held last year, the union lost, but the NLRB set aside the vote on the ground the company had engaged in unfair labor practices—namely, threatening workers with reprisals if they voted for the union. A second election was held earlier this year. Once more the union was defeated—this time by a margin twice the size of the one in the previous vote; the union has asked the NLRB to overturn this vote, too.

SILENCE FROM STEVENS

Though they have denied all charges of unfair labor practices, Stevens officials now refuse to discuss any aspect of the union organizing campaign or the NLRB rulings, saying their lawyers have advised that any comments would be improper with the NLRB order to reinstate fired workers now being appealed before the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. Encountered recently in Atlanta at the annual meeting of General Electric Co. of which he is a director, President Stevens brusquely rebuffed a reporter seeking to question him about his company's labor situation. "It would be highly improper for me to discuss J. P. Stevens affairs on another company's time," he said.

Others sympathetic to management's point of viewpoint to the results of the elections at the Stevens plant at Dunean as conclusive proof that the workers simply don't want a union; they say that Dunean workers, like others in the textile industry, have received three 5 percent pay increases in the past 2 years and are doing fine without a union.

Union organizers insist, however, that their defeats stem from workers' fears of management retaliation for supporting unions. "Our biggest problem in getting workers to join the union is people walking around like Charlie Jenkins—they're living proof the company can fire workers for union activity and get away with it," says Harold McIver, the square-jawed IUD representative who directs organizing efforts at the Dunean plant.

Mr. Jenkins, who worked at another Greenville-area Stevens mill, the Victor plant, says he hadn't received a "write-up" (written complaint by his superior) for 35 years until the troubles that led up to his discharge began. These troubles started, he asserts, shortly after he signed up for the Textile Workers Union in the summer of 1963 and began calling on coworkers after work as a member of the employe organizing committee. In quick succession he received three write-ups for violations such as laying a dirty wrench on cloth and failing to adjust a loom correctly.

Then, according to the NLRB report on his case, he was fired when he balked at signing a statement admitting poor loom fixing. The NLRB found that Stevens "discharged Jenkins because of his union membership, when it failed to obtain his resignation."

ORGANIZERS THWARTED

Whether Mr. Jenkins and others really were fired for union activity, as the union and the NLRB contend, or because of poor workmanship and violations of plant rules, as Stevens maintains, one thing is clear: The organizing effort at the Victor plant was effectively stymied. By the discharge of Mr. Jenkins and others, Stevens "eliminated the only known pocket of union activity in the Victor plant," an NLRB report states.

IUD organizer McIver claims the same situation prevails at the Dunean plant. "The employe organizing committee at Dunean is gone," he says. "Those who weren't fired quit on their own."

The NLRB says Stevens' antiunion activities haven't been restricted to the discharges at these two plants. NLRB examiner Horace A. Ruckel drafted a report containing broad charges that Stevens has spied on employes, intimidated some who had given statements to the NLRB, threatened to shut a plant if it was unionized and interrogated employes concerning union activities of fellow workers.

Mr. Ruckel said, however, that it was at Stevens' Watts plant, near Greenville, that "the respondent's (Stevens') efforts to drive employees out of the union, or out of Stevens' employ, perhaps reached its finest fruition. Here the respondent furnished anti-union employes the services of its typewriters and mimeograph machines and the services of an employe to reproduce withdrawal announcements which were then distributed among the employes for signing and mailing to the union."

By this means, Mr. Ruckel concluded, "the respondent procured the resignation from the union of all but two of the 46 employes * * * whose names had been sent the respondents as union members. These two employes the respondent then discharged. The union in the Watts plant was wiped out."

OTHER FIRINGS PROTESTED

NLRB proceedings are still under way in cases involving two other groups of workers formerly employed at a number of different Stevens plants. In one of these proceedings, an NLRB examiner has concluded that Stevens fired 19 workers for union activity; this case is now before the full board. In the other case, an examiner currently is taking workers' testimony on a union complaint that Stevens fired 20 employes because of union activity.

An obstacle to unionization almost as great as the loss of an employe organizing team, union leaders say, is workers' fear of the "blackball"—the branding of a worker as a union sympathizer. Albert Sanders, now 50 years old, was fired in 1963 after 16 years with Stevens; Stevens attributed the discharge to "poor loom fixing," but the NLRB decided the cause was "association with the union, which he was known to favor."

Whatever the reason, Mr. Sanders says that today "there isn't a textile mill in South Carolina that will touch me—I've tried them all. And that's the only work I know." Mr. Jenkins and most of the other workers discharged during the course of the organizing effort say they have shared Mr. Sander's experience.

A conspiracy by Stevens and other textile employers to prevent union sympathizers from finding work would be a violation of Federal law, of course, and there is no proof such a conspiracy exists.

A North Carolina management consultant who helps companies fight unionization says no formal agreements are needed for the blackball system to function effectively. He explains it this way: "Say I'm an employer who doesn't want a union—and no one down here does—and I'm looking at this guy's job application. I look at the date of his termination and see that he left Stevens about the same time they had all their labor trouble. I'd be some kind of an idiot to take a chance on giving this guy a job when he *might try to organize my plant.*"

Civic leaders often prove formidable allies for employers opposing unionization. The Rev. Paul F. Beacham, a pink-cheeked, white-haired man who is president of the 230-student Holmes Theological Seminary here, acknowledges that on one occasion he wrote anti-union letters to several of his students who worked at Stevens. "Presumably you know that labor unions today are dominated by the spirit of anti-Christ and therefore a Christian cannot have anything to do with them," said the letters from Mr. Beacham, a minister of the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

Greenville Mayor David G. Traxler also opposes unions. The Greenville area has added 12,000 new jobs in the past 6 years, he says, but "unionization would be a deterrent to new industry—companies don't want their hands strapped down."

In some instances in the South, unions have won what seemed to be victories—only to see their support quickly melt away. Such is the case at the Albemarle, N.C., plant of Collins & Aikman Corp., a producer of automobile carpeting.

REPLACING STRIKERS

In the spring of last year the Textile Workers Union won the right to represent some 1,000 workers at the plant. After months of haggling over a contract, workers struck Sept. 30, although union leaders say it was against their advice. Within a month, the company had hired replacements for close to half the striking workers.

The union finally signed a contract it considered totally unsatisfactory "in order to get back in and start rebuilding," says Paul Swaity, regional director of the Textile Workers Union. But it now appears likely that the company will seek decertification of the union on the ground it no longer represents most workers at the plant.

"Strikes are less successful in the South than elsewhere because companies have no problem getting an injunction limiting pickets to about four people, which means they have no big impact," says Mr. Swaity. "Too there's always an abundance of people here looking for better jobs and Southerners are not oriented against crossing picket lines as are workers elsewhere."

Here in Greenville, the anti-union sentiments of Stevens and influential citizens have so permeated the atmosphere that it's difficult to conceive of unions making much progress in the near future, no matter how critical the NLRB may be of Stevens' conduct. So strong are the pressures against unions, says Aubrey Kent, a 20-year Stevens veteran who was fired last August for "failure to obey an order," that "some of my friends won't even be seen talking to me in downtown Greenville because I was associated with the union and they are afraid they'll get in trouble at the mill."

He adds: "Deep down, most of them feel J. P. Stevens is too big down here for the Federal Government—that the little NLRB isn't going to tell big J.P. what to do in South Carolina."

Equal Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting an editorial from the Bristol Herald Courier in regard to the new civil rights bill, and I feel that these comments *deserve the deliberation and attention* of all of us here in the Congress.

[From the Bristol (Tenn.-Va.) Herald Courier, Apr. 30, 1966]

A WRONG APPROACH ON EQUAL RIGHTS

In his zest to right old wrongs, President Johnson has overstepped the limits of commonsense and logic. He has proposed a sweeping new *Civil Rights Bill—the third in* as many years. It would:

Impose strict federal penalties for civil rights offenses, imposing a sort of double jeopardy on the accused, be he guilty or innocent.

Create a federal fair housing act, presumably to "rejuvenate and liberate America's growing urban areas."

Set up a federal standard for jury lists and place it into effect for all federal juries. The attorney general would be charged with the duty of looking after the states to make sure they don't do anything Washington won't like.

In asking these changes, the President appealed more to emotionalism than to legalities. He told of the wrongs done minority groups, of the sad plight of the American Negro, of the future he visions for this country.

Not once, however, did he make mention of the tremendous progress America has made in solving its racial problem. He did not refer to the peaceful integration of thousands of Southern schools, the shattered color line in public facilities, the peaceful and often voluntary acceptance of Negroes in the American society of today.

There is reason to hope that no new federal laws will be necessary. Pockets of resistance are present, and will remain for years, no matter how stringent federal laws become. And the changes of which the President speaks will not come to pass because of pressure. Changes of the heart rarely do.

We feel this latest Civil Rights Act would not do a great deal to accomplish the ends it seeks. Most of the states that have urban ghettoes also have fair housing acts. If these have not helped, it is not likely a federal law will.

In short, new Civil Rights legislation at this time is not called for, lest it be to placate the wounded feelings of professional do-gooders. The nation should be allowed to consolidate the gains made under previous acts. Pushing too fast and, perhaps, unnecessarily, will not serve to further the cause of equal rights.

Joan Merriam Smith the Outstanding Aviatrix of 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, on May 12, 1964 at 12:12 e.d.t. a young courageous aviatrix wrote aviation history for the United States when she landed at Oakland, Calif. airport by her flight completion of the 1937 Amelia Earhart global Equator route and the longest single solo flight of 27,750 miles. This was the late Mrs. Joan Merriam Smith—born 1936, Oceanside, Long Island, N.Y., and later resided in Detroit, Miami, San Diego, and Long Beach, Calif.

Joan Merriam—her flying name—was awarded the highest aviation award, *posthumously, the 1965 Harmon International* Aviation Trophy by Vice President HUMPHREY on December 14, 1965.

The inscription read:

> Joan Merriam Smith—the world's outstanding aviatrix for 1964, in recognition of her piloting skill and courage in completing a 27,750 mile solo flight around the world, on a course which ran mostly near the Equator in a twin-engine light plane between the dates March 17, 1964 and May 12, 1964.

Vice President HUMPHREY has stated of Joan Merriam:

> All Americans and particularly American women can be justifiably proud of this courageous woman's accomplishments.

On this the second anniversary of this historic flight, I should like to remind the Members of the House of the introduced memorial resolutions—House Joint Resolution 461–5—pending before Judiciary Subcommittee No. 4 under Chairman BYRON ROGERS and request their interest and support in securing 1966 congressional approval. The resolutions were introduced by myself and the gentleman from New York [Mr. FINO], the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], the gentleman from California [Mr. HOSMER], and the gentlewoman from Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS], and in the Senate as Senate Joint Resolution 114 by Senators SMATHERS and SMITH.

The resolution requests post office consideration of the issuance of an airmail stamp in honor of Joan Merriam's flight and a proposed theme of, "World Friendship via Aviation" would be appropriate for this stamp because of Joan Merriam's plane—thousands of new global friends wrote their names and greetings on her plane during her historic global flight.

As president of the Congressional Flying Club, I know of the interest of the several other flying Members of Congress in this resolution and should like to note the growing contributions of general aviation industry and pilots toward peace and world friendship, for example, in the fields of rescue, travel, business, racing, agriculture, missionary work, and lastly pioneering as was the flight of Joan Merriam.

The second request for a joint day of honor for May 12 of each year "Joan Merriam-Amelia Earhart Aviation Day" in honor of both aviatrixes and all women fliers of the United States is a deserved honor. Amelia Earhart was America's first and greatest aviatrix and the first president of Ninety-Nines—International Organization of Women Pilots—and served as the inspiration of Joan Merriam's life and flight. Mrs. Muriel Morrissey—sister of Miss Earhart—has written:

> Please advise all Congressional Members of my interest and approval of this memorial tribute for the late Joan Merriam. As Amelia's sister, I know that she would be most proud of Joan and her 1964 World Flight * * * I recall the reason that she stated for her flight, "My flight was made to complete a page in Aviation History for the United States."

History has now linked together the names of these two courageous pioneers and hopefully a joint Aviation Day would inspire all Americans in their life's work to pioneer and achieve and contribute to

peace and world friendship in the air and space age—as did Amelia Earhart and Joan Merriam.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the attached statements that will further tell the Joan Merriam Smith story:

THE 1965 HARMON INTERNATIONAL AVIATION TROPHY—CLIFFORD B. HARMON TRUST

Awarded to Joan Merriam Smith, The World's Outstanding Aviatrix for 1964, In recognition of her piloting skill and courage in competing a 27,000-mile solo flight entirely around the world on a course which ran mostly near the Equator, in a twin-engine light plane, between the dates of March 17, 1964 and May 12, 1964.

Presented on December 14, 1965, Old State Building, Washington, D.C.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
Vice President of the United States of America.
EDWARD H. RYAN,
MARY V. BROSNAKAY,
ANSEL EDWARD TALBERT,
Trustees.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 19, 1965.

MISS PEG SCHRODER,
The Bonx,
New York City, N.Y.

DEAR MISS SCHRODER: This will acknowledge your letter of August 12 and the material you sent me regarding the late Joan Merriam Smith.

In response to your request, I have checked with the Federal Aviation Agency. That agency informed me that it has no record of any safety violations incurred by Mrs. Smith. Her flight was officially recognized by that Agency, and one of its representatives met Mrs. Smith when she completed her around-the-world trip. It is my understanding that the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency at that time, Mr. Najeeb Halaby, extended his personal congratulations to Mrs. Smith for her accomplishment.

With kind regards,
Sincerely yours,
MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS,
Member of Congress.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT,
Washington, July 23, 1965.

MISS PEG SCHRODER,
Bronx, N.Y.

DEAR MISS SCHRODER: I have read with interest your letter concerning your efforts to obtain the Medal of Freedom for famous aviatrix, Joan Merriam Smith.

All Americans—and particularly American women—can be justifiably proud of this courageous woman's accomplishments. I shall see to it that the White House is informed of your interest in this matter.

Best wishes.
Sincerely,
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

JOAN MERRIAM SMITH STAMP PROPOSED

Under the leadership of Peg Schroder, 3034 Grand Concourse, Bronx, N.Y., 10458, a campaign seeking issue of a U.S. air mail stamp honoring the late Joan Merriam Smith has gained considerable momentum during recent weeks.

Mrs. Smith, it will be remembered, made aviation history in 1964, when she retraced the late Amelia Earhart's 1937 Trans-Pacific route, establishing a number of records—including the longest single solo flight of 27,750 miles.

For this flight Mrs. Smith received the Harmon International Aviation trophy.

The trophy was awarded posthumously for the distinguished aviatrix and a flying friend. Trixie-Ann Schubert, lost their lives February 17, 1965, in a plane crash of uncertain cause near Los Angeles.

Mrs. Schroder, who heads the Citizens Committee for Recognition of Joan Merriam Smith, reports that Senators and Representatives have introduced a Joint Resolution in Congress authorizing and directing the Postmaster General to give due consideration to issue of an 8-cent air mail stamp in honor of Joan Merriam Smith. The resolution calls for issue of the stamp on May 12, the anniversary of her famous solo flight over the Amelia Earhart Route.

The Joint Resolution calls for designation of May 12 each year as Joan M. Smith-Amelia Earhart Aviation Day in honor of all the country's women fliers: Amelia Earhart who blazed the frontier of aviation for women and Joan Merriam Smith, who dreamed, lived and fulfilled the achievement of flying solo the uncompleted 1937 Amelia Earhart flight route around the Equator in 1964.

Joan Merriam Smith, the Joint Resolution points out, was the first person to fly solo around the world at the Equator, the first person to fily a twin-engine aircraft around the world, the first woman to receive the airline transport rating at the age of 23, the first woman to fly the Pacific ease-west in a twin-engine plane and the first woman to fly solo from Africa to Australia, from Australia to Guam via New Guinea and from Wake to Midway.

The Committee for Recognition of Joan Merriam Smith is now seeking public support for its campaign to bring about the issue of a stamp honoring the aviatrix.

School in Pittsburgh Hand Tailors Pupils

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Milwaukee, Wis., Journal, April 10, 1966:

SCHOOL IN PITTSBURGH HAND TAILORS PUPILS

PITTSBURGH, PA.—If schools could be compared to rockets, the Oakleaf elementary school here would be the Gemini program of the nation's education plan.

At Oakleaf, a brick and tinted glass school in a hilly Pittsburgh suburb, educators have put into practice an idea long talked about. Individualized instruction.

The fact that children are different—in ability, in rate of learning, in interest and motivation—is the foundation on which the experiment has been built.

Most of the traditional school elements have been abolished at Oakleaf. There are no grades, textbooks or lectures in the usual sense. Instead, it operates as a school where teachers are available when a child wants help, but otherwise he works at his own pace with the aid of tape recorders, records, special work sheets and an individual learning "prescription" that varies from week to week for each child.

Under this system, some surprising findings have come to light. Among them:

An IQ score may be a poor indicator of a child's rate of learning.

The same child will not only vary greatly in ability from subject to subject, but also may differ considerably in his rate of learning from one year to the next (covering twice as much ground at age 9, for instance, as he did at age 8).

Children who are free to work at their own pace will on the average score a year above grade norms on achievement tests.

The Oakleaf project, now two years old, was developed by researchers at the University of Pittsburgh. Funds came from the United States office of education, which has designated Pittsburgh one of its research and development laboratories.

The experiment provides strong evidence that children do not need to be separated into fast, average and slow classes—a system widley known as the track plan.

Advocates of tracking argue that unless children are so grouped, the teacher will peg instruction to the average child at the expense of the bright and the slow.

KNOWLEDGE BROKEN UP

At Oakleaf, however, there are as many "tracks" as there are pupils. Rather than spending time deciding at which level to pitch instruction, the Oakleaf teacher acts as a diagnostician and tutor.

Oakleaf researchers have broken up knowledge into small units, which children learn in different orders and at varying speeds.

Math, for instance, has been divided into levels from A to F and beyond. Each level is subdivided into the skills children need to know, such as numeration, addition, measurement. Records, tape recording and work sheets have been designed to give a child as much or as little instruction as he needs in each area.

A pupil is given a preliminary test to show what his strength and weaknesses are and exactly where he should be placed in the math sequence. No child need cover the ground that he already knows.

Within math, he may be on level C in numeration and level F in measurement. Children will vary up to four or five grade levels in any one subject within an average Oakleaf classroom.

SYSTEM ILLUSTRATED

Robert Dryer, a skinny 9 year old wearing a bright plaid shirt, showed a visitor how the system works.

Bobby was sitting at a low table in a large, mint colored room. He had pulled his large black workbook off the shelf. It charted his progress in reading.

He explained that he felt he was ready for his next lesson. He went over to a large file and pulled out a rubbery record with a number corresponding to that on the work sheet in his notebook. He slapped the record on the machine and handed a pair of earphones to the visitor.

"Hello," said the pleasant male voice on the record. "Today there are some new words for you to learn. Look at the first word on the page. Do you know that word?" (A bell rings and Bobby softly responds, "comb.")

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN

The record went through a list of words and then gave Bobby instructions for finishing the sentences on a work sheet.

Bobby went back to the table. A few minutes later, troubled by one of the sentences, he put up a little red flag on his desk. This summoned the teacher, Joseph Bruni, who cleared up the difficulty.

Other children in the room were browsing, using the machines, getting new work sheets, or talking quietly. One boy was helping a girl with her notebook. Another youngster had been daydreaming for about 15 minutes, but nobody minded.

Jean Williams, former principal of Oakleaf and now coordinator of the experiment said: "We aren't going to worry about a youngster who stares at the fishbowl instead of working. Maybe his parents had a brawl this morning. Maybe he has more important things on his mind than addition or subtraction."

The idea is that a child will learn when he wants to.

Meanwhile, Bobby had finished the exercises. He went over to a woman sitting by the door and picked up a number card from a pile on her desk. A few moments later, she called "22" and he went right up, no waiting in line.

The woman, a teacher aide who lives in the neighborhood, corrected his paper and marked the score in the notebook. Part of the test required him to read some words to her. Bobby stumbled on "possibly" and she asked him to repeat it. He got it right the second time.

John Krolikowski is one of the best examples of the individual pace at Oakleaf. He had been working so feverishly on his math lessons that his teacher asked him why he was in such a hurry.

ALMOST CAUGHT UP

"It's my brother," Johnny explained. "You see, he beats me in everything else and I want to beat him in math."

Test scores compiled this month show that Johnny has nearly pulled abreast of his brother—although Johnny is in the second grade and his brother is in the fifth.

Both have about the same IQ, say Oakleaf teachers.

Researchers say it will take five years before they can draw airtight conclusions about the Oakleaf plan. But one bit of data is impressive: Oakleaf has the lowest absentee rate of any elementary school in the district.

Big Questions in Consumer Credit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month the American Banker newspaper carried a thought provoking editorial relating to the future of consumer credit. As a member of the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee, this editorial was of special interest to me, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the American Banker, May 9, 1966]

BIG QUESTIONS IN CONSUMER CREDIT

The bright new world of ever more intensified automation in banking is attractive in the extreme. But the very attractiveness of the rich promises it holds may call for restraint and careful assessment by top management.

If the rewards could be reaped merely by reaching for them, this would be a veritable utopia of industry progress. But it is just not that simple.

Tough questions have to asked, and hard answers worked out, before progress can be made on a sound basis. And soundness must be insisted upon, for while the rewards of advanced technology are great, the penalties for mistakes are exceptionally harsh. The speed, volume, and sophistication of the technology can break away and run wild if not properly harnessed; the costs are great; and the competition is ferocious.

So bankers are in for a long period of unrelenting judgmentmaking, as they strain to make the most of this scientific boon.

One of the key areas for advancing technology to develop is in consumer credit, and one of the most difficult to assess precisely.

Some of the questions which need to be answered by any thoughtful banker with management responsibility in this area, preliminary to any serious advance into this field, were put recently by Dale Reistad, director of Automation, American Bankers Association, in a speech before the ABA's Installment Credit Conference (reprinted in the adjacent column as Required Reading).

"In the long run," he asked, "is this whole revolution of consumer credit good for the consumer? For the individual bank or other business? For the banking industry and other industries? For the economy?" He added: "We can't assume that automation by definition always means better things for everyone!"

"Is it not possible that consumer credit will deteriorate under such a system, with people going on uncontrollable buying binges?" Mr. Reistad continued. "Would certain businesses or even complete industries be in jeopardy as a result of these massive changes in consumer needs and habits?"

"Would such a system bring more government control?" he asked. "And to what extent would such control in turn affect other related activities of the system?"

"Could such a system work within the dual banking system as we know it today?" Mr. Reistad went on. "For example, what if national banks could participate but state banks could not? Or what if there could be participation, but in varying degrees as determined by the type of credit card plan under consideration?"

And if there were discrimination, "if certain restrictions prohibited one bank from competing with another in the system, how long would the inequities be allowed to continue?" Mr. Reistad asked. "Could Bank A ever recover from a 12-month lead this area by Bank B?"

"What will be the impact of this system on branch banking?" Mr. Reistad went on. "Where will the thin line be drawn between terminal banking and branch banking? And who will draw it?"

These are big, tough questions. But they have got to be answered, and correctly, by bankers and banking regulatory officials, before the industry can move forward to provide the kind of service which the bright new machinery makes it possible to render.

Mr. Reistad has contributed to progress by bringing these vital considerations into the open, for thorough examination.

Third Leading Cause of Death

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, a recent column by the distinguished Ralph McGill, appearing in the Atlanta Constitution on May 3, tends to put partisan innuendos against the war on poverty in proper perspective. The column, entitled "Third Leading Cause of Death," reminds us of the seriousness of the poverty problem by focusing on the effect of poverty on human health, and suggests that we should put politics aside and get on with the job.

Mr. McGill quotes Dr. Arthur Bushel, acting health commissioner of New York City, to the effect that "If we were able to achieve for our low-income districts the same death rates which we observe in the high-income districts, the savings in human lives would be equivalent to eliminating the third leading cause of death."

Mr. Speaker, I will have Mr. McGill's column inserted at this point in the RECORD.

THIRD LEADING CAUSE OF DEATH

(By Ralph McGill)

"In the old days," said a critical letter, "we worked harder if we were poorer. We enlarged the garden. We went into the woods and chopped more wood. We wore old clothes. Mother darned socks, patched clothes and mended dresses. Today's poor don't seem to do these sort of things. They want someone else to take care of them."

Such a letter, written almost surely in sincerity, dismays because of its utter lack of comprehension of what poverty is in 1966 and where it is. Today's rural poor still manage a patch of garden. They can find wood in winter. They do have fresh air. They may even trap a rabbit or so (although Br'er Rabbit himself is disappearing) and have a few chickens and a pig.

But, today's poor are in the cities. The total of rural poor is a smaller percentage of the total. The poor in the cities are concentrated there. That they live frugally is undenied. That their clothing is old and patched is apparent. There is no place to make a garden or raise a pig. There is no lake or creek in which to fish when there is "nothing to do." There is only the street and the environment of the streets.

PART OF THE STORY

But this is not the whole story of "poverty." At the recent National Dental Health Conference sponsored by the American Dental Association, Dr. Arthur Bushel, acting health commissioner of New York City, was a speaker. Armed with statistics taken across a span of years, Dr. Bushel listed poverty as the possible third leading cause of death.

"It is clear that poor health disability is among the primary causes of poverty and indeed in New York City we sometimes are moved to point out that poverty is actually the third leading cause of death.

"The basis for this statement is that if we were able to achieve for our low-income districts the same death rates which we observe in the high-income districts, the savings in human lives would be equivalent to eliminating the third leading cause of death."

There is no reason to dispute Dr. Bushel's conclusion. Poverty is a leading cause of death. There is no one way to "get at" the problem of the very poor. Education of adults and the young and training in skills ignore the aged and handicapped. Employment opportunity is greater today than in the past several years. Yet we already see that employment still is not as generally opened to Negroes. Some sectors of the economy may do very well indeed and still not help the farm laborer or the poorly educated teenager. Many of the poor work very hard and regularly. Yet their income is too low to take care of a large family.

POOR PATIENTS

The poor certainly see doctors less than do persons with higher incomes. They usually are wholly dependent on crowded, understaffed city hospitals. Difficulties of regular attendance as out-patients often are enormous.

Poor diets, malnutrition, diseases that derive from inadequate diets, neglected tumors, rashes, internal bleeding, constant headaches (indicating brain tumors, eye problems, high blood pressure and other ills), hypertension and general lack of diagnostic attention, certainly make "poverty" a leading cause of death.

Mental problems come largely from "the poor." This is especially true of schizophrenia.

The facts are there. They cannot be rationalized away by talking of how in the old days churches took care of the poor. (Usually with a Christmas basket.) "The village idiot" was a familiar sight in many towns not too many years ago. Today we are not quite that cruel. It is an interesting, but historic, phenomenon that the poor are resented.

Another Russian Military Buildup in Cuba?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, this week two columns appeared in the press regarding another possible Russian military buildup in Cuba. On Sunday, May 8, 1966, in the News American of Baltimore, Md., Ruth Montgomery of the Hearst Headline Service stated that former Cuban Ambassador Guillermo Belt has received from highly reliable sources information that a large Russian colony, complete with the wives and children of "thousands of new Soviet troops" in being established in Cuba. In addition, Dr. Belt's sources "disclose the buildup of Mariel as a very important submarine base" 90 miles off our shore.

The very next day, Monday, May 9, the columnist Henry J. Taylor, in his column, entitled "The Red Subs," stated that the main Soviet submarine port is located at Caribien, 190 miles east of Havana.

For the information of the Members of Congress, I place these two items in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, May 8, 1966]

SAYS RUSS BUILD CUBA SUB BASE—TROOPS BEEFED-UP, EX-U.S. ENVOY SAYS

(By Ruth Montgomery)

WASHINGTON, May 7.—Newly arrived Cuban refugees report that a large Russian colony, complete with the wives and children of "thousands of new Soviet troops" is being established in Cuba.

Former Cuban Ambassador Guillermo Belt said this information comes to him from highly reliable sources, who also "disclose the build-up of Mariel as a very important submarine base" 90 miles off our shore.

Dr. Belt, a distinguished international lawyer in pre-Castro days, pointed out that foreign colonization in the Western Hemisphere is a flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine and the charter of the Organization of American States.

An original signatory of both the OAS and U.N. charters, Dr. Belt is currently acting president of the Christopher Columbus Foundation which handles hemispheric student exchanges.

Calling our Cuban quarantine a farce, he said new Russian troops are arriving "by the thousands," and that a steady stream of Russian ships is unloading wives and children, along with secret armaments.

He said that in the northwest Cuban port of Mariel, the unloading takes place after dark, when both curfew and blackout are strictly enforced.

"My sources inform me that after the Russian ships land, everyone in Mariel is ordered to turn out his lights and stay indoors," he declared. "This is the procedure that was in effect during the 1962 missiles build-up, preceding the October confrontation between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev."

Dr. Belt, who served as ambassador here for five years until 1949, said although it is "now admitted that some top American officials knew of the Cuban missiles build-up as early as June of 1962, the Kennedy administration delayed its confrontation with Khrushchev until the eve of the elections" in late October. "Is the United States again going to wait until atomic submarines from Mariel bombard your southern cities, before taking action?" he asked.

Dr. Belt said the Russian force of 50,000 troops was substantially reduced after the historic October confrontation, but "troops are again pouring in by the thousands, complete with families."

The former ambassador expressed his belief that the unprecedented warmth of President Johnson's recent reception in Mexico City was "a vote-of-confidence in his firm anti-Comunist stand in the Dominican Republic," and a mandate from all Latin Americans to protect them from Cuban-Soviet subversion."

Dr. Belt reminded that the U. S. twice invoked the Monroe Doctrine to prevent European colonization in this hemisphere. In 1823 we forbade a Russian colony on the West Coast, and after the Civil War we drove the French under Maximilian from Mexico.

"But what Czar Alexander I flailed to get away with 143 years ago, the Kremlin is achieving today in Cuba," Dr. Belt shrugged. "A Russian colony is being established right under your nose."

If Dr. Belt's information is correct that wives and children are now accompanying the troops in large numbers, it suggests that the Russians are digging in for a long stay.

Fidel Castro's recent blast at Red China made clear that the Soviets are now calling the tune in Cuba. Will the Russian sword dance replace the rumba in once-gay Havana, while we are fighting halfway around the world in Vietnam?

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, May 9, 1966]

THE RED SUBS

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Chinese-Soviet leaders always applaud the appeasers, but behind the scenes they silently build and maneuver forces little known to our distracted public.

Moscow's May Day parade lifted the veil on no new weapons. But a few facts about the Red submarine fleet should set us straight up in our chairs.

"Jane's Fighting Ships," published in London, is the Bible of the world's navies. Its latest edition gives Russia nearly as many nuclear and conventional submarines as all the rest of the world, including the United States.

The list credits the Red fleet with 425 submarines, 390 conventional, 35 nuclear; and our Navy with 200; of which 140 are conventional, 60 nuclear.

British intelligence reports that the long-range Soviet subs are stationed chiefly off the coast of the U.S., Cuba, Red China and Australia. Moreover, Red China has 30 Soviet-built submarines of her own.

The convicted Konon Molody ("Gordon Lonsdale") spy ring in the British Admiralty damaged English-American security terribly, and with lasting effect. It has been reported that these Red agents obtained the particulars about the Decca Tracking System and also tapped our nuclear submarine secrets thru our exchanges with the British.

A major purpose of the sub fleet is to deliver additional agents. These are trained chiefly at the recently expanded center at Bykovo, 40 kilometers from Moscow.

Castro is one of the beneficiaries. For example, two of Castro's spearheads for the Dominican Republic revolt were Dominican Communist Party Executive Committee members N. J. Conde, a Castroite trained in Cuba, and J. I. Quello, who was secretly landed in Santo Domingo from Moscow in a submarine shortly before the attack. So was bloody-fisted Joaquin Ordoquin, long Castro's No. 3 man, from the main Soviet submarine port in Cuba. It is at Caribien, 190 miles east of Havana.

This port helps feed the vast cavern of San Tomas, the largest known cavern in all Latin America, used today as the Russians' central military warehouse for the three provinces of Havana, Pinar Del Rio and Matanzas.

Directed from Matanzas, 75 miles south of Key West, the Red wolf pack is a death-trap patrol along Cuba's northern coastline. Thanks to the Lonsdale spy ring, the lead craft carry duplicated elements of the Decca Tracking System and the Soviet's latest radar, sonar, radiotelephone and gunnery equipment.

Castro's crews are Russian-trained at his Victorian De Playa Naval School. So are his airborne specialists.

The latter fly search-and-subversion missions from Remedios, headquarters of the Soviet high command in Cuba, from San Antonio de Los Banos and from the Soviet air base at San Julian, 90 miles southeast of Havana, the island's largest air force station.

As this column previously reported, the far-flying Russian planes are MIG–15 and MIG–21 jets, capable of instant conversion into bombers merely by attaching bomb racks. Each plane is capable of launching a larger and more devastating atomic missile than is launched by a U.S. Polaris submarine.

L.B.J. Should Answer Own Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I would call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress a most excellent column by John S. Knight, publisher of the Knight newspapers.

As anyone who reads the following column can readily discern, Mr. Knight has a down-to-earth approach to our national and international problems. While at times, he is critical, his criticism is always objective.

The column which follows is particularly pertinent because it covers some of the major basic problems that face our Nation today.

I commend the following column to the attention of my colleagues:

L.B.J. SHOULD ANSWER OWN QUESTION—PRESIDENT HAS IRRITATING HABIT WHENEVER HE GETS INTO TROUBLE

(By John S. Knight)

Lyndon Baines Johnson is said to be a strong President but he has an irritating habit of saying "what would you do?" when he gets into trouble.

The war in Vietnam is one example of the President's utter frustration. Another is found in his recent remarks to a top-level labor-management panel currently assessing various ways to combat inflation.

On this occasion, the President said: "I ask you to look at this problem not from the standpoint of labor or business. I want you to ask yourselves: if you were President, what would you do?"

One can be sympathetic with the President's plight. The problems he encounters both at home and abroad are staggering in number and magnitude. They defy easy, simplistic solutions. Nevertheless, many of the made creations of this administration. Others could have been by-passed as having low priority in essentiality.

CONFUSION, UNCERTAINTY

It seems to this observer that our war policies lack insight, skillful direction and total purpose. There can be no criticism either of our men in the field or of the military command. They have performed magnificently under the most trying conditions. The nasion can be proud of their dedication and courage.

The changing emphasis from Washington produces confusion and uncertainty at home. First, it was said that the U.S. is in Vietnam by invitation of the government. Next, we were told that we must resist aggression everywhere. Quite an undertaking, that.

A third explanation suggests that the United States is acting in its national interest which, according to Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY includes the "containment without isolation" of Red China.

And now it appears that Washington welcomes "free elections" in Vietnam which, if held, could result in our being asked to leave the country.

But not I assure you, before the departure is conditioned on promises of vast assistance and the financing of an Asian Great Society.

So the question; "What would you do" flows from such an intricate and complex background of gradual and unnecesary step-by-step involvement that it must be answered by the architects of these policies.

In fact, this means that only the President can decide. The voices of protest against the insanity of Vietnam have gone unheeded through the years. No one would listen.

Mr. Johnson, though an inheritor of the Vietnam mess, has undertaken to enlarge the conflict while talking of his hopes for peace.

He bears the responsibility. He must therefore answer his own question and provide direction for the future.

HIS GREAT CONCERN

On the home front, the President's great concern is, as he expressed it, "The crucial domestic issue of the day—the maintenance of our unparalleled prosperity with economic stability."

This was the question he posed to his labor-management panel. It is good that the President is seeking such advice. He could have used some earlier counsel on Vietnam or even urged that our involvement be debated by the Senate at a time when the truth was being concealed.

Nevertheless, only a confirmed optimist would believe that a 21-member group from labor and management could agree on anything more than the dangers of inflation and resolutions deploring it.

WHO IS THE SPEAKER?

The labor people are unhappy with government guidelines on pay increases and have generally ignored them. Business and industry see no merit in tax hikes but think government should reduce spending.

Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's council of economic advisers, points his academic finger at the highest corporate profits in history and asks: "Does anyone imagine that labor will continue to show moderation in its wage demands * * *?" Though it is beside the point, one may well ask "What moderation?"

Other than an admonition that the impact of future price increases must be carefully evaluated, Mr. Ackley offered no suggestions on how business can slow down its own profitability. Nor did he explain that reduced corporate earnings would adversely affect the government's tax revenues—all needed to pay for the unending proliferation of federal projects.

As the New York Times reported, "Until Mr. Ackley's address, the administration, departing considerably from its democratic predecessors, had taken nothing but pride and pleasure in the high level of profits."

So who speaks for the government? Mr. Johnson, who wants a continuation of our "unparalleled prosperity," or his economic adviser who worries because business is doing too well?

THREE GOOD STEPS

Since everyone—business, labor, government and consumers—agree that inflation is the domestic enemy we face, it is again the President's responsibility to propose a program which will cool off, but not chill our over-heated economy. The problem is how to dampen the fire without putting it out.

To a non-economist, several procedures seem to be in order:

1—Curb government spending and particularly in non-essential areas.

2—Convince the honorable members of Congress that they are poorly serving the country's interest by voting higher appropriations than requested by the President. Mr. Ackley has noted that congressional actions now being taken may increase appropriations by "close to $3 billion" above Mr. Johnson's recommendations.

3—Impose a "temporary" $5 billion tax increase and earmark these additional funds for debt reduction rather than operating expenses.

These three steps, if taken in unison, would alleviate the problem and avoid the necessity for stronger measures such as rigid wage and price controls at a later date.

THERE'S NO CHOICE

The President's plea for voluntary cooperation in correcting the imbalance of international payments is sound. His recommendations for holding down future capital expenditures in plant and factory is not as impressive. A growing economy needs expansion in manufacturing to provide additional employment and to serve new markets, both at home and abroad.

Mr. Johnson's "wait and see" approach to inflation can permit conditions to get out of hand. As Hobart Rowen of the Washington Post has said: "The pressures of war and boom will not disappear by themselves."

Business won't like tax increases. Labor generally opposes the idea because their leaders sense that any hike will go across the board and hit their members as well as the corporations.

Still, a President has no choice in these hectic times but to take affirmative action designed to protect the dollar lest its dilution in value rob the savings and pension accounts of this country.

AN UNWORTHY QUESTION

The question "What would you do?" is unworthy of a man elected to lead the country through the trials and tribulations of war and attendant domestic unheavals.

A President is supposed to lead, not seek government by consensus.

The hour is here when he should forget about politics and popularity and provide the guidance for the nation which is so sorely needed.

It is all very well to seek competent advice and ask others "to think in my shoes."

But inevitably, the President must show the way.

Political Freedom for Vietnam Begins in Saigon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, recently I called for full support by the U.S. Government of elections in Vietnam. I belive that political freedom for Vietnam begins in Saigon, and I would like to include in the RECORD a column by Joseph Kraft in a recent Washington Post article which arrives at the same conclusion:

INSIGHT AND OUTLOOK: THE VIETNAMESE CRISIS—IV

(By Joseph Kraft)

SAIGON.—Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's return to the United States is happily timed. For the central theme of his consultations will have to be the coming elections in Vietnam. And on that score Washington has a huge contribution to make to American thinking here in Saigon.

Without outside help, indeed, the American mission here is almost incompetent to frame a broad approach to the elections. For one thing, the mission is preoccupied with the day-to-day, not to say minute-to-minute, business of supporting the war effort.

The emphasis is on moving goods and people, arranging appointments, making telephone calls and other tedious administrative tasks. That emphasis leaves little, if any, scope for thinking big. In consequence, the American mission here has yet to develop a coherent program for dealing with the elections and their predictable problems.

Precisely because the mission is so much geared to doing business, it tends to favor people in power who can get the job done. That is how such diverse figures as the late President Ngo Dinh Diem, former Premier Nguyen Khanh, and, now, Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky all acquired virtually unconditional American support.

By the same token, the focus on getting things done puts a discount on uncertainty. But a free election is uncertainty writ large—a leap in the dark. It is thus precisely the kind of thing the American mission in Saigon does not like to think about.

Already the unease of the misison here in the presence of an election prospect has yielded two exceedingly damaging impressions.

And in large measure, Washington's work during the consultations with Ambassador Lodge should develop a means for dissipating these bad impressions.

First, there is rightly or wrongly, a widespread impression among both Americans and Vietnamese in Saigon that the United States is opposed to free elections. This feeling at this time is exceedingly dangerous. For insofar as they believe that the United States has misgivings about elections, by so much the Vietnamese military leaders in office will be tempted to stage a coup or phony coup designed to head off the elections.

There is also a widespread impression that if the United States does accept elections, it is only in order to provide a fig-leaf of legitimacy to the present military regime.

This impression is reinforced by rumors of covert American efforts to set up some political notable from Saigon or the delta region as a front for the present military leaders. It is further reinforced by rumors of American efforts to line up a majority of refugee Catholics, nationalist parties and members of the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious sects to support the government against the Buddhist militants under Bonze Tich Tri Quang.

The mere prevalence of these rumors, whether they are true or not, works against the American interest. For the rumors lend color to the suspicion that the United States is not in favor of a free choice in South Vietnam, that, instead, the United States only wants a regime that will continue to sponsor the war.

Even if the schemes attributed to the Americans here could be brought off, they could not yield lasting results. For the present government plus a politicalized front would fence out not only the Buddhists but the whole central region of South Vietnam. And the center, which has been the source of the present trouble, would react by making even more trouble.

The true American interest, in fact, lies in the one thing the American mission here finds it most difficult to contemplate. It lies in making a leap in the dark—in fostering a process that will give free play to local political forces. And the starting point for that process can be the coming elections.

But that means unrigged elections.

It means elections which hold out the possibility of a passage of power to a new government based on an alliance of the moderate Catholics of the South and the militant Buddhists of the Center.

It means elections from which there could at least develop a meaningful political opposition.

The consultations with Ambassador Lodge can be a success only if they advance the prospect for honest elections, only if they make clear beyond any doubt the American commitment to free choice in South Vietnam.

Imagination Is Paying Off in Federal Education Funds—To Georgia School Systems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Atlanta, Ga., Constitution, April 24, 1966:

IMAGINATION IS PAYING OFF IN FEDERAL EDUCATION FUNDS—TO GEORGIA SCHOOL SYSTEMS

(By Remer Tyson)

WASHINGTON, April 23.—The "dynamite" in the latest federal aid to education package is beginning to explode in new plans and ideas across Georgia.

A few years ago, some of the ideas would have come under attack as unwarranted frills or as conspiracies to consolidate county school systems.

Rural areas are competing hardest for U.S. funds to improve their schools and to involve community participation in the educational process.

Eight projects in Georgia crammed with imagination, have been approved for financing under Title III of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Approval is pending on others.

All but one of the projects call for multicounty participation. That lone exception, ironically, is in Atlanta.

Title III of the education act provides funds for projects considered innovative and creative for a local school system.

This does not mean a system must embark on an idea "new under the sun." Federal officials judge whether a proposal is innovative for a specific system.

As an example, six central Georgia counties will develop rudimentary plans for school and community fine arts.

This is new for that section, but not for the Atlanta area.

Other Georgia projects include a Southeastern demonstration center to improve education for rural students, a pilot reading program, an honors program for an entire congressional district, a learning resources center for another district, an intensive learning center, a supplementary science center unlike any other in the state and an exceptional training program for teachers.

Dave Young, Southeastern representative for Title III, said, "all of a sudden Georgia is becoming aware of the cultural assets that can be applied to these projects. This is what we want.

"Title III is the dynamite to this thing. It is making the man in the street aware of the educational process. They are wondering where these things are coming from, and why they haven't had them before. Of all the educational programs, Title III is giving the greatest thrust in education."

The Johnson administration has taken notice of the program's nationwide popularity by asking Congress to increase next year's appropriation from $75 million to $145 million.

Title III is not the big money section of the 1965 federal aid to education act. However, it is anticipated that funds provided under the section will lead to ideas that can be financed over a long term by a combination of other federal and local money.

Georgia's allocation under Title III this year is $1,663,178. School systems within the state must compete for U.S. Office of Education approval of projects.

Many rural counties are pooling their assets in effort to offset larger resources in urban areas.

Besides the eight approved projects, seven others from Georgia are being negotiated with federal officials.

Young said one of the best aspects of Georgia's participation in the federal program is that projects have good geographical dispersion. Although the eight projects are approved, no specific amount of funds have been allocated to them. However, if funds requested in the application had not been considered reasonable by federal officials, the projects would not have gained approval.

A supplementary education center to be established in Oconee County near the University of Georgia hopefully will develop a model educational program for rural areas in the Southeast.

The center will involve more than 1,100 students and 60 school personnel from Oconee and Oglethorpe Counties.

Proposed expenditure for the project is $615,518, with the federal share $249,594.

The program calls for adding an introductory grade for 5-year-olds (or a kindergarten), hiring a "supportive" teacher for every two classroom instructors, employing classroom aides to relieve teachers of nonteaching chores, focus instruction on reading development, art appreciation, and learning stimulation. Library services will be strengthened.

Six Middle Georgia systems—Dodge, Wilcox, Cochran, Telfair, Bleckley and Wheeler—have requested $30,551.02 to finance a $33,721.02 study of how fine arts can be brought into the schools and "how the school program can serve as a stimulus to and as a leader of general cultural improvement" for all the communities.

Ten other counties will establish a pilot reading center in Washington County. The request is for $67,000 in federal funds.

The counties want to find out how many "disabled readers" are in their schools, how to correct deficiencies and to serve as a model for organizing other such centers.

Coffee County Board of Education at Douglas submitted an application on behalf of the 25-county 8th District to develop a project similar to the two-year-old governor's honors program, which takes talented high school students to college campuses for specialized study during the summer.

The application says the 8th District proposes to bring in talented instructors from "outside the region to give a more cosmopolitan climate to the region," which is largely farm and timber country in southeast Georgia.

Marion County Board of Education at Buena Vista submitted a 3rd District application for $40,013 to establish a learning resources center.

Educators in the district propose to assess educational and cultural resources, then, determine priority needs and strive to meet them.

Glynn County Board of Education asked for $44,955 in federal funds to plan an intensive learning center for the Brunswick area.

Purpose of the center would be to correct student educational handicaps through intensive studies and to improve techniques and skills for teachers.

Most innovative of all projects is the Fernbank Science Center to be established in De Kalb County. The county board of education is seeking less than $200,000 to get the program started, but expects the cost in federal and local funds to rise to $648,063 in 1968.

Construction in 1966 is to begin on a building for a planetorium, observatory and natural history museum on the 50-acre site of virtually virgin forest in the middle of metropolitan Atlanta.

The board said $300,000 in local funds already are available for the initial construction. A science library and museum for zoology, paleontology, entomology, geology, and botany are scheduled for 1967 and 1968.

The De Kalb application says this first science center of its kind in Georgia would "help bridge man's gap between his automated world of technology and his natural world."

Atlanta's school system will establish a center to improve teacher training, especially for newcomers to the system.

Crux of the program would be to make new teachers aware of resources available to schools in the Atlanta area—"to make the community their classroom"—and to continue the learning process for teachers with undergraduate degrees until they can begin study for higher degrees.

Proposed cost of the teacher program through 1968 would be $1,429,321, with Atlanta providing $591,166 of the total.

But Mr. Culpepper said he had been expecting the problem and "we're adaptable to change. We want to do all we can to help our children."

Paulding County Supt. J. C. Scoggins said the schools there do not meet the size requirements at this time, but will by next fall because the three high schools will be consolidated into one with a combined enrollment of about 800.

Lee County Supt. Robert Clay said neither of the two high schools there have 300 students, but the system does have 12 teachers in each one by providing some local money to pay the extra ones. "We've always employed additional teachers over the state allotment and I think we will continue to do that," he said.

Ben Hill County Supt. J. C. Hunter said attendance is small in his rural area and "it looks like the way they are closing down on this thing means more consolidation."

He said the county has a contract with the Fitzgerald City System to send its 10th, 11th and 12th grade white students here, but there are only about 160 students in the Negroe high school.

"Whether they say do it or not, it just means fewer schools and larger schools, that's the meaning of it," he said.

Price Bowen, superintendent in Lumpkin County, said he doesn't think the standards are "too bad" and his system can live with them. Both Lumpkin high schools more than meet the minimum requirements and the elementary schools, except one, will be consolidated next year.

Supt. George Holliman of Warren County said he would rather not comment until he had a chance to read the standards, but said the two high schools there probably would meet the minimum size.

Leverett Saltonstall, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, in late April my congressional district lost by untimely passing one of its most valued constitutents, Leverett Saltonstall, Jr., son and namesake of the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts. "Lev" Saltonstall, the younger, settled in Tompkins County, N.Y., about 20 years ago and began an experimental seed farm. He devoted himself also to a great range of civic duties which he performed with distinctive contribution to the public good.

He did not choose to emulate his father in being a candidate for elective State or Federal office, but he freely lent his energies and support to those candidates he favored, and I am very proud to have been numbered among those.

Along with Lev's legion of friends and admirers, I extend my deep sympathy to his parents and to his widow.

Under permission granted to me, Mr. Speaker, I include an editorial from the Ithaca Journal of April 28 on the death of Lev Saltonstall, Jr.:

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, JR.

Those of us who worked with Leverett Saltonstall Jr. in behalf of the many good causes he espoused find it hard to believe that he is gone.

Illness struck him several months ago. In February he presided at a Board of Education meeting for the last time. He died Wednesday—at the age of 48.

The son of U.S. Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL of Massachusetts and Mrs. Saltonstall, he was born into an atmosphere of public and political service. It was fortunate for this community that he elected to do graduate work at Cornell University. This led to a residency of 20 years and a willingness to accept any civic assignment proposed to him. He handled every such assignment with great ability, directness, tact, and wit. His was a guiding hand in the affairs of the Board of Education, the Ithaca Festival, the Tompkins County Memorial Hospital Corp., the Family and Children's Service, and the Ithaca Children's Foster Home Service.

He accepted responsibilities in agriculture and politics.

He was, in short, a good citizen, and there can be no doubt whatever that the community has lost one of its splendid leaders.

Food for Freedom and the Findley Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, an interesting story by David K. Willis appeared in the May 10 Christian Science Monitor, concerning the "food for freedom" proposal now being considered by the House Committee on Agriculture. This proposal was approved by a tentative vote of 30 to 3 on Thursday, May 5, and it includes an amendment offered by Congressman PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois. The amendment would forbid local currency or dollar credit sales to any nation which sells or furnishes or uses their ships or aircraft to supply North Vietnam or Cuba with equipment, materials, or commodities. I believe Members of the House will be interested in the article which follows, since a similar amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY was added to the agricultural appropriations bill on April 26, 1966, by a vote of 290 to 98:

U.S. FOOD-AID PLAN RUNS INTO SNAG

(By David K. Willis)

Suddenly, the Johnson administration finds itself in a sharp struggle with the House of Representatives on how to feed the hungry people of the world.

The President wants to make "food for freedom" surpluses available on relatively easy terms.

But the House Agriculture Committee has just decided in a surprise preliminary vote (30–3) to rewrite some of the key provisions of the President's proposed bill—and to make terms tougher.

Current law forbids food-surplus sales to nations whose ships trade with Cuba. To the administration's alarm, the committee voted to broaden this to include North Vietnam as well. It also decided that nations which sold goods, as well as shipped them, should be penalized.

"The committee is trying to tie our hands behind our back," charged a source in the government.

"The changes take the flexibility right out of the bill," said another. Officials spent the weekend plotting counterstrategy in high-level conferences.

SYMBOLIC WARNING

The changes were inspired by Illinois Republican PAUL FINDLEY, who inserted the same language in a $6.9 million House agriculture appropriations bill April 26.

Mr. FINDLEY called it a symbolic warning to the 100 or so nations now receiving surplus American food not to trade with Hanoi.

Immediately, the Agency for International Development (AID) was asked how many nations would be affected.

Then confusion set in.

An AID spokesman said, "None, as far as we can determine." A Greek ship had called at a North Vietnamese port Feb. 12, according to the Maritime Commission, but since then Greece had promised to halt the trade, and so was not affected.

However, this newspaper has learned that the AID spokesman gave the wrong answer. It now appears that the Findley language will affect several other nations. Hence government concern.

Exact information is hard to find, but one source listed Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain, Morocco, Israel, and Poland as food-receiving nations with "recent" trade contacts with either Hanoi or Havana.

SENATE EYED

The Findley language would eliminate them from the food for freedom program if it becomes law.

At the high-level meetings in the government, officials debated ways and means of blocking the committee language.

If the committee confirms its preliminary vote on Tuesday, the full House is almost certain to approve it, observers say. The House voted for Mr. Findley's first amendment on April 26 by 290 to 98.

"There's always the Senate," a government source said hopefully, "But we don't really known what will happen there either. The unknown quantity is Agriculture Committee Chairman Allen Ellander, although we do have some friends among other committee members."

The House also wants tighter terms for food sales: 20 years to repay, with a two-year grace period. The administration wants 40 years with 10 years' grace.

"Our whole aim in the President's bill," said a government source, "was to make food surpluses available abroad on flexible terms. The problem of world hunger is growing. It must be solved—by self-help measures as well as greater food exports from this country.

"But now the House seems to be lowering its sights and worrying only about the Vietnam war."

TRADITIONAL SUSPICION

It is true that impatience with North Vietnam is the direct cause of the Findley amendments. The House has been traditionally wary of foreign aid. Now "the Findley language is a reflection of Midwestern feeling that something simply has to be done about this war," a committee source said.

This Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Speaker, Atlanta is a thriving and bustling metropolis. However, our city and its people are mindful of the fact that we are located on historic ground. From the Indians to the English settlers, to the battles of the War Between the States, our land has been an active focal spot of historic development.

The new WAGA television center has recently been dedicated at one of the most historic spots in Atlanta. Off Williams Mill Road, now called Briarcliff Road, this area was the location of an ancient Cherokee and Creek Indian village, and later part of the area traversed by Federal forces commanded by General Sherman in the campaign against Atlanta.

An excellent brochure entitled "Our Land," has been prepared in honor of the dedication date by my friend Chuck Shields, of Atlanta, who has contributed his own saga of this historic site. I ask that this be inserted in the RECORD at this point, as it illustrates vividly the appropriate placing of this modern communications center at the crossroads of history.

The article follows:

THIS LAND

This Land . . . was once a place that only God had seen . . .
The gentle rise of the hill, the tall pine, and the sparkling brook
Made it a quiet, cool, green restful place . . .
One obscure day, an Indian discovered This Land . . .
Perhaps a young Creek, off to make his mark as a warrior . . .
Or, perhaps . . . a Creek family passed this way and stopped to rest . . .
They talked of it at the council fires and others came to rest and refresh . . .
Because of the beauty of this place, its water, and its location . . .
The Creek Indians moved onto This Land and built a village . . .
At the brook into the rocks in a year unknown they cut a corn grinding stone . . .
And young warriors fashioned arrowheads and spearpoints at the water's edge . . .
And the years passed . . . as leaves fall in Autumn and Indian Life went on . . . on This Land.
When the world discoverd America, Traders came here . . . and Soldiers . . .
Settlers built their cabins, and worked This Land . . . and they wrought from
The Wilderness The King's 13th Coloney A new nation's proud Fourth State.
The Indians befriended, fought, treatied, protested and were removed . . . and their
Village Ground then grew cotton and tobacco . . .
Across the road, in the Big House . . . on a summer's night, you could hear people . . .
This place was known as Poplar Grove, and Old South traditions flourished here.—
With The War . . . thousands of men marched over This Land . . . horses, cannon, wagons . . .
Trenches were dug here . . . and guns of The Battle of Atlanta boomed in the distance
Joe Wheeler's tired Gray Troopers, watered gaunt horses here before Decatur Square,
General Sherman came this way and he made his headquarters just down the road . . .
Thousands of his soldiers marched over This Land.
Dodge's 16th Corps . . . Schofield's 23d Corps . . . Howard's 4th Corps, and more . . .
Were deployed on This Land before attacking Confederate defenses at Rock Springs Road.
And two boys in blue were buried here until moved to a National Cemetery.
When Spring came in '65 . . . The War ended . . . and
The Land at Poplar Grove was seeded and worked again . . .
In 1892, the Seaboard Air Line Railway built its line behind This Land . . .
Steam trains stopped at Old Wallace Station . . . and at Durand's and Williams Mill
Located on the bank of South Fork Peachtree Creek.
Season blended into season . . . crop followed crop
And This Land served its people as it had for centuries past . . .
Wagon roads widened and turned into streets.
Williams Mill Road became Briarcliff Road . . .
Emory University, founded December 15, 1836 . . .
A school destined to be world-renowned, later was built "next door" on adjoining land . . .
The Age of Invention widened the scope of People throughout the world . . .
Communications, Education, Transportation and other fields rushed forward in Growth . . .
When figures and depth were added to the Cyclorama in 1934 . . . trees and rocks from This Land were used in the now-famous tableau depicting The Battle of Atlanta . . .
Years passed . . . Decatur grew . . . Atlanta grew, and out of ashes rose the Gate City of the Southland.
Here, where once a young Creek fashioned an arrowhead . . .
Where settlers paused on their way to blaze the new frontier . . .
Where drifted the sweet smell of barbecue . . . the sounds of a party at the Big House could be heard . . .
Here, where Joe Wheeler's horses drank in the creek . . . where marched The Federals as They Advanced to Atlanta . . .
Here . . . on This Land, WAGA-TV has built a new Home that embraces the charm of Southern Traditions with a decor that will remind you of
Those Days of past glory.
As This Land has served its people . . . WAGA-TV will serve its Market with a new era of dedication.
At this time . . . and in this place . . .
WAGA-TV has brought to This land . . . The Television Center of the South!

WAGA-TV LAND WAS ONCE DISTRIBUTED BY LAND LOTTERY

Original Henry County was surveyed into 18 land districts in 1821, and the Land was distributed through Land Lottery. (Georgia had six Land Lotteries, i.e., 1805, 1807, 1820, 1821, 1827, 1832). Persons living in the already settled areas of the State—and who were citizens of Georgia, registered in the counties of their residence for the purpose of "drawing" lots in the newly accessioned land. The surveyed land lot numbers were sent to Milledgeville (the then State Capital) and the names of the registrants were sent also. At a stated time, a name was "drawn" from one drum and the number of a lot was drawn from another. In this way the person found out the lot he drew. After a certain time, he had to take out a grant to the lot drawn or it reverted to the State. Two who drew WAGA-TV land in the Georgia Land Lotteries were Margaret Bledsoe, a widow from Morgan County, and Nathaniel Banks of Elbert County.

Culver Notes Visit of Cardinal Beran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. CULVER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the city of Cedar Rapids was recently honored to have as a guest for 2 days His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Beran, archbishop of Prague.

While he was in Cedar Rapids, his eminence met with hundreds of residents of the community, members of the clergy, the press, and schoolchildren throughout the city. The warmth and humility of this outstanding religious leader won the friendship and respect of all who were privileged to see him.

Just as Cardinal Beran's indomitable courage during a long and difficult period of Communist captivity was a source of strength to the entire free world, the remarkable faith and personal dignity he exuded during this visit is a source of inspiration to all Iowans. The sincerity of the welcome accorded him in Cedar Rapids was an impressive indication of the strong bonds of friendship which continue to link Americans with the restricted peoples of Czechoslovakia.

It was a pleasure for me to take part in the banquet in Cedar Rapids for this great man, and witness the meaningful sense of admiration and good will which was evident on all sides. I would at this time like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a particularly interesting account of the cardinal's visit from the Cedar Rapids Gazette, and ask permission that the article be reprinted at this point in the RECORD.

ALWAYS REMAIN JOYFUL, CARDINAL ADVISES IOWANS—CZECH PRELATE HONORED BY 625 AT CEDAR RAPIDS BANQUET

(By Dale Kueter)

The warm hospitality of Cedar Rapids' Czech community was extended Thursday night to exiled Joseph Cardinal Beran of Czechoslovakia.

And the Cardinal, a short, rotund, jolly man of 77, responded with vigor.

More than 625 persons at the banquet at Armar ballroom were asked by the Cardinal to always remain joyful, "even in times that may be difficult."

He urged those of Czech descent to continue to sing melodies of the homeland and practice native traditions, which, he said, will give encouragement to those not so joyful in Czechoslovakia."

Czech national songs are no longer being taught in the homeland, he said, and the youth do not have strong Czech feelings.

"But our faith is strong."

SHAKES MANY HANDS

His comments on national feeling followed singing of the American and Czech national anthems, and other traditional homeland songs by the Karla Masaryk chorus.

Cardinal Beran's warm personality extended in handshakes to all who came near him. He greeted and blessed hundreds who filed past him following the banquet program.

His congeniality was evident earlier Thursday when, following a press conference at Mt. Mercy college, he sought out handshakes from reporters.

The world renowned Catholic clergyman, who arrived in Cedar Rapids Wednesday night, will tour the city Friday morning, visiting children in elementary schools. He will depart for Cleveland at 4:30 p.m.

HONORARY CITIZEN

Cardinal Beran, constantly smiling and nodding affectionately to all, was made an honorary citizen of Cedar Rapids by Mayor Robert Johnson.

"We are proud of the heritage of Cedar Rapids, and that you have come to our city," the mayor said. "This honorary citizenship carries with it our blessings."

Congressman JOHN C. CULVER, who arrived late at the banquet (after Mayor Johnson had left) said the Cardinal's visit to this country was significant to freedom throughout the world.

"His presence here tonight is a testimony to his faith and courage," CULVER said. He presented the Cardinal with the book "John F. Kennedy, As We Remember Him," autographed by the late President's two brothers, ROBERT and TED KENNEDY.

KENNEDY HELPED BERAN

President Kennedy was instrumental in assisting in Cardinal Beran's release from Communist Czechoslovakia. He also received a personal letter from Sen. ROBERT KENNEDY thanking him for visiting the late President's grave in Arlington cemetery.

"I just arrived from Washington, but I wasn't welcomed at the airport by the mayor," CULVER jested. Major Johnson announced Thursday he would oppose CULVER for the Second district congressional seat.

The Cardinal's human simplicity overwhelmed one member of the Mt. Mercy chorus, which sang several religious selections. His blessing and handshake brought tears to her eyes.

SYMBOL OF LOVE

Dubuque Archbishop James J. Byrne introduced the prelate as a "symbol of love to church and country. He radiates that same warm feeling generated by Pope John," the archbishop said.

"Since he stepped off the plane at Cedar Rapids," the archbishop continued, "he has captivated the hearts of those who came in contact with him. Cedar Rapids has shown in many ways the joy of his coming."

Speaking through his interpreter, Cardinal Beran expressed his gratefulness for the reception he has received here. He said he had received greetings from persons of all faiths.

Members of the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic faiths joined in honoring the Cardinal. The Rev. Francis W. Pritchard of First Presbyterian church gave the invocation. Rabbi Isaac Neuman of Temple Judah delivered the benediction.

WOULD LIKE TO RETURN

Other headtable dignitaries included Bishop George Biskup, head of the Des Moines Diocese, and a native of Cedar Rapids; The Rt. Rev. Msgrs. Anthony W. Chihak of St. Wenceslaus and Maurice S. Sheehy of St. Pius; and Harold Wendorf, vice-president of the Cedar Rapids Chamber of Commerce.

The Cardinal is staying at Mt. Mercy during his visit. At his Thursday afternoon press conference, he said he would like to return to his homeland some day, but expressed doubt he would.

When exiled by the communist government in Czechoslovakia, it was made clear that he would not be allowed to return. He now makes his home in Rome.

The Cardinal told newsmen that while his actual movement in Czechoslovakia was limited and his connection with the outside church small, he managed to watch on television the funeral of Pope John and elevation of Pope Paul.

SENSES FREEDOM

Gesturing frequently, he told how he sensed the freedom of the people in the United States.

"The people here are more joyful than those in the homeland."

Asked how much influence a religious leader should have on the world, he replied: "The influence is greatest the more he (the clergyman) follows what he preaches, sets example."

A reporter inquired if he had any relatives in this country. Smiling broadly, he said there are many Berans, all claiming to be relatives. "But I have no proof." He said he welcomed them all as relatives anyway.

President Should Use His Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, once again General O'Brien and his troops have invaded Capitol Hill and successfully captured sufficient votes to place an additional burden of several million tax dollars on the American people, this time to pay for rent subsidies.

Where is the general and where are his troops when we try to reduce the inflationary spending in the Congress? Perhaps he is not receiving his mail at the Post Office Department, for mail deliveries are slower to patrons than the general's Cadillac trip to the Hill.

On May 4 in my remarks on the HEW appropriation bill, I suggested that the President veto bills that break the budget barrier. I am delighted that the editor of the Los Angeles Herald Examiner supported my views editorially. I ask permission to include that editorial with my remarks as follows:

PRESIDENT SHOULD USE HIS VETO

It is high time that President Johnson serve notice that he will use his constitutional power of the veto unless Congress exercises some self-discipline on non-defense spending.

Half-hearted admonitions won't do the job.

The latest exercise in oratory took place this week at the convention of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington.

Gardner Ackley, the President's top economic advisor, reminded his businessman-audience that profits have been increasing much faster than the take-home pay of the workers.

He expressed fear that such a situation will lead to massive wage demands, and that the resulting wage-price spiral will undercut everybody's prosperity.

The government will be forced to dampen the speculative boom with a tax increase, Ackley indicated, unless business restrains its prices and profits.

Naturally, businessmen should not, in their own interest as well as the nation's, fall prey to an inflationary psychology and raise prices unnecessarily.

But the only way for industry to create new jobs is to expand production facilities—and the necessary investments can be paid for only out of profits. This is a point worth remembering by organized labor as well as by Washington.

Furthermore, even with the fullest cooperation, business and labor cannot hold the lid on inflation by themselves. The pressures for higher prices stem basically from increased federal spending in both defense and non-defense areas.

The federal government must tighten its own money faucet, and both Ackley and his boss in the White House have publicly recognized this fact.

Mr. Johnson complains that Congress is adding close to $3 billion to his budget for the next fiscal year, and other officials say that the largesse of the lawmakers may force the administration into seeking a tax increase.

So far, however, the President has not remonstrated with Congress in the same forceful terms he has used on business. And there have been no signs that he is contemplating the use of his major weapon—the veto, which would force congressional reconsideration.

The unfortunate fact is that, the way things are going, we will have both inflation and a tax increase. Higher taxes will not have a deflationary effect if the proceeds are merely used for more and more federal spending.

Israel Bond Dinner Honors I. W. Abel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the recent observance of the 18th anniversary of Israel's independence, I should like to call the attention of the House to an address by Mr. I. W. Abel, the distinguished president of the United Steelworkers of America, at the Israel bond labor tribute dinner on April 24. The unions and a number of steel companies honored Abel by purchasing Israel bonds, thereby demonstrating their approval of his interest in—and warm support of—Israel as a stronghold of democracy and social justice. More than a million dollars worth of bonds were sold in connection with this dinner.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include Mr. Abel's address at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY I. W. ABEL AT ISRAEL BOND DINNER, HILTON HOTEL, PITTSBURGH, PA., APRIL 24, 1966

It is good to share in the cause which is the principal beneficiary of this testimonial dinner. By our presence, we are renewing a friendly association of long standing between our organization and the State of Israel. This association has its beginning almost from the day that this tiny nation was founded some eighteen years ago.

As Steelworkers and as Americans we have always expressed a profound interest in the progress of developing countries which embrace the principles of democracy. We have been particularly concerned about the future of Israel which has given democracy such a strong foothold in a key area of the world. We have long realized that this new nation is vital to the cause of democracy, freedom and peace which our country strives to promote.

In recognition of Israel's firm commitment to the cause of freedom and social progress, American labor unions have purchased in excess of $16,000,000 in Israel Bonds down through the years. Our union has been among the major participants in this program in the past and we will undoubtedly continue to be a major supporter in the future. We welcome the opportunity to strengthen Israel through this means because we know it will help stimulate a healthy social and economic life in this outpost of freedom in the Middle East.

It is a fact that Israel's population has grown from 850,000 to 2,600,000 in the past 18 years. The bond aid, such as we of labor have advanced, has helped this small nation provide a life of hope and dignity to more than 1,300,000 immigrants from many lands.

What kind of people were these immigrants? You know that most countries have rather rigid qualifications as to health, skills, financial resources, and other limitations on immigration. The State of Israel has no such restrictions. First of all they emptied the concentration camps. They took the poor, the blind, the maimed, the broken in spirit, the homeless. They took those who had been tortured and beaten by the "brave' legions of the Third Reich and brought them to Israel to begin a new life.

They opened their arms to empty the ghettos of North Africa when rising Arab nationalism forced the people to flee. They welcomed those who were expelled by Nasser, the Egyptian dictator. Their doors are open to people leaving Eastern Europe.

No, there are no limitations! All that is required in Israel is the desire to live in freedom, to work productively, and thus to build a new life. But this kind of immigration requires great sacrifice and costs much money. The people living in Israel, particularly in the early days (and that was not too long ago) eagerly and willingly shared their homes, their land, their meager rations, their inadequate water supply, with these newcomers. The Government of Israel and the labor movement were taxed and hard-pressed to train masses of unskilled people, to provide jobs, to build new communities—civilized democratic communities with schools, with houses of worship, with theaters, These people had to, in many cases, learn a new language—and thus Hebrew—the language of the Bible—has been revived and vitalized in the modern period. This too was no small accomplishment. In the days of Moses they didn't need a word for airplane, for jet, for railroad, for space ship, for nuclear energy, for electricity, for automobile, for all of the accessories of modern living and all the concepts of modern life that we take for granted.

What an inspiring drama of rehabilitation, of reconstruction, of rebirth and renewal has taken place in this ancient land. We are proud to have a small role in this wonderful saga of a new nation in an ancient land.

Much progress has taken place in Israel under the impact of investment capital derived from the purchase of Israel Bonds. I am told industrial production has soared from a total value of $372,000,000 in 1950 to more than two billion dollars in 1965. Israel's labor force has increased in that period from 427,000 to over 900,000 with some 220,000 employed in industry.

Israel is planning to absorb a half-million new citizens in the next five years. It has set for itself a tremendous industrialization program to accommodate this anticipated growth in population and to build up its economy. I understand this will involve the creation of new industries in large urban centers and the establishment of new production facilities in regions that are now only sparsely settled. To achieve these objectives, Israel will need more investment capital than ever before. We of labor must do our part in helping Israel achieve this objective.

The American labor movement joins Israel in this endeavor enthusiastically not only because trade unionists are anxious to advance the welfare of the people of Israel but also because we have an obligation to strengthen the link between the labor movements of our two nations. As you know, a dynamic role in the development of the democratic State of Israel has been played by Histadrut. This is the federation of workers and pioneers in Israel.

The cause of human brotherhood spans the continents and we must be ever mindful of our fraternal ties with free unions throughout the world. Histadrut, which has performed a vital function in the survival of Israel, is among those free unions of the world with which we must cement our ties of solidarity and friendship. We do this when we help insure Israel's growth and expansion through the purchase of investment bonds.

We do this with pride and vitality, because there is a proud and vital relationship between American labor and Israel. The warm bond of friendship—which is so evident in the Bond program and the labor movement has become increasingly strong over the years—and for good reason.

Organized labor in this country is sincerely and deeply interested in promoting democracy and the democratic trade union movement. In turn, Israel has felt a close relationship with American workers because of the significant role that the labor movement of Israel has played—and continues to play—in the affairs of the State of Israel. So it is only natural that this bond of fellowship has been built up between the labor movements of Israel and the United States. In addition, the labor movement of Israel and the State of Israel itself are firmly committed to the cause of freedom.

There are as well some practical business reasons for what we are doing tonight. Israel sells to the United States some 60 million dollars worth of goods. These consist of oranges, wines, industrial diamonds, raincoats, souvenir items, etc. Israel buys from the United States some 200 million dollars worth of goods. In the main these are heavy industrial products such as tractors, road-building equipment, machinery, etc. And as you know, to buy these goods in this country Israel must come up with dollars. Some of those dollars you are helping to provide tonight. As an added plus, Israel is paying back to American investors in 1966, 61 million dollars. This is what purchasers of Israel Bonds that mature this year will receive. They are making an important contribution to our balance of payments problem.

I believe that it is especially significant during these times that the national AFL-CIO is sponsoring a labor institute in Israel to train young labor leaders from Africa and Asia. This institute has been of tremendous service in advancing the principles of democracy and free labor and in countering the activities of Communist countries in Asia and Africa. The labor leaders of Israel have a special message to impart to the young labor leaders from Asia and Africa because Israel's leaders have gone through the pains and pangs of development that the Asian and African leaders are now going through. You may wonder why the youthful leaders of those nations attend this institute in Israel. The answer is a very interesting one; they like to participate because Israel is a small country, and they prefer a small country because they fear domination by large countries. So this fear is solved by the presence of the institute in tiny Israel. Because of the success of this institute, Israel has become a very important bridge between the United States and the developing nations.

So there is this mutual recognition of the importance of a free trade union movement to the development of a free country that has helped draw American labor and Israeli labor closer together.

The United Steelworkers and the Labor Movement here are interested in freedom in our country and throughout the world. A strong and effective labor movement is a constructive force directed toward the good, not only of its members, but also toward the good of a country as a whole. Because it knows the value of freedom, organized labor is an effective spokesman and fighter for freedom.

It is no accident that the first targets of dictators always include trade unions. Trade unions have the habit of defending freedom of all segments of a society and of speaking out against exploitation and oppression. This kind of luxury cannot be tolerated by dictators, so—as Hitler did—they seek the crippling or destruction of labor unions.

So, any place that we, as American trade unionists, can give a boost to freedom and to free labor, we should do so without any hesitation. This is why American labor has supported the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. And this is why it has been so willing to come to the aid of the State of Israel.

There is another similarity between the labor movements of the United States and Israel which is inherent in all these points which I have been discussing. It is something I am proud to convey to you: The American Trade Union Movement is interested in much more than another nickel or two in the pay envelope. This has been amply demonstrated by our record from the very beginning of the labor movement in this country. You all know that the first legislative objective of labor was a free public school education for every American child. And so it has been down through the years. We have been concerned about raising the living standards of all our citizens through adequate minimum wage laws—the care of the aged through Medicare—the education of our children through adequate Federal and State support of schools—and so on down the list of many pieces of social legislation designed for the common good.

This kind of concern for the common good has also been a proud feature of the labor federation in Israel. So, when you add it all up, you might say that American workers and the workers of Israel are brothers, not only in the cause of trade unionism, but in the cause of human decency everywhere.

I am deeply proud that the leaders of the Israel Bond program have selected me as the recipient of honors. Frankly, I have agreed to this recognition only because of my belief in the need for increasingly strong ties between American labor and Israel, and of course in American labor's continued support of Israel.

I am very grateful for the singleness of purpose so impressively displayed at the dinner—a Cabinet Member from our Federal Government—Israel's Minister of Labor—and Walter Reuther, a leading officer of the American labor movement.

It pleases me immensely to be the instrument of solidarity in the labor movement on this occasion, because as of this very moment 26 international unions sent their key officers to the dinner. They represent such diverse groups as the Building and Construction Trades Department, Building Service Employees, Bricklayers, Iron Workers, Machinists, Auto Workers, Operating Engineers, Furiture Workers, Communications Workers, Rubber Workers, Potters, Ship Builders, Glass Bottle Workers and others. We have a cross section of the labor movement, from the building trades crafts to the large industrial unions in the basic industries, in a united demonstrtaion of labor's widespread support of Israel.

I anticipated this evening with intense pride—not for personal reasons—but simply because it will uphold to all eyes the spirit of oneness and "helpmanship" which is the foundation of the relationship between American labor and the State of Israel.

Ky Talks Too Much

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week I criticized Premier Ky of South Vietnam for intemperate statements, which he has since repeated, about the prospects for free elections in that troubled country. A recent editorial from the Long Island Press states the ramifications of Mr. Ky's ill-considered remarks very well, and I commend it to the reading of my colleagues:

KY TALKS TOO MUCH

As if the United States didn't have enough trouble with its enemies, we have to put up with our friends in Saigon.

No sooner did things quiet down after last month's feverish political agitation in South Viet Nam, did Premier Nguyen Cao Ky start stirring up things again with provocative statements that seem to serve no discernible purpose—other than to stir things up again.

Over the weekend Ky who once put his foot in his mouth by saying nice things about Hitler, said he expects to stay in power at least another year.

Although there were immediate rumbles in South Viet Nam about "betrayal," the first reaction on all sides was to minimize the premier's remarks. State Secretary Rusk said he saw nothing in Ky's statement to indicate any change in the election schedule. And a soft line was even taken by Thich Thien Minh, protege of the powerful Buddhist leader Thich Tri Quang, principal figure behind the recent unrest that brought the Ky regime to pledge the elections in the first place.

The most dramatic attempt to take the heat out of Ky's statement was taken by the Vietnamese language papers in Saigon. They blotted it out. Everyone from Washington to Danang looks to the elections with mixed feelings of fear and hope. The fear is that they will only make worse the political muddle in Viet Nam. And the hope is that stable workable regime with real popular backing might just emerge out of them.

Those blank spots in the Saigon papers may have helped to "cool" things off. But the best way to "cool it" is for Premier Ky to put some blank spots where his mouth is.

"Alexander von Humboldt: Geographer, Oceanographer, and Genius—One of the Great Explorers of All Time," by Circumnavigator-Explorer Wendell Phillips Dodge, Fellow, Royal Geographical Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the March–April 1966 issue of the Compass, a publication of the Socony Mobil Oil Co., Inc., of New York, publishes an article pertinent to the present step-up in carrying forth a continuing study of the science of oceanography by the U.S. Government. It is written by Comdr. Wendell Phillips Dodge, F.R.G.S., lifelong explorer - circumnavigator - ethnologist, who has made an extensive study of the ocean currents of the earth, entitled "Alexander von Humboldt: Geographer, Oceangrapher and Genius—One of the Great Explorers of All Time."

A scientific explorer himself, Commander Dodge considers Alexander von Humboldt to be the greatest scientific explorer the world has ever known. Unlike most explorers in history he, himself, financed his own extensive explorations. He influenced the course of Charles Darwin's life, throughout which this other great scientist regarded Von Humboldt as "the greatest scientific explorer who ever lived."

Commander Dodge, longtime member of the Explorers Club, New York, and for many years editor of its quarterly publication, the Explorers Journal, feels that hardly a handful of its membership even know who Alexander von Humboldt was, nor of his numerous contributions to scientific explorations. Who else then today may be expected to know about the man of whom a celebrated American journalist, in 1857, remarked:

> I came to Berlin not to visit its museums, galleries or operas, but for the sake of seeing the world's greatest living man—Alexander von Humboldt.

This well-known journalist had shaken the hands of, and knew Goethe, Schiller, Frederick the Great, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Charles Darwin, Simon Bolivar, Napoleon Bonaparte, Beethoven—every great man, every famous scientist, every great artist, musician and author, statesman and ruler, in Europe and the Americas. Humboldt advanced the theory of geography mainly through insistence on the great principle of the unity of nature.

The article follows:

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT: GEOGRAPHER, OCEANOGRAPHER, AND GENIUS—ONE OF THE GREAT EXPLORERS OF ALL TIME

(By Circumnavigator-Explorer Wendell Phillips Dodge, fellow, Royal Geographical Society)

Most everyone has heard of the Peru or Humboldt Current. But few people know who discovered it, what it is and how it benefits mankind. This is its story and the story of the man who discovered it.

Few mariners knew much about the Eastern Pacific during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The Spaniards made sure of this by discouraging visitors and by keeping what they knew to themselves. As a result, charts were rudimentary and sailing directions nonexistent.

Plagued by a scientist's curiosity, Alexander von Humboldt spent five years in the area (1799–1804) trying to learn something about it. Using his personally devised methods, he literally dissected the ocean closely, keenly studying everything he found. From these studies he subsequently published a great deal of information regarding the territory in a "Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America During the Years 1799–1804." In it he gives the details of one of his major discoveries, the current that now bears his name.

The Humboldt Current, as the narrative points out, is a branch of a trans-Pacific current known as the West Wind Drift (see chart) (not printed in the RECORD). This Drift, an eastward moving current pushed along by the prevailing Westerlies, is a cold one that extends from 40° S. to 60° S. latitude. As it nears the west coast of South America, a part of it bends northward forming the Humboldt Current. This flows (average speed 2 knots) all the way up the coastline to about 4° S. There it turns westward once again pushed along by the Southeast Trades to eventually lose its identity in the warm tropical waters of the equatorial region.

That unbelievable maelstrom, Cape Horn, must also have an effect on the Humboldt Current's formation. What this might be was to both Humboldt and succeeding generations of ocean scientists mainly a matter of conjecture. But the "Cape Horners", that rapidly diminishing group of mariners who weathered old Cape Stiff in square sail, will tell you it must have some influence, for there is no place in the World where winds, currents and weather are so continually mixed up.

Humboldt found the West Wind Drift cold where it bends northward to form his current. Following it up along the coastline, he learned that upwellings from the deep keep it could even as it moves into hotter climates. This continuously maintained coldness is responsible for producing one of the world's outstanding dry zones that he called a "Desert in the Sea." But it also has a most interesting effect on the land cloce by.

Ocean currents, he found, dominate the climate in the area. In the case of a cold one, it produces a very cool dry climate ashore. This is the case with the Humboldt Current from Valparaiso to Paita, Peru. Though dry ashore, low overcast and fogs frequently make it rather gloomy, and the coastal hills are enveloped in clouds much of the time. Beyond, however, it's clear and beautiful.

A cold current such as the Humboldt, kept cold by upwellings as it travels toward warmer climates, has an even more important function. It provides food. The upwellings bring unused sub-surface plant nutrients, such as phosphates and nitrates, toward the surface. This makes the near-surface area exceedingly rich in all kinds of sea life, a sort of "sea pasture", as Humboldt called it. He actually found this particular current houses one of the world's richest fishing grounds. Today, it's the primary reason why Peru is the largest sea-food and fish-meal producing country in the world.

He also discovered that where near-surface fish abound, the great sea birds flock. They fly over the water, dive, capture, eat and then dive again during every moment of their waking hours. Their droppings known as guano, are one of nature's richest fertilizers. Small off-shore islands and the near shoreside along the coastline were and still are coated with it. Historically, it has always been much in demand the world over, having appeared on the cargo manifests of innumerable squareriggers and steamships.

Humboldt also learned a great deal about the winds blowing seaward over his current. Cooled and dried as they pass over it, they wing their way westward to affect climate virtually to the Gilbert Islands. Recently, oceanographers found that these dry winds go even farther than Humboldt suspected. They have been found as far west as Nauru Island, located about 26 miles south of the equator in roughly 167° east longitude.

The Humboldt responsible for all we are talking about was Baron Friedrich Alexander von Humboldt, born in Berlin on September 14, 1769. His father, a major in the Prussian Army, came from a prominent Pomeranian family. For the elder von Humbolt's services during the Seven Years War, he received the post of Royal Chamberlain. After the war, 1766, he married Maria Elisabeth von Colomb, widow of Baron von Hollwede. They had two children, first Wilhelm, then Alexander.

Alexander's childhood was far from promising. His health was poor, and he showed little talent for school work. But he did begin to show some of the traits that later were to become so keenly developed. For example, he had a consuming interest for collecting and labeling plants, shells and insects. For this he received the playful title of "the little apothecary".

1789 he matriculated at Göttingen, a school famous at the time for the stimulating lectures of C. C. Heyne and J. F. Blumenbach. By now his vast and varied powers were fully developed. He amply demonstrated how fully during the following summer on a scientific expedition up the Rhine River. At its conclusion he issued a treatise, "Mineralogische Beobachtungen über enige Basalt am Rhein," published at Brunswick in 1790. The calibre of this work was so high it gained him an entree to the famous Weimar coterie.

Following a long and active period during which he traveled all over the world, he finally settled in France, growing to regard Paris as his home. There he found both the scientific sympathy and the sort of social stimulus his vigorous, healthy mind craved. He was equally in his element as the lion of the salmon and as the savant of both the institute and the observatory. He was, indeed, a great figure who was greeted by applause wherever he went. He loved France, adored Paris, so much that when he was summoned by the King to join the court in Berlin, he did so but with a deep and lasting regret.

The years 1830 to 1848 were monumental in Humboldt's life. For one thing he was frequently employed by his sovereign in diplomatic misisons to Louis Philippe's court. This was a most welcomed assignment, since he always maintained the most cordial personal relations with the French monarch.

Between 1836 and 1839, though saddened by his brother's death, he turned out the first of two monumental works. This was a critical study of all historical sources dealing with the early voyages and discoveries of America. In it he referred to the development of nautical astronomy in the 15th and 16th centuries. In this work that has a most impressive title, "Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent et des Progres de l'Astronomie Nautique au 15 et 16 Siecles," he established the origin of the name America. "I believe to have earned a modest merit", wrote Humboldt, "by having proved that Amerigo Vespucci had no part in the naming of the New Continent, but that the name originated in a hidden spot in the Vosages Mountains. There a certain map-maker by the name of Martin Waldsemüller boldly put it on a map that illustrated Vespucci's wonderful voyage."

The second and, without doubt, his most important work of all was his "Cosmos." This he completed and had published by I. G. Cotta in 1847. Scientists and the general reading public soon made it a best seller, continuing to do so for many years afterwards. The demand was so great that Cotta, who also published Göethe's and Schiller's works, wrote: "In the history of book publishing, the demand is epoch-making. For a good time its sales began to rival those of the Bible, the world's best seller."

Humboldt's work impressed the curious and speculative minds of his age. Charles Darwin, for example, regarded him as "the greatest scientific explorer who ever lived". As a matter of fact, his 1799–1804 "Narrative of the American Travels" affected the entire course of Darwin's life. For in this work Humboldt clearly described the new animals he found in the South American area. These included the electric eel, alligator and monkey. His descriptions even included facts about their natural habitats. And with Guy-Lussac he made the initial studies regarding the respiration of fish. Imagine how this sort of information appeal to the mind destined to change so much through his "Origin of Species."

Actually, Alexander von Humboldt was the first modern geographer to become a great explorer. In his travels he acquired an extensive stock of first-hand information. But more important, he divorced his thinking from traditional paths and pioneered new methods of collecting information. His methods were destined to have far-reaching effects. For example, he was the first to secure information by means of simultaneous observations at distant points. This took some doing, as communications were rudimentary in his time. He simply induced various nations to join him in his scientific efforts. They carefully kept records of natural phenomena, sending them on to Humboldt at regular intervals. These records enabled him to determine the nature and law of "natural storms" (a term he invented for abnormal disturbances of the Earth's magnetism). Here was the beginning of what in very recent years became the International Geophysical Year—IGY!

This is only one of numerous cases illustrating his scientific approach to solving almost any problem. He actually brought together all the facts or, as he called them, "observable beings" that eager collectors of the previous century had gathered. But he went a step further. He systematically cataloged them. And where there were gaps in the findings, he either searched for the answer with field expeditions on his own, or enlisted the assistance of other scientists in an attempt to fill them.

Today's scientists, equipped with gadgets Humboldt never dreamed of, are continually influenced by his findings. For he was the one to clearly demonstrate and document that land and sea formations influence climate, plant life, animal life, and man himself. The concept, mind you, was not a new one. It simply took a genius like Humboldt to illustrate it in a way most everyone would understand.

His superb scientific work rightfully classifies Alexander von Humboldt as the father of modern physical geography and meteorology. He introduced the isotherm (a line connecting points of equal temperature). It subsequently became the means of comparing climatic conditions of various countries. He was the first to investigate the drop in mean temperature as altitude increases. Through his inquiries into the origin of tropical storms, he found one of man's earliest clues to the laws governing atmospheric disturbances at higher altitudes. His essay on the geography of plants, based upon the then novel idea of examining the distribution of organic life, has affected subsequent thinking among botanists. His magnetic studies revealed the decrease in intensity of the Earth's magnetic forces as they approach the equator, giving rise to the term "variation," a factor every navigator compensates for in laying out a course. His barometric and astronomic observations were so keen, they formed the basis for charting Central and South America. And he introduced the now widely used method of drawing profiles to illustrates various geographic features.

His services to the science of geology were mainly based on his Andean work. He searchingly studied South America's volcanoes during his 1799–1804 work, finding that they fall into a sort of linear group. These were found to correspond with the subsequently discovered subterranean fissure that runs around the Earth from Pole to Pole. This is the fissure referred to by this author in "The Lost Continent of Mu" in The Compass for March–April 1962. It has caused much havoc in both Alaska and Chile recently. Perhaps the currently planned "Mohole" project will finally learn the reasons for these phenomena that Humboldt discovered over 150 years ago.

Toward the end of his long lifetime, Humboldt remarked, "It has been my fate to survive everybody, my family and kings. I have lived so long that I have almost lost the consciousness of time. I belong to the age of Jefferson, Madison, Galatin and Beethoven." The scientific world didn't think so when he died in Berlin May 6, 1859. It went into mourning for what one writer called "the greatest man since Aristotle."

Louis Agassiz summed up the scientific world's opinion of this great man in a few, but extremely well chosen, words. In 1860, when commemorating the centennial of Humboldt's birth, he said, "His mode of treating his subjects—emphatically his own—has led many specialists to underrate Humboldt's familiarity with different branches of science—as if knowledge could only be rendered in pedantic forms and set phraseology. To what degree we Americans are indebted to him, no one knows who is not familiar with the history of learning and education in the last century. All the fundamental facts of popular education in physical science, beyond the merest elementary instruction, we owe to him. The first geologic cross sections, the first sections across an entire continent, the first average climates illustrated by lines were his. Every schoolboy is familiar with his methods, but he does not know that Humboldt is his teacher. How few remember that the tidal lines, the present mode of registering magnetic phenomena and ocean currents are but applications of Humboldt's researches and of his graphic mode of recording them."

The world of letters also recognized his accomplishments. Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1869 had this to say: "Humboldt was one of those wonders of the world, like Aristotle, like Julius Caesar, like Admirable Crichton (James Crichton, a 16th century Scottish scholar), who appear from time to time, as if to show us the possibilities of the human mind, the force and range of the faculties—a universal man."

And around the world the places bearing his name are legion. What more fitting tribute a grateful mankind give in honoring a man who is still generally conceded to be one of the greatest scientists that ever lived.

Geographic features named in honor of ALEXANDER von HUMBOLDT are numerous. They include:

HUMBOLDT CURRENT/off the Pacific Coast of South America
HUMBOLDT MOUNTAINS/range of Nanshen system, China
HUMBOLDT PEAK/Colorado
HUMBOLDT RANGE/Nevada
HUMBOLDT BAY/Northern New Guinea
HUMBOLDT PEAK/Venezuela
HUMBOLDT RESERVOIR/Nevada
HUMBOLDT RIVER/Nevada
HUMBOLDT SALT MARSH/Nevada
HUMBOLDT GLACIER/Greenland
HUMBOLDT BAY/California
HUMBOLDT SINK/Nevada
HUMBOLDT STATE REDWOOD PARK/California
HUMBOLDT/Saskatchewan, Canada
HUMBOLDT/Illinois
HUMBOLDT/Iowa
HUMBOLDT/Kansas
HUMBOLDT/Minnesota
HUMBOLDT/Nebraska
HUMBOLDT/South Dakota
HUMBOLDT COUNTY/California
HUMBOLDT COUNTY/Iowa
HUMBOLDT COUNTY/Nevada
HUMBOLDT/Tennessee

Fractional Package Sizes Hide Significant Price Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the truth-in-packaging bill, of which I am one of the sponsors in the House, is of great interest to millions of housewives across the Nation.

Because of my support of this bill, and my concern about potential inflation, I was very interested in an article published in the May issue of Consumer Reports. The article describes how significant increases in prices of package goods are hidden from all but the most astute shoppers by complex and confusing fractional changes in package sizes.

The article, entitled "How Truth in Packaging Could Keep Hidden Inflation Out of Your Grocery Bag," follows:

HOW TRUTH IN PACKAGING COULD KEEP HIDDEN INFLATION OUT OF YOUR GROCERY BAG

Everybody, it appears, is against the Truth-in-Packaging bill except the people. Civic groups and trade unions with a total membership of 42,000,000 have endorsed it, while the opposition spans the business alphabet from A (Advertising Federation of America) to W (Writing Instrument Manufacturers Association).

The biggest guns against it are the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Grocery Manufacturers of America. Some of the platoons are the Cosmetic Career Women, the Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, the Label Manufacturers National Association, and the Potato Chip Institute International ("If a cost changes drastically, something must give, either weight or price").

This potato-chip reasoning is soggy and indigestible to the knowledgeable shopper, who is well aware that there is more than one way to raise a price. Cut the quantity in a 25-cent bag of potato chips from 3¾ ounces to 3¼ ounces and the price goes up 1 cent an ounce and 16 cents a pound. The trouble is that even a knowledgeable shopper doesn't as a rule have time to do the arithmetic on several bags of potato chips, each of different net weight, and so she may easily wind up paying the extra 1 cent (16 cents) unknowingly.

The Truth-in-Packaging Bill would put an end to these shenanigans by providing for the establishment of a series of standard weights for each packaged commodity. Then a 1-cent-per-ounce price rise in one brand of potato chips would be as easy to detect as a 1 cent per gallon rise in one brand of gasoline. There might not be any potato-chip, corn-flake, or detergent wars, but at least buying decisions could then express resistance to higher prices.

Most opponents of the bill do not mention the potatochip reasoning. They prefer to warn of drab monotony in the supermarket if packaged quantities are standardized. But a view from Wall Street hints at the realities. Goodbody & Co.'s Monthly Letter touted big food packagers as good investments, observing: "In highly processed grocery items, competition usually is expressed in new products and advertising rather than through price cutting."

HIDDEN INFLATION

What's bullish in Wall Street sometimes looks bearish in Washington, D.C. President Johnson has requested legislation along the lines of the Truth-in-Packaging Bill not once but three times in 1966—in his state of the Union, Economic, and Consumer messages to Congress. The reappearance of price inflation as a threat to the economy lent urgency to the latter two messages, in which he took pains to state that the consumer cannot do his part in countering price increases unless he knows the comparative prices of what he buys. Here's how he put it in the Economic Message:

"To fulfill his responsibility, the consumer must have access to clear, unambiguous information about products and services available for sale. This will enable him to reward with his patronage the most efficient producers and distributors, who offer the best value or the lowest price.

"We should wait no longer to eliminate misleading and deceptive packaging and labeling practices which cause consumer confusion."

In his Message to Congress on Consumer Interests on March 21, the President called for all the objectives of S. 985: clear and accurate labeling of quantity and nature of contents, regulations barring deceptively shaped or illustrated packages or "promotional gimmicks that promise nonexistent savings," and establishment of "reasonable and appropriate weight standards to facilitate comparative shopping."

The signs of inflation that the President saw were only too plain in some departments of the supermarket. Sirloin steak prices had risen 6 percent during 1965. Ham had gone up 15 percent, pork loin roast 18 percent, and bacon 35 percent. On the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index, the overall price of meat, fish, and poultry jumped 17 percent from December 1964 through February 1966.

While those who shop for a family could hardly help noticing the rise in meat prices, they had to wait for the total on the cash-register tape to discover that prices had also gone up on a good many of the 6000 to 8000 other items on the supermarket shelves. The Consumer Price Index tells us that groceries worth $10 at average 1957–59 prices cost $10.89 in December 1965 and $11.18 in February 1966. The extra $1.18 is worrisome in itself. Worse is the fact that more than half of the cost added to food bills has been tacked on in the past 14 months.

What about packaged and canned foods? Here it's harder to see what's happening to prices. The BLS doesn't publish an index of packaged-food prices, only the actual prices of a scattering of processed foods. Instant coffee, for example, was 16 percent lower in price in December 1965 than a year earlier, while instant mashed potatoes were up 7 percent (though raw potatoes had gone down 16 percent).

Scattered detecting of hidden price increases by our readers indicates that when a manufacturer boosts price by cutting contents the boost is often a whopper. For instance: Ralston Purina cut down on the density of its bite-size Corn Chex breakfast food last year. The company explained that, for one thing, it wanted to make the product easier to chew and, for another, corn prices had gone up. One popular-sized package of the redesigned Corn Chex was reduced in net contents from 9 to 8 ounces, and readers reported no change in package price—an 11 percent rise in price per ounce. Yet during the same period corn flakes showed a 1 percent drop in price on the BLS list.

Canners of peeled tomatoes in the past year or two began switching over from a one-pound pack to a 14½-ounce pack. Carnation Co. made the switch last year on its Contadina brand and, again, a CU reader reported buying 14½-ounce cans at the price (two for 39 cents) previously paid for 16 ounces. This was a hike of 10 percent; canned tomatoes went up 3 percent on the BLS list.

DISCOVERING THE LAW

Industry spokesmen argue that laws already on the books provide Government with all the authority necessary to protect the consumer. There are, they note, the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and the laws under which the Federal Trade Commission polices unfair competition, and there are weights and measures laws and other consumer-protection laws in almost all States. But in the next breath they convict their industry of breaking the laws. Here, for instance, is John Crichton, head of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, speaking to members:

"It seems completely logical to me for all business—and for the advertising business most of all—to interest itself in the problem of the consumer and informing her better. If it is a matter of getting sizes and weights clearly printed on packages, let's do it."

He spoke as though he were unaware that food packages without sizes and weights clearly printed on them are a violation in every state and in interstate commerce.

Perhaps Mr. Crichton, as a mere advertising man, can be excused for putting his foot in his mouth. After all, the courts have only recently, in the Regimen case, begun to hold advertising agencies co-responsible for any lies their clients pay them to tell. When the Grocery Manufacturers of America starts lecturing its members on the self-same subject, the public ought to start looking around for a protector. Here is what the directors of that august body had to say last February:

"Grocery manufacturers should remind themselves of the obligation imposed by existing law, and pledge themselves to exercise an attentive supervision of their packaging and labeling practices to assure compliance at all times."

It seems particularly strange to hear such statements about laws that for the most part have been in force for half a century. Most of them were originally written in days when prepackaged goods had not yet replaced both the grocery clerk and his scale. State and local weights and measures inspectors became aware many years ago that the laws they administer were becoming obsolete, and they tried to get something done about it. In 1939 the National Conference on Weights and Measures (NCWM), at which state officials gather each year in Washington, asked Congress for new laws to provide some orderly way of establishing the quantities in which basic products might be packaged. Those Depression-day public servants noted that action was needed to preserve the buyer's right to compare prices. Yet it has taken until 1966 for such a bill to get anywhere near a vote.

Meanwhile, the NCWM has tried as best it can to cope with the packaging revolution by updating the Model Weights and Measures Law, originated many years ago for consideration by state legislatures, and the model Packaging Regulation, a more detailed companion proposal for administrative use in implementing the Model Law.

The present Model Law parallels labeling requirements of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, but it has the advantage of extending state jurisdiction to the many packaged household goods that are neither foods, drugs, nor cosmetics or that do not cross state lines. The Model Law establishes a requirement for quantity declarations in terms of net weight or measure on all packages, and it outlaws, in a general way, deceptive packaging and pricing and the use of such modifiers as the "giant half quart" in conjunction with the quantity declaration.

The great weakness of present state and Federal laws—a weakness that the Truth-in-Packaging Bill seeks to cure—is the vagueness of their wording. Courts have had no ground rules to follow in deciding what kind of a package is deceptive or just how obscure the net contents declaration can be without breaking the law. So many prosecutions on these grounds have been thrown out of court that many enforcement agencies have almost given up trying.

A current example is the cents-off label, one of the targets of the Truth-in-Packaging Bill. The Model Law, as it has stood for many years in some states, says only that "the price shall not be misrepresented nor shall the price be represented in any manner calculated or tending to mislead or deceive." Most cents-off labels would seen to be automatically guilty because the manufacturer who sends his package to market usually has no control over the retail price. But we have yet to hear of any packager being prosecuted for putting a cents-off claim on his labels.

The Federal Trade Commission patrols pricing claims on the interstate beat, and its Guides Against Deceptive Pricing warn manufacturers against "pre-ticketing" their wares with a unrealistic price. Although cents-off labeling appears to be a variation of just that kind of thing, the FTC is apparently unsure of its ground and has never prosecuted. It is only now beginning hearings on a Trade Regulation Rule to make cents-off claims illegal. The proceeding promises to be lengthy, and years of court testing may follow, before such a rule could be law.

THE NEW MODEL REGULATION

On December 16, 1963, the National Conference on Weights and Measures invited the packaging industry to help draft a new Model Packaging Regulation to supplement the Model Law with specific requirements on, among other things, the size, color contrast, and location (front panel) of net-weight declarations.

The Model Regulation that emerged was no panacea. It was, as Modern Packaging said at the time, "faithful in all important respect to a proposal drafted by the Industry Committee." Perhaps the most disappointing regulation is one setting type sizes on labels. If a label measures 4 square inches or less in area, the weight declaration doesn't have to meet any minimum type size. Minimum heights range from 1/16 inch (on labels up to 25 square inches) to ½ inch (on labels larger than 400 square inches).

Nine states thus far have adopted the Model Regulation substantially as written—Arkansas, California, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and West Virginia. Others have adopted modified versions, often dropping the type-size specifications. Others, we are told, are using the Model Regulation as a guide without formally adopting it. All packagers who market nationally or regionally should be complying no later than July 1, 1966, the effective date set by most of these states.

COMPUTERIZED SHOPPING

July 1, then, will be a red-letter day for the indefatigable shopper who is willing to go to the supermarket with computer in hand and spend all day figuring out which brand of baby lotion and toothpaste and cookies and dozens of other things is the best buy. If the package obeys the law, at least she won't have to turn it over or hunt for dark type on a dark background in order to find the net weight. But the proliferation of package sizes and shapes marked in widely varying fractional ounces will still give her lots of work to do.

Make no mistake, until Truth-in-Packaging legislation has taken effect, the housewife will need at least "a slide rule to make a rational choice." The words are President Johnson's and, to quote him again, "She has enough to do without performing complicated mathematics in the stores."

Speech of Senator Muskie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the attention of every Member of Congress has been directed to this year's celebration of the Polish millennium, the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity.

It is regrettable that pains for this year's celebration were marred by an unfortunate change in policy on the part of the Polish Government, precluding a proper interchange of faith.

On Saturday, May 7, at Cambridge Springs, Pa., Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, of Maine, made a brilliant speech on the occasion of the Polish millennium entitled "This Is Our Heritage."

The speech is submitted as follows:

THIS IS OUR HERITAGE

President Parcinscki, Most Reverend Bishop Watson, Reverend Fathers, Reverend Sisters, Censor Dworakowski, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy to be here at this time, at this place, and in such distinguished company.

With you, I have enjoyed this evening up to this point.

I have enjoyed the music of Chopin, the performance of Mr. Zugcic and Mr. Aaron, and the singing of the Millennium Singers. And the folk dancing of the Kujawiaki, Dr. Parcinski, has truly been a symbol of that excellence which is the objective of Alliance College.

Now it is my task to speak, and yours to listen. I hope that we finish at the same time.

We are here because, one thousand years ago, Poland entered upon the stage of world history—and embraced Christianity.

Ever since, she has had an impressive and meaningful influence upon western civilization.

An influence that has enriched the life of Western man.

An influence that has contributed to the development of Western political institutions and concepts.

An influence that has been exerted by Polish leaders who have been, at the same time, leaders in the Western World.

An influence that gives us reason, as Poles, on this millennium anniversary, to be proud of our heritage and what it has meant for mankind.

It is appropriate, therefore, that we should create occasions such as this to review that heritage, to take satisfaction from it, but more important, to draw meaning from it as we contemplate today's world and the unknown future.

There is much of glory in Poland's past—glory which was the product of the love of liberty, fierce independence, intense patriotism, and courage so characteristic of the Polish people.

And because of her geographic position, Poland has had ample opportunity to put these qualities to the test.

On two important occasions in a thousand years, Poland was the first line of defense against invading hordes from the east. She held her line proudly, and the eastern dreams of conquering Europe were dashed.

Every Pole remembers that in 1241 Prince Henryk Pobozny, at the cost of his life, forced the Mongol invaders to retreat to Asia in the battle of Legnica.

Every Pole remembers that, in 1683, Poland put an end to Turkish expansion in Europe, when the great Jan Sobieski went to the aid of Vienna, and, in a decisive battle, routed the Turks.

And no Pole will ever forget that, even under the burdens Poland has carried in this century, she has fought gallantly in the cause of freedom.

In 1920, Polish armies, led by Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, arrested the march of the bolsheviks on Germany, and the victory, known as the "miracle on the banks of the Vistula," was credited with saving Europe from communism.

In 1939, Poland was the first to feel the military heel of the Nazis at the start of World War II.

Outmatched at the start by Germany's motorized military machine, Poland was stung 17 days later by an attack on the east front by Russia.

Alone and isolated, unable to defend herself on her homeland, she refused to play a passive role in the war.

Without delay, the Polish Army, Navy and Air Force, 80,000 strong, regrouped in France, fought at the side of France, then with the British, and later on, in Norway, North Africa, Italy, Normandy, Belgium and the Netherlands. In the famous Battle of Britain in 1940, Polish airmen were responsible for 15 percent of the German air losses. Altogether, more than 300,000 Poles served with the Allied Forces during the war. Meanwhile, at home, Poland built one of the strongest underground networks in Nazi-occupied Europe.

This is a valiant record for a nation which was attacked and overrun by two nations almost before the rest of the world recognized that a global war had begun.

It is the record of a nation which, for a thousand years, has never rejected the burdens of freedom. And, despite the bitter disappointments of the postwar years, the spirit of freedom has never died. The Poznan uprising of 1956 was a vivid expression of that spirit. It still burns today among Poles, both in and out of Poland, and always will.

The same qualities which brought glory on the field of battle were the inspiration for achievement in the works of peace.

Poland's history sings of human and cultural progress.

Encouraged by centuries of reverence for individual freedom, the arts and sciences flourished.

Even a partial list is impressive:

Europe's first ministry of education resulting from the constitution of 1791;

Mikolaj Kopernik, one of Europe's outstanding scholars in the 16th century, and the father of modern astronomy; Ludwik Zamenhoff, the inventor of the language of esperanto; Madame Marie-Curie-Sklodowska, world-famous for the discovery of radium; in the field of literature, Wladyslaw Reymont and Henryk Sienkiewicz, winners of Nobel prizes, Reymont for his novel "The Peasants," and Sienkiewicz for "Quo Vadis"; and the world renowned Jozef Conrad-Korzeniowski, author of "Lord Jim" and other novels.

In no field has the glory of Poland shone more brightly than in the field of music. Frederic Chopin is a gift to the ages. His brilliant compositions will delight the souls of men as long as music is heard. And in our times, the world has thrilled to the incomparable Paderewski, Rubinstein, Landowska, and Rodginski.

These glories are but the beginning of the Polish story.

Especially impressive have been Poland's contributions to the ideals and concepts of democracy.

In the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, Poland was the largest and most civilized and powerful state in central and eastern Europe.

And the significant fact is that this achievement was built on a series of fundamental concepts of liberty:

—The "nemineh captiuabus" in 1425 which guaranteed personal liberty of the citizens.

—The "Statutes of Nieszawa" in 1454 which established a bicameral parliamentary system.

—The "nihil novi" in 1505 which made the crown powerless to legislate without consent of the two chambers.

Beginning in 1573, election of the Kings of Poland, and a new set of laws known as "pacta conventa" which gave citizens the right of withdraw allegiance to the King if he transgressed any law or broke any stipulation under which he was elected.

These and other concepts are striking examples of a nation's will to be free of tyranny.

It was the custom for nations seeking empires to subjugate weaker nations and to build autocratic central authority.

Not in Poland. Internally, she decentralized authority. Internationally, she sought to win the hearts of her member nations. She undertook to gain their loyalty, not by coercion, but by making them political and cultural partners.

The free union of Poland and Lithuania, concluded in 1413, is unique in the history of international relations. The treaty puts at the very basis of the union the Christian principle of love.

An attitude of tolerance and respect for local institutions, religion and language was taken by Poland toward her vassal states.

The immense dominions of the Polish crown were divided into 34 provinces, all of which enjoyed all the privileges and benefits of broadly conceived self-government.

Eventually, the degree of local independence contributed to the several partitions of Poland in the 18th century. However, she responded to the internal turmoil by writing the constitution of 1791, a remarkable document in its day. It balanced individual freedoms against the needs of the nation.

Class distinction was ended. Towns obtained administrative and judicial autonomy and parliamentary representation. Peasants were placed under the protection of law. Measures aimed at the abolition of serfdom were sanctioned.

What is there, then, in all this thousand years of history as a Christian nation which has particular pertinence to our day, to our times, and to our future?

Belief in God—yes—with a faith which relates God's will and God's justice and God's compassion to the destiny of Poles and Poland—as in that great national symbol—the Black Madonna.

And so Poles have believed in and fought for the dignity of man.

As they have believed in and fought for the independence of Poland.

And as they have believed in and fought for freedom from tyranny.

These beliefs have written our history, inspired our leaders and our people, shaped our institutions, produced our culture, our literature and our music. These beliefs are Poland—the Poland which the world knows and honors and respects, the Poland of history—the Poland which lives in the hearts and minds of all Poles.

This is the Poland which, in the Warsaw Conference of 1573, guaranteed free worship of any religion.

This is the Poland, whose non-Jewish Poles, hid 300,000 Jews from the searching German Nazis, notwithstanding the treat of the death penalty if caught.

This is the Poland whose Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the "father of American artillery," fought for American independence and then authorized the sale of the lands given him by a grateful America, the proceeds to be used to free and educate slaves.

This is the Poland whose Kasimir Pulaski, the "father of American cavalry," died in the same cause.

This is the Poland of which my father spoke to me, at his knee, for hours on end, out of the fullness of his heart.

Increasingly, as the years passed by and my comprehension grew, he drove home his lession. What he had lost by leaving Poland had been more than offset by what he gained —for himself and for me. Here, if a man had ability, he could apply it in a manner of his own choosing. Here, if a man had an opinion, he could express it without fear of reprisal. Here, if a man disagreed with governmental policy, he could say so, and, more than that, he could do something about it by casting his ballot at the polls. Here, a man was completely free to reap the fruits of his own integrity, intellectual and phyical capacity, his own work. There were no heights toward which he could not strive. It mattered not what his national background, his religious or political beliefs, his economic status in life might be.

These beliefs were my father's life. He held them confidently through periods when he felt the lash of prejudice directed against those of foreign birth and of his creed. On the evening of my inaugural day as Governor of Maine, he turned to me and said, very simply, "Now I can die happy." A few months later the final chapter of his life was written. I am sure that, in the closing moments, he must have thought of the strange and wonderful destiny which had so astonishingly vindicated the beliefs which had uprooted his life.

In 1789, Benjamin Franklin described the America which was my father's life, and his Polish heritage when he wrote:

"God grant, that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface, and say, 'This is my country.'" This is our heritage—and our unfinished task—here and around the globe.

Everyone in America is a member of a minority group. It may be economic, social, political, religious, racial, regional, or based upon national origin. It may not be such today as to set us apart in any unpleasant way. But it could tomorrow.

The character of our minority status may vary in its impact today upon our effective enjoyment of dignity, equality, security, and opportunity. It may not today constitute a disability in any of these respects. But it could tomorrow.

Our particular minority group may be joined today with others in a common cause or common prejudice or a common indifference with majority status. The accompanying power to affect the rights and privilege of minority groups not a part of the coalition is subject to abuse resulting from indifference, callousness, or deliberate intent.

Today, as a member of the current majority, the possibility, or even the actuality, of such abuse may be of no concern to us. But it could be, if our particular minority group becomes the object of tomorrow's prejudice or indifference.

To those who say—and there are such—that certain national and ethnic groups are better and more desirable as Americans than other, let us ask: "Who is to make the selection, and at what point in history, and is the selection subject to revision as the majority coalition changes?"

To those who say that there are superior and inferior citizens, depending wholly upon race, national origin, regilion, or color, let us ask, "Who is to make the selection and how can you be sure what your status will be when the majority coalition takes shape?"

I am not suggesting that the case for civil liberties should be based upon fear of each other.

I am saying simply this. Our differences have made our country great. They have done so because, increasingly, creative ability, intellectual capacity, and high moral and spiritual principles, wherever found, have been allowed to seek their highest attainable level.

I am also saying this. Our differences can destroy us; and the instruments for such destruction are prejudice, fear, indifference, hatred and retaliation.

Is it better for us and our country that we seek reasons to like and trust each other? Or is it better that we seek reasons to fear each other?

In the 1860's, the Maine Legislature concerned itself with the problem of inducing settlements in the unpeopled townships of the State. An agent was sent to Sweden, with instructions to make vigorous efforts to establish a Swedish colony in Maine. Within 10 weeks he had brought to Maine 21 men, 11 women and 18 children—including a pastor, farmers, a civil engineer, a blacksmith, two carpenters, a basket maker, a baker, a tailor and a shoemaker. They carved a home out of the wilderness of northern Maine.

New immigrants followed. Within five years the population had increased to 600 who had built a prosperous community of 130 houses, barns, two steam sawmills, one water power sawmill and the incidental business establishments. At the end of five years, 133 men applied for citizenship.

A Member of the Swedish Parliament wrote to the Governor of Maine as follows: "May the young colony of 'New Sweden' grow and flourish, not only in material strength, but even in developing their moral and intellectual faculties. And may the new population thus add to your State and to your great Republic a good and healthy element of moral power from the Old World, and becoming imbued with the spirit of your free institutions, reflect that spirit on their native land.

"What we have lost in the old fatherland will then not have been lost to humanity: On the contrary, the trees have only been transplanted on a fresher soil, where they will thrive better, and give richer and more abundant fruits. God bless the harvest. God bless your land."

And we are the new Poland—with a similar mission.

Civil liberty is the sunshine without which the crop will suffer. The enemy of civil liberty is prejudice. The cause of prejudice is fear—fear of the unknown, fear that there is no real basis for mutual trust and confidence, fear that those discriminated against may abuse power and authority if given the chance.

If such fears are well-founded, there is no real basis for democratic institutions. All the evidence from our national history and experience indicates that they are not well-founded. The growth of our free institutions—their effectiveness and strength—has been in direct proportion to the expansion of civil liberties and their enjoyment by greater numbers of our people of more diverse and varied backgrounds, talents, and experiences. This has been our harvest and it has been fruitful.

The cause of civil liberties, then, is not simply that of do-gooders, or of neighbors interfering without justification in the affairs of neighbors. It is the cause of all those who are concerned that our national climate be a healthy one.

Let those who support this cause, however, avoid self-righteousness. Let us not refuse to give the trust and confidence which we ask. Faith begets faith if buttressed by an accumulation of reassuring experiences.

We have made legislative progress in this field in recent years. Some believe we have moved too fast; others that we have not moved fast enough. Without resolving that difference of opinion, I think it fair to say that we have moved ahead, that the movement has achieved constructive results, and that it gives promise of more progress.

And we should take pride as Poles, that, as we contribute to that progress, we will be enhancing an ancient Polish heritage—a heritage that was nobly expressed in 1413 in the treaty of union between Poland and Lithuania:

"May this deed be remembered forever. It is known to all that he will not attain salvation who is not sustained by the mystery of love which—radiates goodness, reconciles those in discord, unites those who quarrel, dissipates hatred, puts an end to anger, furnishes to all the food of peace, brings together the scattered, lifts up the fallen, makes rough way smooth, turns wrong into right, aids virtues, injures no one, delights in all things: he, who take refuge in its arms will find safety, and thenceforth even though insulted, will have no fear."

"Through love, laws are established, kingdoms are ruled, cities are set in order, and the welfare of the state is brought to its highest."

This is the creed of a Christian nation.

We believe it because it is right.

We believe it because we are God's children.

We know that, only when all God's children are warmed by its beneficient glow, can we hope to achieve justice, and order, and peace on earth.

Withdrawal of Warsaw Convention Denunciation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I spoke out recently before this distinguished body against reports that the Department of State plans to withdraw denunciation of the Warsaw Convention and accept a liability figure of $75,000 coupled with absolute liability. I feel that before such a move is made full hearings should be held, particularly on the absolute liability feature, as I think this would be a clear invitation to sabotage. I am glad to see that my stand has been backed up by both the Air Line Pilots Association and the New York Times, and I respectfully ask permission to include in the RECORD the following letter from ALPA and editorial from the May 12 issue of the New York Times:

AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., May 10, 1966.

Hon. LESTER WOLFF,
U.S. House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLFF: Thank you very much for the interest shown in our problems and for the courtesies extended Capt. William Masland, one of our members, who recently visited you at your congressional office.

Per our phone conversation, while I was in Washington, I will expand somewhat on our feelings concerning the State Department position on increasing the limits of the Warsaw Convention.

Our prime objection is to the inclusion of the "absolute liability" facet of the agreement. This provision fixes the liability (up to $75,000) on the carrier and said liability cannot be contested. We believe that such a provision is an open invitation to sabotage.

Proponents of the agreement say "not so," as the agreement excludes any claim which would benefit a saboteur. If it were not for the seriousness of the matter, such an argument would be laughable for the following reasons:

1. The proceeds of insurance policies have been paid to the survivors of suspected saboteurs in this country, and we believe that the same would hold true in the case at hand.

2. Even if the saboteur did not gain by his deed, this is small solace to those who were his victims, just because he thought he could "get away with it."

3. International air travel lends itself even more readily to sabotage, since so many of the flights are over water for such long periods of time. The cause of an explosion over the middle of the Atlantic Ocean would go unsolved.

4. The airplane is a vehicle particularly susceptible to sabotage since the deranged mind believes that his act of sabotage will go undetected in a craft that plunges from a height in excess of 30,000 feet and is a complicated piece of machinery to start with.

5. With the advent of larger aircraft (Lockheed C-54, Boeing 747, etc.) carrying up to 900 passengers, many more people will be exposed to this danger on any given trip.

Proponents of the agreement argue that even though $75,000 seems a vast amount of money to the individual of other nations, that he would not be tempted to sabotage since his survivors would have to prove actual damages. To this we say hogwash, for these reasons:

1. We believe that only a minority of American citizens flying internationally could fail to show this amount in actual damages.

2. We further believe that a vast number of foreign air travelers are in the same position.

3. People in this country and Canada have blown up airplanes, their passengers and crews, for less than this amount in insurance proceeds—why should we then believe that it wouldn't be accomplished here.

4. The saboteur is convinced that his act will go undetected (and if carried out over the ocean, we agre with him) and that if necessary damages can be shown.

It has been urged that our crew members should favor the increase in the Warsaw limits since their survivors would also benefit. We point out here that our people would rather live than have such provisions forced upon them. We believe that the average passenger would feel the same way, if the facts were made known to him.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration in this matter. Should you desire any further inforamtion, we would be pleased to furnish same.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES H. RUBY,
President, Air Line Pilots Association.

[From the New York Times, May 12, 1966]

WARSAW TREATY DEADLINE

The State Department, under mounting pressure from Government-owned airlines in foreign countries, shows increasing signs of wanting to continue its adherence to the Warsaw Convention limiting an airline's liability in an international accident. The United States gave the required 6-month notice of its intention to abandon the pact last November 15.

The denunciation is scheduled to take effect Sunday, and 28 Senators have demanded public hearings before any withdrawal of the notice. The State Department contends there is not enough time for such hearings. To the extent that is so, the fault lies entirely with the airlines, which have had 6 months to come up with an acceptable compromise.

The original pact fixed the liability limit at the unrealistically low limit of $8,300. Now the limit is to be raised to $75,000, with payment to be automatic even in cases of sabotage. No proof of negligence by the airline would be required. The pilots who fly the planes have rightly warned that the revised pact would represent an invitation to sabotage. The $75,000 ceiling is also in violation of the sound principle that governs fatal accidents in any other field of transportation—that damages should be assessed by the courts or other impartial tribunals on the basis of the facts in each specific case.

Hearing should precede any reversal of the policy the State Department embarked upon with its denunciation of the convention 6 months ago.

Tribute to Ely Aaron

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, community heroes go frequently unsung. Much too frequently we save eulogies for our friends until they have departed. How much better it is to accord them the recognition they so richly deserve while they are still with us, to tell them what we really think of them and that it is all good.

I was delighted that last week the American Jewish Committee gave such recognition to one of Chicago's truly great citizens, my good friend Ely Aaron. For more years than most of us can remember, Ely has been serving our community as a worker and a leader in helping bring greater understanding and friendship in human relations. Applying the keen analytical mind of a brilliant lawyer, tempered with fairness, compassion, and humanity, Ely Aaron has broken barriers of distrust and suspicion and has succeeded in replacing them with understanding and friendship.

Motivating his actions has been his great love for America and America's ideals. The imperishable words of the Declaration of Independence:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, including Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

These have been his lodestar. Throughout his life his efforts have been marked by sustained dignity, honest devotion, and perceptive purpose.

I want to congratulate the American Jewish Committee for having given Ely Aaron its citation representing the great esteem, the high regard and profound gratitude for him held by the entire community of Chicagoland.

Mr. Speaker, I attach to my remarks the address of Mr. Maynard Wishner in presenting the award to Mr. Aaron:

WISHNER REMARKS, AARON DINNER
MAY 3, 1966

He is a child of the City—this City—and he came from pioneer stock. They, too, were a hardy breed, not yet as celebrated in our songs and sagas as those who rode the covered wagons and cleared the land, but they carried the same special love of freedom which is the particular property of those who have lived without it. And they, too, had picked up roots and set them down again in a strange place and they bore fruit, the sons and daughters who flourished and grew proud and, in turn, nourished the land that had given them life. And Ely, who was one of them, never forgot the debt.

The early days in Englewood, president of his class for 2 years in high school, founder of the school paper, manager of the baseball team—the early signs were there.

First, the University of Chicago, then to the law in the path of the other Aarons, all of whom, together, were to build one of the great and respected names in the law in their city. The degree actually came while he was in the Army, having volunteered when the country called. He came out as a provisional Second Lieutenant, passed the bar and joined his brothers in the firm.

And other things began to take form and shape. He joined the Young Men's Jewish Council and helped form one of the great boys' club movements in the country.

This evening is about Ely Aaron and not about Julius Rosenwald, but we should really pause at this point for a special tribute to one of the great philanthropist's lesser known contributions to human relations. It was a night in 1926, at a party in the Rosenwald barn, that Ely found his Helen. Ely, the dashing young bachelor, in his shiny new roadster, and Helen, the beautiful, talented young dancer, the star entertainer. And they became engaged and were married, and there were Betsy and Bill, and they lived happily ever after—and Mr. Rosenwald must have smiled.

And if that were all there was to it, well—dayenu, but we wouldn't be here tonight. There was more.

Besides the law, which was his first committment and which has involved him in some of the most complex and significant proceedings in Chicago's economic life, there was something else stirring.

Maybe it was the events across the sea that were to mark all of our lives—forever. Maybe it was one of those things smaller in scale but occurring so close to home that it sets us off, such as the appearance in his own community, before the Highland Park Women's Club, of a guest lecturer who actually came to seriously describe the great relevations in what was already known as a monstrous fraud—the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion". More likely it was there deeply embedded in him all the time—Helen likes to tell about her ardent young swain interrupting a most tender moment with, "You know * * * I am militantly Jewish."

Whatever it was, he was there when Frank Sulzberger, Richie Frank and General Greenebaum brought the American Jewish Committee story to Chicago. He was intrigued by the story of great American Jews all over the country who were taking turns on 30-day tours of duty away from their business and professions as "truth squads" to follow and deal with the new breed of poison spreaders who were trying to plant in American soil the fungus of Hitler's madness (a story, the details of which we should, some other time, tell and retell so the we do not forget).

And AJC became his base for expressing his matured and active concern as a citizen. And true to the pattern which marks our great ones, he saw and understood long ago what not everyone finds it easy to understand—that the whole thing is indivisible—that we are all part of one—that to care about the safety and rights of Jews means to care about the safety and rights of all people—that if any people in our midst are not safe and are not fully equal, no one can be safe—not tall people, not short people, not Christians, not redheads, and certainly not—especially not—the Jews.

His voice was raised in this effort at the national level in the councils of the Committee and here in our own town long before most of the rest of the community had anything but a vague, uneasy notion of what was going on about us. It was a voice that was always constructive, never diversive; the words were from a man who was not an agitator but who was agitated.

Appointed by the Mayor of Chicago to its Commission on Human Relations, as part of an experiment, new to cities in America, to create within the body politic a voice and an intelligence to deal with our shortcomings in human relations, he threw himself into its work as one who cared very very much.

And I bear witness here tonight about many an evening when you were safe in your homes and hate was overflowing on certain streets of our city, Ely Aaron, in company with his predecessor as chairman of the Commission, the former Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, his friend and our friend, Gus Bowe, would appear in the heart of the trouble—to seek out a police captain—to urge, to counsel, and when needed, to insist on those things that could make the difference between a painful, outrageous incident where a wrong was righted or a right protected and a major catastrophe that could consume us all. I was there and saw them, and they were a welcome sight to a harassed, young staff member who knew it would make a difference, to have these two distinguished citizens, the conscience of the city, passing along the police lines or in earnest, intimate conversations with commanding officers who, were then still learning what this was all about. And from those experiences we came out with a police force that is the envy of cities across the country.

He became the chairman of the Commission, and is now serving; he was the first chairman of the Mayor's Committee on New Residents; was chairman of the Federation's Jewish Vocational Service; national vice president and member of the executive and administrative boards of AJC; former chairman and honorary chairman of the Chicago Chapter—to all of these, he has brought the special sense of emergency that did not allow him to wait for written reports in the morning but brought him out on the streets at night, that took him directly to the legislative halls in Springfield on behalf of every important human-rights question to appear on the agenda in the past 20 years. There is here this burning sense of right and wrong in the here and now, coupled with the special sense of what and what not, the when and when not, out of which progress is made and the future is built.

He has been singled out many times before. In 1965, he received the Esther Kohn Special Award for his outstanding contributions to the welfare of newcomers to our city from the Immigrants Service League.

The debt has been repaid by Ely and by Helen, who in her own sphere of dedicated activity—most notably with the League of Women Voters—has been an active articulate partner.

And tonight we tender the receipt, the acknowledgment of decades of continuous, constructive and fruitful effort in the finest tradition of the American Jewish Committee and of our people. To Chicago's Mr. AJC, we tender this award.

(Read from inscription).

"To Ely M. Aaron whose devoted leadership has been an inspiration to all who hold high the dignity of man. American Jewish Committee Appeal for Human Relations, May 3, 1966, Chicago."

Doctor-to-Doctor International, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, a little over a year ago it was my pleasure to bring to the attention of our colleagues the success of a program initiated by Dr. Robert Cherry, a Coral Gables dentist. Inspired by the success of the people-to-people program between the cities of Coral Gables, Fla., and Cartagena, Colombia, Dr. Cherry conceived the doctor-to-doctor program under which physicians and dentists from the Greater Miami area have traveled to five different Latin American countries in the past 5 years.

As Dr. Cherry has pointed out, the work of these men is "personal, private, and informal every member pays his own way and takes time from his own busy practice to visit the adopted city. He not only has the personal satisfaction of helping others less able to help themselves but of spreading understanding of our country in areas where this *has been sadly lacking.*"

The success of the program has been manifested by the fact that physicians in several cities of this country have started, or have indicated an interest in starting, programs modeled after the Greater Miami pilot project. A further *indication of the impact of Doctor-to* Doctor International, Inc., has been the number of requests Dr. Cherry has received from various Latin American cities and countries to include them on these medical missions.

In the May 5, 1966, Coral Gables Times, columnist James Van Orden has paid tribute to Dr. Cherry and to Doctor-to-Doctor International, Inc., in a column entitled "Doctors' Hospital Helping Fill Latin American Cavity. I would like to take this opportunity to again acquaint our colleagues with the work of this fine organization.

The Times' article follows:

DOCTORS' HOSPITAL HELPING FILL LATIN AMERICA CAVITY

(By James Van Orden)

Doctors' Hospital is working with Dr. Robert Cherry, a Coral Gables dentist, to fill a tremendous cavity in South America.

The cavity doesn't need mortar, but desperately needs the best medical supplies and medicines our country can offer.

Doctors' Hospital has supplied Dr. Cherry with 25 beds, tables, and chairs to be sent by his organization, Doctor to Doctor International, Inc., to a leper colony in Guatemala.

Though the furniture is old and no longer needed by the hospital, it will represent a vast improvement over the sleeping facilities now in use by the colony—the floor.

Dr. Cherry, 900 Hardee Road, is the founder and president of Doctor to Doctor International, Inc., which is made up of docters and dentists from Dade and other parts of the nation who yearly fly thousands of pounds of medicine to Central and South America.

"This is the doctor's way to help the world," says Dr. Cherry, "and we're just beginning. The countries we visit need things that can be used—not just money."

The first week of February marked Dr. Cherry's fifth trip to Latin America. He was accompanied by Gables Commissioner Joseph Murphy and 29 doctors who took over $50 thousand worth of medicine and supplies with them. Their cargo was flown free of charge to their destination. Guatemala City and Managua, Nicaragua, by the Aviateca and Taca Airlines.

There they personally distributed the drugs and equipment to charity hospitals and made speeches explaining their mission to the needy.

"We tell them that the drugs are donated by the people of the United States," he said, "and that we have no ulterior motives other than to improve their health and standards of living."

"But, most importantly, we tell them that we are trying to help them help themselves."

"The people of Latin America are proud people, and we try to trade ideas with them on how to effectively use what we bring them. I personally select the doctors who accompany me on these trips so that each one represents a specialized field," he added.

"Every doctor has to give a lecture to the people on his subject, as well as take time away from his practice and pay his own way."

Since its inception in 1960, Doctor to Doctor has flown over $150 thousand worth of medicine to Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

"And," says Dr. Cherry, "we've already received invitations to go to Chile, Uruguay, and the Philippine Islands."

The organization has been commended by President Kennedy and President Johnson, has been cited by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by both DANTE FASCELL and CLAUDE PEPPER, and chartered by the state of Florida.

Dr. Cherry is aided by Dr. Robert F. Dickey, 4881 Hammock Lake Drive. vice-president; Dr. Ben L. Wilkerson, 14205 SW 68th Ave., secretary; and Dr. John T. Kilpatrick, 414 Doroca Ave., treasurer.

"Coral Gables will be the center of 'Doctor to Doctor' operations in the future," says Dr. Cherry. "Soon, we plan to have conventions here each year and invite doctors from Latin America who are members to exchange medical and dental information, and to increase friendship amongst medical men the world over."

"And our program is snowballing," he said. "Why just this month I've received 27 letters from doctors all over the nation asking how to start similar programs."

"If American plans to beat Communism, we've got to be less selfish. Here is a way for every American to help his neighbor in South America by donating money so that we can buy and send drugs to the sick."

"A sick belly doesn't care who's in power, whether it be Communism or Democracy. We are trying to show them that our standard of living is the best."

"After all," he added, "if you can give someone something to take away his pain, you've made a friend. And we plan to make many friends before we're through."

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

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CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit *(U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939)*.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Hon. LeRoy Collins, Under Secretary of Commerce, Delivers Informative and Challenging Address at Salute to Industry in Huntington, W. Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, culminating a Salute to Industry Week proclaimed by Mayor Robert E. Hinerman, the Huntington, W. Va., Downtown Improvement Group had Under Secretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins as guest speaker at its luncheon event last Saturday.

Having been a participant in the program for the event, I commend Under Secretary Collins' informative and challenging address, and I especially underline his expression of belief that—

> Local people have the ability to plan programs that will meet local needs and that there is need for only a minimum of such decision making in Washington. But I do think we should make the most productive use of our Federal system. It doesn't make sense for each town or even each state to struggle with problems in isolation, behind a spite fence of sovereignty, when those problems have common roots and common consequences, and often—though by no means universally—common solutions.

And I believe that the appropriate Federal role is to encourage such meaningful cooperation. Let me emphasize the word "encourage." By encouragement, I mean, very simply, building effective incentives into Federal programs that will stimulate and aid strong local effort. We have been doing much of this over the years.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record excerpts from my remarks and my introduction of Under Secretary of Commerce Collins, as well as from his enlightening and meaningful speech at the conclusion of Huntington's Salute to Industry Week.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Excerpts From Remarks by Senator Jennings Randolph at Salute to Industry Luncheon, Huntington, W. Va., May 14, 1966

This noteworthy tribute to industry has been substantial. This is merited recognition of the significant accomplishments of labor and management in contributing to the continued social growth and economic development of Huntington and surrounding communities. I am confident that each of us will draw from these activities inspiration and motivation and most importantly a sincere appreciation of the dedicated industrial forces which are daily creating a better America.

In the spotlight during this Salute to Industry Week have been the 44,000 industrial employees in the Greater Huntington area and the products which they produce. Each unit and segment fits into this vital industrial complex.

We are aware of the varied products, the payrolls which mean buying power, the taxes for Government services and education, the contributions to organizations—charitable, civic, and religious, and the leadership to the community—all are a direct result of the industrial employment in our Huntington area.

But the most important realization to be derived is that an organization, a business, or an industry is only as progressive and productive as individuals make it.

A salute to industry is actually a tribute to each individual who is supporting the total efforts for achievement. We stress strongly the vital part the human element performs and will continue to contribute in our society. We recognize that this Nation and the world are in an era of unprecedented change with automation, computerization, and technological advances. And the role of the worker in such a dynamic society must change with the altering of our economic structures and institutions. We will still need the native ability, education, and experience of the individual citizen. Certainly, there will be requirements for a higher level of training and education of workers, but this will not lessen the importance of a person's contribution. On the contrary this will make it even more essential that each individual, with guidance and motivation, be responsive to the challenges and responsibilities of assigned tasks.

We commend past accomplishments of industry but this celebration also constitutes a dedication to a better tomorrow. Thomas Wolfe, one of America's literary greats, thought in terms of the promise of America and said:

"To every man his chance * * * to every man the right to live, to work to be himself, and to become whatever his manhood and vision can combine to make him. This, seeker, is the promise of America."

Indeed, we are a nation of seekers, and our aspirations and hopes are being realized in part by the vibrant and cooperative forces of labor and management.

We have not yet fulfilled the promise of which Thomas Wolfe wrote, but certainly we have made pronounced progress. In the forefront of these endeavors to build a better America is our guest speaker the Under Secretary of the Department of Commerce, LeRoy Collins. It is fitting that he be with us, since the activities and programs of the Department of Commerce are vital to the economic development of this Nation and to the labor-management atmosphere through which this development will be more effectively realized. Settlement of the recent Holland-Suco dispute here is a good example of labor-management cooperation.

But Secretary Collins does not merely represent a department of Government keenly interested in securing solid business and industrial bases for our communities, he is a dynamic leader with productive years of experience in public service dedicated toward this end.

From 1955 to 1960, he established a distinguished and progressive record as the Governor of the State of Florida. Officials involved in the administration of local government and programs may be assured that he knows your problems because he has experienced them. After his tenure as chief executive of Florida, Secretary Collins served as the President of the National Association of Broadcasters. He then returned to Government as the Director of the Community Relations Service of the Department of Commerce. In June of 1965, Secretary Collins was appointed to his present post.

Secretary Collins has been a policymaker in organizations dealing with public administration, education, and social development. Of particular interest to our audience today is his work as Chairman of the National Publice Advisory Committee on Area Redevlopment, a position bearing directly on our efforts to revitalibe communities in West Virginia and throughout the Nation.

LeRoy Collins is a compassionate man, yet a man of realism. His constructive contributions to business and government are a testimony to his commitment to good citizenship and cooperative effort.

Excerpts From Speech by Under Secretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins at Salute to Industry Luncheon, Huntington, W. Va., May 14, 1966

Through the efforts of this Downtown Improvement Group and other organizations, you are coming to grips with your essential needs here in Huntington; you are striving to do those things which will be of lasting advantage in the years that will stretch out ahead; you measure your work not merely in terms of how it will affect your own well being, but how you can serve new generations to come.

This is a beautiful land you occupy, though some of its lines are deep and demands harsh. It chose the people who have lived here—by trying their endurance and perseverance and ingenuity and by testing their faith. It chose them well, and they have served well—Huntington today is proud evidence of the strength of the American spirit and the spirit of American strength.

From 1962 through 1965, employment in the Huntington-Ashland labor area has risen from 80,000 to 87,800, an increase of almost 10 percent. That's 7,800 more people who are enjoying the satisfaction of gainful and productive jobs.

On the other hand, unemployment dropped more than 34 percent. In effect, that means that 3,300 people who had no way to contribute their talents and their efforts to Huntington and the Nation now have a way. And while unemployment fell the number of persons in the work force increased by 4,500. That is a splendid advancement in your economy in such a short time.

These are the kind of statistics that make you happy to read. For behind them, you can see thousands of happier, brighter homes, where children are no longer bewildered and worried because daddy is so cross most of the time and are thrilled because mama can get a piano—children who are not hungry any more.

That's what prosperity means to me. It cannot be defined or measured really by an artful arrangement of numbers—it must be cast in human terms. Prosperity is the opposite of poverty's pain. It is the release from want that frees a person's mind to relish the gift of life.

When I became governor of my state in 1955, we felt Florida was then on the threshold of a major general expansion. We were eager to stimulate and guide that growth in ways which would be most meaningful and which would promote long-range stability.

Up to then, Florida's economy primarily was supported by two strong legs—agriculture and tourism. While these afforded substantial income, our economic stability was a little precarious just as a two-leg stool would be.

So, we set out to build a strong third leg for our economy—industry.

We armed ourselves with a lot of very impressive statistics about low taxes, ample labor supply and new markets, but we also emphasized heavily the human side—our educational advantages, religious activity, health, good human relations, and sound law enforcement.

We quickly learned from business leaders all over the land that their officials and employees were interested in much more than the pay in a job. They were interested in the whole community in which they lived—the kind of people who lived there, the kind of leadership they encouraged, the kind of schools, hospitals and recreation they had, and the goals the community set for itself.

They were not looking for cheap labor but competent labor, with responsible leadership sharing an interest in the community.

My more intimate relationship with business as Under Secretary of Commerce has served to make me even more conscious of this truth.

It seems clear that you have recognized this also and obviously, as for us, it has been working to your advantage in countless ways.

Your new payrolls, improved public schools, rapidly advancing Marshall University, public parks, recreational programs and art galleries all attest that Huntington is importantly on the move with leadership that not only reflects the vision to see but the will and energy to act.

I firmly believe that local people have the ability to plan programs that will meet local needs and that there is need for only a minimum of such decision making in Washington. But I do think we should make the most productive use of our Federal system. It doesn't make sense for each town or even each state to struggle with their problems in isolation, behind a spite fence of sovereignty, when those problems have common roots and common consequences, and often—though by no means universally—common solutions.

I think we should put our heads together at the Federal, state and local level and share our resources, share our know-how. As President Johnson has stated, all of these problems, the burdens of progress, cannot be heaped upon what he called "the strained resources of local authority."

I believe that better cooperation between local government units on a multitude of local and regional problems is highly desirable. This cooperation can be between neighboring cities, between cities and their bedroom suburbs, between counties, as in connection with an economic development center, and between states in regional compacts.

And I believe that the appropriate Federal role is to encourage such meaningful local cooperation. Let me emphasize the word, "encourage." By encouragement I mean, very simply, building effective incentives into Federal programs that will stimulate and aid strong local effort.

We have been doing much of this over the years.

Think what this country would be like without the roads, bridges, airports, hospitals, schools, health programs, farm programs, research centers, and so on, which have been developed by joint Federal-local effort.

The new Economic Development Administration, established by Congress in 1965, and the Appalachian program which preceded it provide systems for grants and loans to help communities which have problems of high unemployment or low family income.

These programs are not for new court houses. They are designed to be generative.

The objective is to provide the conditions which will induce private industry to create new and permanent job opportunities.

These are not hand-out programs, but strictly a self-help opportunity by which the areas affected can better attack basic problems through their own initiative.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, once wrote: "I think it is required of a man that he should share the action and passion of his times at peril of being judged not to have lived."

In every lifetime, there are basic issues which give rise to the most significant events of that chapter of history—issues that are filled with passion and demand action.

Some people are rarely touched by them. They manage to turn their heads from the tumult and the heartaches of the nation and the world; and it was Justice Holmes' theory that when they do this, they turn away from life itself.

But today, in our ever more interdependent society, we simply cannot afford blindness to the problems about us. I think there are five areas of critical importance in which we must use more and more of our talent and other resources:

1. The making of equal opportunity a reality in America;

2. The elimination of the scourge of poverty;

3. The elimination of pollution in our natural environment;

4. The achievement of sustained national economic growth and avoiding cycles of boom and depression; and,

5. The development of a firm basis for world peace.

Generations before ours have known the critical nature of these needs, but we have neglected to apply the might and strength of our nation in effective programs to meet them.

The country long preferred to let them stew, hoping that somehow they would go away. But they haven't. Like most unmet problems they have grown ever larger. Without adequate action, the passion has become more inflamed.

In the area of race relations, we have felt the fury strike in countless ways and places.

In the area of poverty, rebellion has replaced the tired eyes of acquiescence.

In the area of our natural environment, the pollution of streams and the air, the ruthless, heedless exploitation of the land have left their stench and ugly scars to the extent that we sometimes cringe at the thought of lifting up our eyes unto the hills.

In the area of economic stability, we have avoided serious storms of late, but many of us here well remember the economic depressions that have struck in former years with such devastating damage, inducing hundreds of our people to take their own lives and reducing millions to the agony of want through no cause of their own making.

And in the matter of world peace, we continue to have very serious problems.

We aspire for a world in which freedom, democracy and self-determination are available to all nations. Yet today coercion through military coups and imposed solutions plays a very large role in a growing number of nations.

We have two Berlins, two Germanys, two Chinas, two Koreas, two Vietnams—two worlds, East and West—each with guns pointed at the other. This doesn't look like the kind of arrangement which can be permanent and we must become more deeply concerned about how it may be changed for the better.

We are in a war now in southeast Asia, and we cannot yet get an end to this in our sights, as hard as the President and those working with him are trying.

But nothing is beyond our capabilities. We have proved this time and again.

If America will face its needs with knowledge of their meaning and dimensions—with a unity in purpose for meeting them—with a will to work and sacrifice in such efforts—then we cannot fail.

We hear clearly today not just the call of a President, or of a party, but the call of people—Americans everywhere—people who are different in color, in religious loyalties, in national origin, in temperament and disposition, in regions people with beliefs of unlimited varieties—but people, who know they have a common destiny in one nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

I need not remind you that this is a call of passion, a call to be answered by action in our time.

Father Paul T. Hoban's Silver Jubilee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, June 5, 1966, will mark Father Paul T. Hoban's silver jubilee, the 25th anniversary of his ordination as a priest in the Carmelite Order. On that day a gigantic jubilee tribute in honor of Father Paul T. Hoban will be held. The festivities will include a silver jubilee Mass at Old St. Mary's Church and a reception and banquet at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in the city of Chicago.

The jubilee committee's honorary chairman is the Honorable Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago, and the general chairmen are Mr. John Alesia, legislative director of the United Steel Workers of America, and Hon. Nicholas J. Bohling, alderman of the seventh ward in Chicago. Other members of the jubilee committee include outstanding leaders in medicine, journalism, business, politics, entertainment, labor, law, and many other fields of endeavor.

Father Paul, as he is affectionately called, is beloved by everyone. To me, he is more than a priest who has accomplished much in educational, charitable, and religious endeavors—he is a family friend whose friendship has been an inspiration.

Each year this humble priest has been instrumental in organizing a huge banquet which results in the raising of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the use of the Carmelite Order in educating young men for the priesthood.

He is also the moving spirit of the charitable organization known as the Little Flower Society. This society sponsors each month a luncheon meeting at which an outstanding speaker talks about a subject of current importance to our city, our State, and our Nation.

The Little Flower Society also publishes the Little Flower News, a four-page monthly brochure which reports on the activities of the Little Flower Society and the contributions of the society is making to the young people of Chicago.

As a member both of the Little Flower Society and the board banquet committee, I have had the wonderful experience of becoming acquainted with Father Paul—a selfless, dedicated man who is a shining example for all of us.

In recognition of his invaluable contributions to the spiritual, educational, and moral well-being of our community, the city council of Chicago, with the mayor's endorsement, has unanimously adopted a resolution congratulating Father Paul on the occasion of his silver jubilee.

I am happy to join our city officials and thousands of my fellow Chicagoans in congratulating Father Paul on his 25th anniversary in the priesthood, and in wishing him many, many more years of fruitful service in behalf of his fellow man.

It is my pleasure to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the resolution adopted by the city council, as follows:

Whereas on Sunday, June 5, 1966, Father Paul T. Hoban will celebrate his Silver Jubilee in the Carmelite Order of Priests with proper religious observance at 5:00 PM Mass at Old St. Mary's Church, 900 South Wabash Avenue, an anniversary which will be followed by a civic celebration at a dinner at the International Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton Hotel at 6:30 PM; and

Whereas for twenty-five years Father Paul T. Hoban has unselfishly and untiringly contributed to the spiritual and moral growth of thousands of Chicagoans through his apostolate of helping deserving boys to the Priesthood; and

Whereas for the past ten years, through the efforts of Father Paul T. Hoban, leaders of Labor, Industry, Business and Civic organizations have promoted the largest charitable dinner held in Chicago—known as The Festival of Leadership—wherein all segments of society have been honored for outstanding contributions; and

Whereas it is only fitting and proper that cognizance and recognition be taken of the outstanding spiritual and community services rendered by Father Paul T. Hoban and the Society of the Little Flower over the past quarter of a century; Now, Therefore, Be It

Resolved, That His Honor, the Mayor, and the City Council of the City of Chicago hereby congratulate the Reverend Paul T. Hoban, and extend to him our best wishes for continued success in the wonderful work he is doing.

THOMAS E. KEANE,
Alderman, 31st Ward.
NICHOLAS J. BOHLING,
Alderman, 7th Ward.

New President at Wheeling College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the tremendous importance of capable and dedicated educators in our schools, universities, and colleges cannot be overrated, for upon the shoulders of such individuals rests the problems of successful administration of the learning processes. Wheeling College, in Wheeling, W. Va., has been blessed with excellent leadership in the person of its president, the Very Reverend William F. Troy, who is departing for a new duty in Baltimore, Md.

He will be succeeded by the Reverend Frank R. Haig as the new president of Wheeling College, who, as a member of the faculty under President Troy's administration, will provide needed continuity.

The Wheeling, W. Va., News-Register on May 9 carried an editorial commending Father Troy for his valuable work. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FATHER TROY'S CONTRIBUTIONS

The community is going to miss the Very Reverend William F. Troy, president of Wheeling College who has been summoned to new duties in Baltimore with the Jesuit Order.

Father Troy came to Wheeling in 1955 almost unnoticed as the quiet but scholarly first dean of the college when this new institution of higher learning opened its doors to receive the first freshman class. Despite his modesty, Father Troy did not long remain a stranger. His warm friendly manner and leadership abilities were destined to make him an active member of the community and an important moving force in the establishment and growth of the college.

Responsibilities gravitate to the person who can shoulder them and thus it was not surprising when Father Troy was elevated to the presidency of Wheeling College in 1959. He immediately set about implementing a bold and ambitious program of expansion and development. The beautiful campus today with its complex of many buildings is in quite a contrast to those early years when only a few basic structures dotted the landscape. In addition more physical facilities are on the drawing boards and in the planning stage.

Most importantly, Father Troy has allowed no slipping back from those high standards of academic achievement set at Wheeling College with that first freshman class in 1955. Breadth, depth, imagination and moral fiber are the marks of the college's well-educated students. In its somewhat brief existence, Wheeling College has become widely known as a truly exciting place in which to learn how to make the most of life.

If ever there was a college president who refused to shut himself behind the ivy walls of the campus, Father Troy was this president. He was a firm believer in the idea of a working town-gown partnership. He never shirked a call for service to the community and he labored tirelessly in the civic vineyard. He has served on the boards of such diverse community organizations as Oglebay Institute, the Boy Scouts of America, and the Community Chest. After careful soul-searching Father Troy accepted the presidency of the Wheeling Area Conference on Community Development. His concern was that he would not have ample time to devote to this major community development organization but he was prevailed upon by leading citizens to tackle the task. Father Troy quickly plunged himself into the difficult and not always harmonious world of urban community affairs. Soon he became adept at discussing Wheeling's traffic congestion woes, urban renewal or smog problems. He feared not to dissent when found necessary and he did not hesitate to prod when called for. He was a forceful leader in a quiet style.

Father Troy's closeness to the community carried over to the college itself. Numerous lectures, institutes and seminars oriented to the Wheeling area have been sponsored by the college to the direct benefit of the area's business, industry and professions. Likewise, the students have become some of the city's finest citizens participating in various projects and volunteering their service in time of community distress. Their labors during several damaging flash floods will long be appreciated by many stricken families.

As we said in the outset we shall miss Father Troy. We are pleased to have had him pass this way and the community is richer for the experience. We wish him continued success in his future endeavors in a life dedicated to God and man.

Meanwhile, we hasten to welcome the Rev. Frank R. Haig as the new President of Wheeling College. He has been a member of the faculty since 1963 and he steps into his new assignment at a time when higher education is in the most challenging day in all history. We are confident Father Haig will meet the challenge at Wheeling College and that soon the whole community will know him better.

Results of Questionnaire to 10th District of Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert the results of a questionnaire I sent to all the registered voters of the 10th District of Virginia a few weeks ago.

I was elated at the percentage of response in that 21,765 people replied out of approximately 100,000 families who received questionnaires. In addition, I received more than 3,000 letters giving additional comments on the questions.

Sending questionnaires is one of the many procedures I have used during the past 14 years to determine how the citizens of northern Virginia feel about the many problems with which our Nation is confronted. I believe sending out questionnaires on a cross-section of issues every 2 years helps our people to give additional thought themselves to these problems, and I know their response gives me a rather significant confirmation of their views on basic issues.

Question No. 1: Do you favor any further restriction in the sale or ownership of rifles, shotguns, and pistols:

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	14,294	68.0
No	6,716	32.0
No response	755	----
Total	21,010	----

Question No. 2: Do you favor repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits State rights to work laws?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	3,559	17.4
No	16,863	82.6
No response	1,343	----
Total	20,422	----

Question No. 3: Do you favor the President's action in Vietnam?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	14, 126	70. 3
No	5, 974	29. 7
No response	1, 665	----
Total	20, 100	----

Question No. 4: Do you favor a naval quarantine of North Vietnam?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	14, 683	74. 8
No	4, 939	25. 2
No response	2, 143	----
Total	19, 622	----

Question No. 5: Do you favor bombing of North Vietnam?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	15, 461	78. 3
No	4, 274	21. 7
No response	2, 030	------
Total	19, 735	------

Question No. 6: Do you favor a tax credit to help families with children in college to meet tuition costs?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	15, 233	72. 9
No	5, 665	27. 1
No response	867	------
Total	20, 898	------

Question No. 7: Do you favor increase of unemployment compensation in both amounts and length of benefits?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	3, 673	18. 0
No	16, 752	82. 0
No response	1, 340	------
Total	20, 425	------

Question No. 8: Do you favor sale of wheat and other commodities to Russia and/or other Communist bloc nations?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	8, 916	43. 5
No	11, 595	56. 5
No response	1, 254	------
Total	20, 511	------

Question No. 9: Do you favor any State desiring to do so the right to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	10, 394	51. 5
No	9, 782	48. 5
No response	1, 589	------
Total	20, 176	------

Question No. 10: Do you favor increasing the terms of Members of the House of Representatives from 2 to 4 years?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	10, 929	52. 5
No	9,890	47. 5
No response	946	------
Total	20, 819	------

Question No. 11: Do you favor a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer and Bible reading in public schools?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	16,252	77. 5
No	4, 708	22. 5
No response	805	------
Total	20, 960	------

Question No. 12: Do you favor restoration of excise taxes and increased withholding taxes as recommended by the President?

	Number	*Percent*
Yes	7,548	36.8
No	12, 960	63.2
No response	1, 257	------
Total	20, 508	------

Cards processed, 21,765.

Walter J. Tuohy, Industrialist and Railroad Executive, Was a Giant in Thought and Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Walter J. Tuohy was a distinguished industrialist and railroad executive, but in reality he was more than this. He was truly a citizen respected and loved for his qualities of character and compassion.

Today, a solemn requiem mass was held in Chicago, Ill., for Mr. Tuohy, who died May 12 in Cleveland, Ohio. He was chief executive officer of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, with headquarters in Cleveland.

Walter Tuohy was a devout Christian, a faithful husband, and dedicated father. Although a small man in the physical sense, he was a giant in thought and action. His associates and friends often marveled at the stamina of this man whose energy, ideas, ideals, and leadership were dedicated to the building of a great railway complex. West Virginians knew him as their benefactor. The companies he headed provided thousands of men and women with gainful employment in our State.

Mr. Tuohy was an expert in coal mining and coal's distribution and marketing. His contributions were outstanding to these basic enterprises in West Virginia. The Chesapeake & Ohio, the Baltimore & Ohio, and the Western Maryland rail systems were merged and were being integrated carefully under his leadership. They are based in large degree in West Virginia.

Walter Tuohy was a diligent man with a capacity embracing courage and forthrightness in his decisionmaking. Yet, he was a gentle person. His courtesy and consideration to and for people was a hallmark of a generous life. In achieving, he was of good conscience and he was always able to include his coworkers in the satisfaction that they, with him, had contributed to successful undertakings.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD a story on the death of Mr. Tuohy as published in the Friday, May 13, 1966, Wheeling, W. Va., News-Register. Also, Mr. President, unanimous consent in requested to have printed in the appendix an editorial from the Saturday, May 14, 1966, the Huntington, W. Va., Herald-Dispatch, "Walter Tuohy, a Dropout at 16, Won His Success the Hard Way."

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wheeling (W. Va.) News-Register, May 13, 1966]

RAILROAD TYCOON W. J. TUOHY DIES

CLEVELAND.—Colorful railroad tycoon Walter J. Tuohy died Thursday at the greatest moment in his fabulous career.

The nattily dressed Tuohy was just putting the finishing touches on a speech for the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad stockholders meeting called to merge the system with the Norfolk & Western Railroad to form another great line when he was sticken with a heart attack.

Around his office suite junior executives jubilantly talked of shareholders of the N & W 800 miles away in Roanoke, Va., approving the merger. A plane load of people was enroute from that meeting to Cleveland to the shareholders meeting scheduled within an hour to put final touches on the merger.

Suddenly the jubilation of another big railroad merger under Tuohy's direction turned to solemn sadness as a police ambulance squad rushed in to take the small slender executive to a hospital.

DIES IN HOSPITAL

Nine hours later he died in St. Vincent Charity Hospital, but not before C & O stockholders approved the merger which if approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission will create a new railroad 26,460 miles long operating in 20 eastern and midwestern states.

This new system, he said in a speech read for him at the stockholders meeting would create a railroad system to compete with the giant Penn-Central which came into being recently through merger of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania railroads.

Tuohy in his speech referred to creation of the new transportation giant as a "historic day" that would have "far-reaching effects on the growth and welfare of the nation."

He had been calm throughout the morning—just as he had been when on the historic day six years ago when the ICC permitted the C&O and the Baltimore & Ohio to become affiliated.

MET WITH EATON

Tuohy's secretary said he was returning to his office from a meeting with Cyrus S. Eaton, board chairman of C&O, when he fell, suffering from his fourth heart attack in his active career.

The long-time railroader who started at the bottom was noted for his warmth and sincerity while at the same time building a reputation as a tough top-level corporation executive who knew who how to mix business acumen with administrative touch.

Born March 12, 1901, on Chicago's south side, the son of police Sgt. Lawrence and Margaret Tuohy, he worked during the day and went to school at night.

As a young man he carried a pistol for protection as he held a series of jobs and attended night school which led to a degree from De Paul University in 1925. He had quit high school to clerk in an Illinois Central Railroad freight house but he decided he needed more education.

10 YEARS FOR DEGREE

It took him 10 years to win that degree. In 1929 he was admitted to the Illinois Bar and by 1939 he was on his way in the coal industry becoming president of Globe Coal Co.

In 1943, he moved to Cleveland as vice president of the C&O for its coal operations. He worked for the government for a while, serving as assistant deputy administrator of mines but came back to the C&O, a coal-hauling railroad, to become its president in 1948.

He put together the C&O-B&O affiliation while at the same time taking an active part on the board of many corporations and civic enterprises and then came up with the idea of merging the C&O and N&W, whose lines would extend from the Atlantic Ocean into Iowa.

It was a proud great moment for him, as he put the finishing touches on his speech describing the merger as "creation of a system to meet the expanding American economy."

"He was cut down as his fondest dream was coming true," an aide said.

He is survived by his widow, Mary Francis Tuohy, and four children, Mrs. Kee Kundtz, Jr., Mrs. John L. Fenton, Walter J. Tuohy, Jr., a Jesuit priest at Regis College, Toronto, Canada, and John Tuohy. His mother, now in her 90s, also survives and so do six grandchildren.

Funeral arrangements were expected to be completed today.

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Herald-Dispatch, May 14, 1966]

Walter Tuohy, a Dropout at 16, Won His Success the Hard Way

Walter Tuohy was one high school dropout who had the vision to see that he would never attain the goals he had set for himself without a better education. He got it the hard way.

Leaving De La Salle Academy at the age of 16 to go to work in the Chicago freight office of the Illinois Central Railroad, Tuohy began attending night school and finally earned his high school diploma, his college degree and his law degree—all by nighttime study.

In the meantime, while continuing to hold various jobs with railroads and coal companies, he studied the violin and at one time was first violinist with the Chicago Businessmen's Symphony Orchestra.

These brief notes on the earlier years of the chief executive officer of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, who died Thursday night, tell something about the man's vitality and his dedication to success. But when it came—with his ascendancy to the presidency of the C. & O. in 1948—it made no change in his personality or in his basically modest way of life.

He continued to work as he had always worked and he continued to be a friendly, warm and very likeable man who always insisted that business friendships were the best foundation on which to build a career.

When he was made a vice-president of the C. & O. in charge of coal traffic and development, in 1943, he knew very little about the railroad business and freely admitted it. Thus, when the government took over the coal mines in the summer of that year and Tuohy went to Washington as assistant deputy administrator of mines for the Department of Interior, he felt he was back on more familiar ground. But his chief was Carl E. Newton, wartime president of the C. & O., and by October of 1943 both men were back with the railroad.

Tuohy's early years with the C. & O. were difficult ones. He was taking the place of John Davin, an extremely popular man with coal operators along the C. & O. lines. It was a job that required plenty of "mixing," and Tuohy—who neither drank nor smoked—was at first regarded dubiously by coal executives. But at one of these early social gatherings when Tuohy's abstentions threatened to become an embarrassment, he grabbed a violin and began to play with the orchestra. He charmed the gathering and earned the respect of the industry's leaders.

When he became president of the C. & O., the controversy of dieselization was at its height. Tuohy, with his background in the coal business, was torn between his love for the steam locomotive and his obligation to operate the railroad in the most efficient manner.

So the C. & O. dieselized, in spite of the resentment which the move caused among the C. & O.'s best coal customers.

The changeover from steam locomotives to diesels was particularly "tough" for the C. & O., which was the largest originator of coal among American railroads, and it led to some embarrassing incidents. On one occasion, a major coal producing company in Southern West Virginia had invited a group of its top jobbers and industrial consumers to tour its mines and the C. & O. was supplying transportation. When the special train showed up at a West Virginia station pulled by a brand new Diesel, the host executives nearly fainted. They herded the visitors back into the station until a coal burner had been located and attached to the train.

Walter Tuohy's services for the Chesapeake & Ohio were large and lasting. He was not satisfied with the monolithic nature of the railroad's business, and the strikes which afflicted the coal industry in those years cut deeply into earnings. He immediately began a drive for other types of business and succeeded in developing general freight hauling to the point where it was virtually on a par with coal hauling.

He was a firm believer in developing industry along the lines of the railroad and many plants and distributors are located in Huntington, Ashland and other Tri-State cities because of the emphasis placed on development and research.

Tuohy's enthusiasm for the merger between the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Norfolk & Western railroads indicates his belief that it was the major achievement of his administration. He anticipated that the Pennsylvania and the New York Central would get together (oddly enough, when Tuohy took over the C. & O. presidency in 1948, officials of the road believed that its future lay with the New York Central lines).

The need to oppose such a giant as would be formed by the merged Pennsy and New York Central with a giant capable of competing with it was clear to him—even before the ICC gave its approval to the other merger.

Only ICC approval of the C. & O.-N. & W. consolidation is now needed to make it official. Stockholders have given their consent.

It would be fatuous to say that the workers or the communities in the Chesapeake & Ohio complex, without exception, share this enthusiasm. The dislocations already produced by the earlier consolidation of C. & O. and B. & O. lines have considerable, and it is not surprising that some anticipations are not optimistic.

However, it is generally recognized that the railroad industry could not continue under the handicaps of segmentation and in creasingly stiff competition from trucks, barges and airplanes, along with other inheritances from an era when laws were made on the theory that competition between railroads was essential to protect the best interests of shippers.

Fate may have slated Walter Touhy to be president of the C. & O. from the time he first entered the railroad business. But his elevation to the job in 1948 came as a direct result of the health failure of President Robert J. Bowman.

Said Touhy at the time, "It's tough to get what you've been driving for so many years and then find that you're unable to enjoy it."

He may have been speaking prophetically about the abrupt end of his own career.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I recall conferences in which Mr. Tuohy sat for hours as he counseled and recommended projects and programs for prosperity and progress. But I shall remember him best as I watched the patience and understanding he manifested while playing with his grandchildren. This is the measure of a man.

Johnson's Footwork Seems Not So Nimble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is most interesting to read James J. Kilpatrick's column which appeared in the Washington Star of May 12 entitled "Johnson's Footwork Seems Not So Nimble." There are a number of prize Great Society programs which now appear to be hung up, either temporary or permanently, all of which is to the advantage of the taxpayer. Mr. Kilpatrick's column follows:

Johnson's Footwork Seems Not So Nimble

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Every man knows what it is to encounter a string of days when he shoulda stood bed. These are the days when it hardly pays to get up; and President Johnson has had a month of them lately.

This is, mind you, no particular plea for the President. He knows, better than most men, that politics is a body-contact sport. When it comes to trading punches, you give a few, you take a few, and you don't cry over a fat lip. With two full years remaining before he has to think hard about getting reelected, Johnson has plenty of spizzerinctum in reserve. Meanwhile, he's way ahead on points.

Even so, it has become apparent this spring, to many a critic at the ringside, that the old master isn't as sharp this year. His timing is off and his footwork isn't as nimble. And over the last few weeks, life has been one durned thing after another.

Take De Gaulle. The President wishes devoutly that someone would take De Gaulle. Unless some means can be found, and quickly found, for reaching a reasonable accommodation with His High-and-Mightiness, the whole of the North Atlantic alliance may slip down the drain. But none of the Johnson magic seems to work. De Gaulle is too big to bear-hug and too proud for Southern sweet-talk, and he has no sense of humor. Such men baffle the President. He can't find a handle on them.

He can't find a handle on Harold Wilson, either. Johnson has gone down the line for the British prime minister on the Rhodesian question, without picking up much capital at home, and without earning many Brownie points anywhere else. In the course of trying to back up the British, the President has failed to satisfy the African bloc in the United Nations. He could use some help from Wilson, in Viet Nam if nowhere else, but such help is not in sight.

As for Viet Nam, the situation gets no better; and this means, thinking politically, that here at home the situation gets progressively worse. Just when it appeared that the militant Buddhists had been calmed down, Premier Ky pops off with a statement that starts an uproar again. The first essential for any kind of settlement in Viet Nam is a stable government in Saigon, and today's government in Saigon is as stable as a six-egg souffle in a go-go cafe.

When he gets his mind off foreign affairs, the President looks at the papers and finds that the cost of living is up and the market is down. Scotty Reston, writing in the New York Times, finds that the President has failed to cultivate the professors; between the White House and the academic groves, the Pedernales flows. The businessmen, who ought to be happy, are described as apprehensive. They are afraid the President will ask for an increase in taxes. And the leading economists are afraid that he won't.

Down in Alabama, Mrs. Wallace mops up the opposition. When the Department of Justice leaps into the Dallas County race for sheriff, charging that six ballot boxes were improperly counted, some writers with a long memory are uncouth enough to recall certain peculiar circumstances in Jim Wells County, Tex., back in 1948. Who counted the ballots when Johnson won his Senate seat over Coke Stevenson 18 years ago?

A year ago, things were going swimmingly on the Hill. The Republicans were lying down like doormats, while platoons of freshman Democrats marched obediently to the White House whistle. Now the Republicans are full of big-talk, and some of the freshmen are as sassy as sophomores.

The bill to create a Department of Transportation is in serious trouble. The bill to authorize picketing at construction sites is languishing in ADAM CLAYTON POWELL's pocket. No real enthusiasm has been generated for the "open housing" section of a new civil rights bill. The President got his hocus-pocus bill through the Senate last Thursday, providing for the sale of $4.2 billion in new "certificates of participation" in various federal loans, but the vote of 39–22 wasn't what you would call an expression of overwhelming acclaim. The House and Senate will buy a minimum wage bill, and one way or another, they probably will buy rent supplements and the Teachers Corps, but they won't like it. The Demonstration Cities Act is foundering. Home rule for the District of Columbia is getting nowhere. The idea for a constitutional amendment to provide four-year terms in the House is as dead as the Founding Fathers.

This isn't the end of it. Plainly enough, the bloom is off the McNamara rose. The secretary of defense is long on ability but short on tact. In the House, especially, he is losing friends faster than Larry O'Brien can make them. Jack Valenti has left the family fold; so has George Reedy; so has Thomas Mann, the Latin American expert. The President's circle of immediate friends is reduced to one beagle, Bill Moyers and HUBERT HUMPHREY Bill and the beagle present no problems.

Legislative Poll in Texas, Third Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE R. POOL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I have just completed a legislative poll in the new Third Congressional District in Dallas touching upon various matters of great importance before Congress this year. I have found this survey to be most informative and, in addition, I have been extremely impressed by the enthusiasm with which my constituents took part in this survey. Many wrote to me to express their appreciation for my seeking their views. It is obvious by the response that those participating approve of this type of poll.

In the course of this project, I mailed an approximate total of 180,000 questionnaires and received 12,314 replies, representing nearly 7 percent of the number mailed out. I believe this is considered normal in the direct mail industry.

I would like to further state my pleasure over the overwhelming response to question 7 on tax credit exemptions for parents of college students and question 8 on demonstrators since I have pending legislation in the 89th Congress on each subject.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I insert, at this point, a tabulation of my questionnaire responses:

[Answers in percent]

1. GI Bill of Rights. Do you feel Congress should enact some form of GI Bill of Rights to extend to Viet Nam servicemen the same benefits enacted for veterans of World War II and the war in Korea?

Yes	94
No	4
Undecided	2

2. Excise Tax. To help finance the Viet Nam war, do you feel Congress should reestablish the excise tax on automobiles and telephones this year which we eliminated during the 1st session of the 89th Congress?

Yes	42
No	50
Undecided	8

3. Withholding Rates. Do you favor changes in our present federal income tax withholding program to make withholding rates more closely correspond with actual tax rates?

Yes	66
No	22
Undecided	12

4. Four-year Term. Do you favor a Constitutional Amendment providing a four-year term for Members of the House of Representatives instead of the present two-year term which was designed to allow voters to closer "grass roots" relationship with their elected officials?

Yes	42
No	51
No	51
Undecided	7

5. Viet Nam Policy. Do you approve of the Administration's handling of our situation in Viet Nam?

Yes	51
No	35
Undecided	14

6. KKK Investigation. Do you feel the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities has served a good purpose?

Yes	57
No	28
Undecided	15

7. Tax Credit. In 1958, I publicly proposed an extra tax credit for parents of college students. Are you in favor of such a tax credit exemption as presently gaining bipartisan support in Congress?

Yes	73
No	19
Undecided	8

8. Demonstrators. Do you feel demonstrators who block U.S. troop trains, burn draft cards, send gifts and blood plasma to North Viet Nam should be fined and imprisoned when such acts would be considered treasonous if we were in a declared state of law.

Yes	86
No	7
Undecided	7

Grand Canyon Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, the record of the 89th Congress in the area of recreation and conservation is truly one that exhibits great concern and foresightedness for the development of adequate recreation facilities for our expanding population and for the preservation of our scenic and historical points of interest. However, I believe a serious threat to what is perhaps our greatest natural scenic wonder is posed by the proposal to construct two dams in the Grand Canyon area of Arizona.

Our distinguished colleague from Wisconsin, HENRY REUSS, has introduced a bill to enlarge the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park. Approval of this bill would end the threat of desecration of the Grand Canyon and, at the same time, would greatly increase the size of the existing national park area.

Second, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a fine editorial on the subject which appeared in the May 7 edition of the Cedar Rapids Gazette. I believe the editor very accurately presents a case for defeat of the proposed dams.

The editorial follows:

GRAND CANYON DAMS

If Congress really gives a hoot about saving the taxpayer's money, it can do some saving in far bigger wads than the $22 million for rent subsidies and $19.7 million for the deep-drilled Mohole that a house committee hacked at Thursday.

It can give the axe to 43 times that much—$1.8 billion—by knocking down a dam-construction project that will all but ruin the Grand Canyon of the Colorado river in Arizona.

A subcommittee of the house interior committee will open hearings Monday on a bill to authorize two dams across the canyon—at Marble gorge and Bridge canyon. The only basic purposes are power production and a gravy-train ride for the Southwest's economy. Not river regulation, not flood control, not irrigation, not water supply, not even better recreation, really—just hydroelectric power.

Supposedly the power output will pay for most of the project's cost on a long-haul basis. But meanwhile it will cost the public through the nose, and in the bargain it will desecrate great chunks of one of America's natural masterpieces, the irreplaceable Grand Canyon.

Bridge canyon's dam, 736 feet high, would back up water for 93 miles, drowning the main canyon's inner gorge completely at some points. The Marble gorge dam would form a 50-mile reservoir where the river flows now.

As emphasized by conservation-minded foes of the project, all this would turn the living river into a dead pool, and it would also: Flood the habitat of wildlife that depends on the river. Inundate invaluable archeological and geological records. Erase campsites on beaches and sandbars. Clog other stretches with silt and debris. Disfigure the surrounding country with access roads and transmission lines.

Furthermore, opponents say, hydropower will be all but obsolete by the time the dams could be finished a decade hence or so. Coal-fired, oil-fired or nuclear power plants are steadily replacing hydro plants. They cost far less to build and can produce cheaper power.

For all these reasons and the overriding public interest that requires preservation of one of the world's greatest natural wonders, the twin-dam project should be scrapped.

Rehabilitation of the Blind in Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. HANSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, work in the area of rehabilitation has interested me greatly since my service as a member of the Iowa State Board of Control. Sometimes we do not appreciate the work that is being done because we are not aware of what is happening. In the State of Iowa we have one of the finest programs for rehabilitation of the blind in the Nation. A recent article in the Des Moines Register pointed this fact out. I would like to share this information with my colleagues. The article follows:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Sunday Register, Apr. 17, 1966]

Iowa's Program for Blind Called One of World's Best

One of the nation's outstanding educators of the blind hailed Saturday what he called the "miracle" that has created in Iowa one of the best programs of service to the blind in the world.

Donald Overbeay, superintendent of the Ohio School for the Blind, addressed a luncheon meeting of about 75 persons attending a workshop for transcribers of materials for the sight-impaired.

Overbeay was superintendent of the Iowa Braille and Sightsaving School at Vinton from 1949 to 1960. He is a past president of the American Association of Instructors of the Blind, and in 1962 was a delegate to the international conference on education of the blind in Hannover, Germany.

LAUDS CENTER

Overbeay said the "miracle" was the development "in only six short years" of the Iowa Commission for the Blind's orientation and rehabilitation center, plus other services.

"Since 1959, the commission has gone from practically no program at all to one now recognized as one of the best, if not the finest, in the world," Overbeay said.

He termed Iowa's Library for the Blind "the finest in the world—even better than the Library of Congress."

The center for the blind, located in the old Y. M. C. A. Building at Fourth street and Keosauqua way, opened in 1960. The school handles 20 to 30 adult students at a time, most of whom "live in" for six to nine months.

To enter the school, students must be Iowans and blind. If able, they pay for their own food and personal effects. The Iowa Commission for the Blind's activities are financed by a $200,000 state appropriation and a federal grant.

EVERYDAY THINGS

Much of the center's work is in re-teaching the everyday things—how to make beds, clean house, cook and the like. All students learn to read and write Braille, and learn to travel about without trouble.

The commission places many of its students in jobs and operates a Braille and "talking book" lending library.

Kenneth Jernigan, director of the commission since 1958 and blind himself, says the work of the center is to convince the blind that they can do what they assumed was impossible and to make them interested in life again.

Court Handling of Chronic Alcoholics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Washington Post described the need for establishing court machinery in the District of Columbia for handling chronic alcoholics. In the same article, General Sessions Judge George D. Neilson deplored the lack of facilities to rehabilitate alcoholics.

The need for such facilities was brought into focus recently when the court of appeals ruled that a chronic alcoholic who is arrested for public drunkeness cannot be punished as a criminal.

I recently introduced a bill, H.R. 13724, to create a Federal Alcoholism Control Administration and, in view of the interest expressed in this bill, I think my colleagues will find the following article to be of interest:

33 Alcoholics Get 90 Days in Clinic Here

(By Jim Hoagland)

The city moved yesterday toward setting up court machinery for handling chronic alcoholics, but was further away than ever from solving the problem of medical treatment for them.

General Sessions Judge George D. Neilson ordered 33 men charged with public drunkenness to undergo 90 days of medical treatment for alcoholism.

At the same time, Neilson deplored the lack of District facilities to rehabilitate alcoholics, and called on Congress, the Commissioners, and the District Government to cooperate in providing such facilities as soon as possible.

"If this program falters, the responsibility will be on those who don't cooperate," Neilson said. "We can't carry out the mandate from the Court of Appeals with the present facilities and manpower."

COMMITTED FOR 90 DAYS

Neilson committed William E. Luck, 78, to St. Elizabeths Hospital for 90 days after Dr. Sanford Billet, director of the District's Alcoholic Rehabilitation Clinic, testified that Luck needed in-patient care.

Court records showed that Luck had been arrested for public drunkeness, 128 times since 1946.

Yesterday's action set a pattern likely to be followed in future hearings. Billet spent 4½ hours yesterday morning examining the 33 men Neilson had ordered held over from trials Monday and Tuesday.

Neilson had raised the defense of chronic alcoholism for 23 of them, and the ten others raised the defense themselves.

The 33 men came before the Judge in groups of six and stood quietly while Billet testified. He said that he had determined that all the defendants were chronic alcoholics and recommended that 31 of them be given out-patient treatment at the clinic. In seven cases, he said the defendants should be confined to "an intermediate care facility, where constant supervision is present."

"But," he told the Judge, "since we don't have such facilities in Washington, they'll have to be treated as out-patients at the clinic."

ALCOHOLIC REHABILITATION ACT

All 33 cases were continued until Aug. 5, when those still going to the clinic could be ordered to undergo another 90 days of treatment.

The U.S. Court of Appeals cited the 1947 Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act in the recent Easter decision, which requires that chronic alcoholics be given medical treatment rather than jail sentences.

VISTA Volunteers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to three excellent articles documenting the great job being done by VISTA volunteers in the war on poverty, from Chicago slums to Applachian hollows to remote Indian reservations in the Far West.

I refer to articles by Betty Bliss—"College to Slums—via VISTA"—in the Chicago Daily News of March 25; Patricia Roberts—"VISTA Worker Recounts Year"—in the Milwaukee Journal of March 27; and Mary Mills—"VISTA Recruit Recounts Adventure of Working on Indian Reservation"—in the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette of May 3.

These articles focus on the experiences of the volunteers, and on their dedication and pragmatic idealism. They help to show why VISTA is taking its place with the Peace Corps as one of the noblest ventures our Nation has undertaken in the 1960's. And those who oppose the war on poverty, or who doubt its chances of success, must reckon with the tremendous spirit of the VISTA volunteers, for they mean to win this war. "Once you are involved, you cannot turn back," says Mary Gates, the subject of Miss Bliss' article, who serves as a tutor and community worker in Chicago's Uptown Center Hull House.

Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I include these three articles in the Appendix of the Record:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Mar. 25, 1966]

College to Slums—Via VISTA

(By Betty Bliss)

A few months ago Mary Gates spent her days studying history along the tree-lined lagoons at Cleveland's Western Reserve University. Nights, she drove her car to her parents' colonial brick home in suburban Maple Heights.

Now she works—every day and most evenings—in the squalor and poverty of Chicago's Uptown, one of the roughest multiracial neighborhoods in the country. It has been a jolting transition.

She earns $3.40 a day; eats wieners and beans; canned soups and peanut butter.

At night she walks home to a flat on Clifton ("that mean street" to Uptowners) where the sidewalks are strewn with garbage, chunks of broken glass and sleeping alcoholics.

Twenty-year-old Mary is one of the first three beginning social workers assigned to Uptown by Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), popularly called the domestic peace corps.

She works at the Uptown Center Hull House, 1257 W. Wilson, as a tutor and community worker.

As a tutor, this petite blond, blue-eyed dynamo is "mother" to a brain-damaged 9-year-old boy.

As a community worker, she's creating a community center in a basement, making a children's playground in a backyard and making friends with the displaced and disinherited—American Indians, Puerto Ricans and Southern Appalachian people—who come to Clifton St. in Uptown for their first home in Chicago.

Why is Mary Gates here? "I wanted to DO something about injustice, not just talk," she said.

"When I was at Western Reserve, my friends and I marched for civil rights. We sat in a classroom and talked. But that's not enough. While we talked, people's rights were still being violated.

"To be involved—that's the important thing," she added.

Mary quit college and applied to VISTA after reading an advertisement.

Why did she choose VISTA? "It's more challenging . . . it requires more dedication to cope with problems here at home. There's not the kind of foreign adventure the Peace Corps offers," Mary replied.

She received six weeks of VISTA training at the University of Maryland School of Social Work in Baltimore before coming to Chicago in February. As a trainee, she had classes, seminars and field work—10 hours or more a day, 7 days a week. She gained practical experience at a day-care center for Negro children and their families.

But work with second- and third-generation urban Negroes was poor preparation for what she found in Uptown.

"These are rural people, just moved in," she said. "Most of them feel they are here only temporarily—to get a paying job and then go home.

"They are afraid of the city, frightened to venture beyond their own blocks. Often they'll clan together. There's one apartment building housing those from Boone County, Kentucky, another those from Stony Gap, Va.

"But despite their fears, these are proud, independent people who won't come for help until the last minute," she added.

So Mary goes to them, "but with the idea I'm not going to criticize or offer help (I hate those words. 'We're here to help you'), but just to listen.

"And I can't let my feelings show on my face, no matter what they say * * * or in those homes where you have to breathe through your mouth half the time."

Trust often comes haltingly, self-help more slowly. And then just as Mary is making progress, the family moves away. She finds herself angered by red tape, and her own limitations.

"You think that because you're here, and working hard, good will automatically result. But it doesn't." She told of one of her "failures"—a 22-year-old mother of 12 who refused to learn about birth control and who refused to send her children to a day-care center.

"I could tell by the distant, forlorn look on her face that she'd reached the end of her line," Mary said, "but there was nothing I could do.

"I'm a frustrated idealist, I guess," she added, "but all that frustration is worthwhile if just one person calls to say, 'I'm going back to work' or 'My kids are going back to school.' "

VISTA is the true test for idealistic young people. "It can make you or break you," Mary said. "If you can stick it out, it can really make you a different kind of person."

She recognized a change in herself when she recently visited her sister's college dorm. "The girls are so naive," Mary said. "They only think about graduating and getting married." Social involvement? "To them," Mary said, "it means sending a CARE package or working as a hospital volunteer.

"I couldn't ever go back and live THAT way," she said. But Mary does plan to finish her college education, and to become a slum social worker.

"Once you're involved, you can't turn back," she said.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Mar. 27, 1966]

VISTA Worker Recounts Year

(By Patricia Roberts)

Poverty for a Negro in Knox County, Kentucky, means that the street where you live is a muddy lane full of holes. You can't read or write. Rats live in your garbage pile and the living is good because no one collects the garbage.

When election day comes, you get all dressed up to go stand in a row with your friends near the polling place where the politicians buy your vote. You might take a lunch along, because if you're smart and stay long enough you may be able to sell your one vote a couple of times.

That's the way Miss Alta Bee Wolcott found life in Appalachia—and it's not much better for poor whites than it is for Negroes Miss Wolcott, 74, of Ellison Bay, spent last year working for Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) in the impoverished mountain country of southeastern Kentucky, a prime target in the nation's war on poverty. She was in Milwaukee last week on a special recruiting assignment for VISTA.

KNOW NOTHING ELSE

The Negroes Miss Wolcott knew in Kentucky who sold their votes "don't think it's so wrong—they don't know anything else," she said. "The white people have demoralized them." Vote selling is a common practice and the Negroes believe they are "working for" a politician when they accept money.

Miss Wolcott, a physical education teacher who is retired from the University of Wisconsin—Milaukee, was one of the country's first VISTA workers and, she said. "I saw everything from the beginning."

She arrived in Barbourville, the Knox county seat, in January, 1965, even before the antipoverty project in the county was approved. The project called for the establishment of 10 community centers—offering a diversity of services—in the county. The project was to be a pilot one for the entire country and plans for it had to be rewritten three times before they were acecpted. And they're still being changed, according to Miss Wolcott.

WORKED, GOT ACQUAINTED

She didn't have a car so she spent her first weeks wandering around on foot getting acquainted. She went up and down and around the hills and up and down the muddy lanes. People everywhere were friendly. Later she found that this was the best way she could have introduced herself. The people saw her, got to know her and felt that she brought them hope.

"VISTA, come out to Rosenwald," said the note which was passed to her through the crowd at an early organizing meeting. It came from a "tall, good looking Negro man I had never seen before," Miss Wolcott recalled.

She took his advice. Rosenwald, a community near Barbourville, was slated to have one of the centers. Three-quarters of the people who live there are Negroes. Rosenwald has "one nice street" where white people live. Muddy little lanes lead from it to the Negroes' homes. Miss Wolcott found a place to live on the nice street.

"The schools are supposed to be integrated" and the high school in the area was, she said. But what had been the Negro high school in Rosenwald, a two room building, was still being used as a grade school for Negro children. The community center was to be set up there.

"The government had high standards—they had to put in plumbing and running water." Miss Wolcott observed. The rooms had "rusty, old pot bellied stoves" and the entire school had a bad coal gas odor.

"Everybody flocked down to get a job" when funds came through for the centers. Some of the jobs—such as teaching—required special training but the people hired to fill assistants' posts "were to come from the poor." Ten of these people were to be hired for each center at salaries around $250 a month.

ILLITERATES APPLY

Hundreds of people came to Barbourville to apply for the jobs "but most of them couldn't make out the application," she said. All who couldn't read or write were eliminated—and that was a great many.

The people who can't read or write "can't understand why they aren't considered for jobs," she added. And to the poor, a job is most important. "Who's going to pay me?" was the usual question.

Once the centers were set up, the problem was to get people to use them. Child care programs and tutoring for children after school were successful. But to get adults to come in to learn to read and write, to learn sewing and other household skills and to take part in self-improvement programs is "a ponderous thing to get going."

The people have so little motivation because "they have been poor for so long," she said. "The problem is to get people to come forward."

The Rosenwald center in the only predominately Negro area was the "most active" and one of its projects was to clean up the community and create a job too. "The county does nothing" about picking up trash so tin cans and garbage piles decorate the yards. An elderly Negro man was encouraged to become the local collector of trash and garbage but like everyone else he asked, "Who's going to pay me?"

A plan was worked out so that anyone who wanted his refuse collected had to pay 25c weekly for the service. When the man went out collecting garbage he took his elderly wife along with him and she'd go up to each house to collect the quarter.

SHE WENT TO THEM

Miss Wolcott believes the best way to reach the poor is to find them on their home grounds. For three months she made regular visits into the hills to teach two white women how to read and write.

The women learned but the lessons ended abruptly. The husband of one taunted her so much about the lessons that she grabbed the family gun and threatened to shoot him. After that incident, Miss Wolcott was not allowed to visit the women.

When anti-poverty plans were first being made in Barbourville, "I told them, 'Go back in the hills and see the people there,' " Miss Wolcott recalled. But the community's planners said, "We don't have to go there." Now, Miss Wolcott reported, the centers must be completely reorganized to give the poor a greater voice in them.

Miss Wolcott had "the most exciting experience I've ever had in my life" when she started to teach art in the Rosenwald grade school. She is an artist and manages an art gallery in Door county.

DREW BLANK AT FIRST

The Negro children in the school had never had any art work in school before. Miss Wolcott passed out supplies—of which she had few—and suggested they draw pictures of animals. She talked about different animals but "they looked at me blankly," she said. No one started to draw.

Finally, Miss Wolcott started talking about rats. "I knew they all had rats on their garbage piles," she said, and that brought the first glimmer of interest. Slowly the children started to draw.

One boy, a renowned "tough one," drew "the most beautiful abstraction I ever saw in my life," Miss Wolcott said. But when she hung the children's pictures in the hall, their reaction was violent. "They acted like they were insane. They were screaming and they tore the pictures from the wall and wrinkled them. They scratched each other and fought.

"I didn't think I could continue," Miss Wolcott said but after two weeks there wasn't a sound out of the students as they viewed their own work. "They had become people in their own right. They had discovered they had something inside themselves."

Miss Wolcott draws a vivid picture when she describes Knox county and the people she knew there. The mountains and hills "give you a feeling of being closed in." And at Barbourville there's a new courthouse on the square, but all around it are very, very old buildings. And, she said, standing around the square "are all the people waiting for jobs."

[From the Fort Wayne (Ind.) Journal-Gazette, May 3, 1966]

VISTA RECRUIT RECOUNTS ADVENTURE OF WORKING ON INDIAN RESERVATION

(By Mary Mills)

Too often when the spirit of adventure calls to us, we ignore our restless urge and continue to plod along the same worn paths. But vivacious Miss Mary Lou Wirick, Paulding, Ohio, accepted the challenge of an adventurous opportunity and was rewarded with a richly memorable experience.

While a student at Paulding High School, Miss Wirick became interested in the newly formed Peace Corps, but her parents urged her to "think about it" until she knew defiitely what she wanted to do after completing high school. So, after graduation Mary Lou took a job at Lincoln National Life Insurance Co.—yet never losing her desire to "do something a little bit adventurous."

After two years of work she had made up her mind.

Having been intrigued with the television commercials and brochures loaned to her by a friend on VISTA (Volunteers In Service To America), Mary Lou sent for an application; completed and returned it to Washington and waited. One month later she was on her way to Arizona to train for service on an Indian reservation.

VISTA, a new federal government agency in President Johnson's War On Poverty program, performs basically the same services domestically as the Peace Corps, its foreign counterpart, abroad.

In the first two weeks of training, Mary Lou Wirick and 25 other VISTA trainees attended classes in Indian culture, history of the American Indian, teaching skills, Indian psychology, carpentry, and physical fitness from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. at Arizona State University. The remaining four weeks of training were spent working on White Mountain Indian Reservation. During this time trainees "roughed it" living among the Apaches in 8x16 foot huts with no plunmbing or electricity.

At the close of the training period Miss Wirick and a female co-worker were assigned to the Tachi Rancheria near Lemoore, Calif. She defines her role there as essentially that of "community developer."

SMALL RESERVATION

She describes the small reservation, located in desert country about 35 miles southwest of Fresno, as a group of about 20 "shacks" crowded within an area about one city block square. Only three Tachi homes had electricity and plumbing.

To Miss Wirick, who had never been west of Michigan before joining VISTA, this alkali and tumbleweed environment was quite a change from her native Ohio.

But the girls soon adjusted to their new home and got busy trying to become acquainted with the Tachis and to determine the needs of the community. Miss Wirick says she and her companion had "no problems," with the Indians, except that at first "they were not very friendly." But after a while the more amicable and progressive members of the tribe began to come to the VISTA workers with their problems. About half the tribe, however, remained aloof and disinterested.

Mary Lou credits the success of VISTA and the Peace Corps programs to the "grass roots" approach that brings the workers into close contact with the community.

"In living and working among the Indians," states Mary Lou, "you really get to know them and how they think."

"One of our major goals," Mary Lou says, "was to bring in outsiders to set up special interest groups the Indians had expressed a desire for. When we contacted various church and civic groups," she continues, "they seemed most enthusiastic. But later, when we called on them, we found that they were willing to make donations and handouts, but would not give their time when help was needed."

IMPROVEMENTS

Through the efforts of Miss Wirick and her VISTA coworker, a newspayer reporter and California State Senator Robert Williams, the Tachi reservation now boasts a beautifully landscaped and much-needed recreation and meeting hall. And when, after six months of active service, Miss Wirick was forced by illness to leave her VISTA post, a housing program to build 10 new homes on the reservation had just gotten underway.

Mary Lou describes her six months' service as an"unforgettable" if somewhat shocking experience, in "seeing how the other half lives."

She reports the almost unbelievable fact that only one member of the Tachi tribe has ever completed high school. But the Tachis feel no sense of pride in this accomplishment, she adds. On the contrary, they look down on the Indian girl and her family, who are among the most progressive members of the tribe. Mary Lou continues with some pride, that through VISTA's efforts the girl was able to attend business college on scholarships.

Miss Wirick attributes this lack of pride in accomplishment to the nearly non-existent family and community life of the Indians. She reports there is little discipline, and parents don't seem to care about their children's activities, their clothes, their health or their frequent fights. And with constantly bickering parents and typically large families, the children have little love or respect for their parents.

FEW JOBS, POOR SOIL

All but a few Tachi families live on government welfare. Because of poor soil, they are unable to grow their food, and job opportunities are very limited. The Tachis have no crafts and few traditions. These have more or less drifted away or were lost through intermarriage with other tribes or through the Christianzing efforts of Catholic and Mormon missionaries. Their only social activities are monthly tribal meetings and occasional ceremonials. And much of their time is spent in feuding among themselves.

Mary Lou believes that the community split seems to be healing somewhat since some of the men had been put to work by the government to construct new buildings for the reservation.

"The real problems," she says, "is the women, who quarrel and physically fight each other."

Several of the women are now attending adult education courses at the local high school, largely through the efforts of a Fresno social worker. VISTA workers try to add incentive by helping the women with homework.

Miss Wirick admits that the only objectionable part of her experience in VISTA was the constant watchfulness of the Indians—especially the women, who took turns watching Mary Lou and her co-worker with binoculars! "And," she adds, "There was quite a bit of tension and absolutely no relief from the children who constantly 'hung around the house.' "

When Mary Lou became ill with a severe case of bronchitis, compounded by lack of sleep and a poor diet, she was unable to continue with her work and was released from VISTA with a medical discharge. She regrets that she could not finish out her year's contract, but she will "never forget" her adventure among the Tachis.

National Freight Car Shortage

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill S. 1098, to amend section 1(14)(a) of the Interstate Commerce Act to insure the adequacy of the national railroad freight car supply, and for other purposes.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, some people came to talk to me about this amendment last Monday. They interpreted the amendmend for me. I was rather inclined to agree at that time that there was merit in the amendment, but I have been trying since then to get what I consider to be an impartial appraisal of the amendment, as to how far it would go and what it would do. Both the minority staff and the majority staff with whom I have consulted admit they are unable to tell exactly what the amendment would do to the bill.

In view of the fact that the committee did not consider the amendment and did not have an opportunity to go into this in great detail, in spite of my feelings on Monday I am quite reluctant. I must reluctantly oppose the amendment, but I feel I have no other alternative at this time, knowing no more than

I am able to find out as to the legal effect of the amendment and what it will do.

For that reason I have to state I am opposed to the amendment.

Detroit's Henry Ford II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Detroit and Michigan are proud of Henry Ford II. It is a great pleasure for me to insert his excellent speech, made to the 51st annual international convention of the National Association of Purchasing Agents, at Cobo Hall, on May 3:

Text of Remarks by Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Board, Ford Motor Co., at the 51st Annual International Convention of the National Association of Purchasing Agents, Cobo Hall, Detroit, May 3, 1966

Last week I was thinking about what I planned to say to you today when it struck me that what I had in mind was really a direct continuation of a talk I gave some seven years ago.

That speech was given early in 1959—right after the dark days of the 1958 recession—and, believe me, it was pretty dark around here in 1958.

My subject that day was the need of an economic breakthrough. Among other things, I said that "our best chance of acting wisely and well as a nation is to * * * expand our economic base as rapidly as we can soundly do so. If we are able to do that, we can and will have more of everything: higher living standards; more tax revenues; more social benefits; a more effective foreign economic program." I also said that the way to achieve such an economic breakthrough would be "to provide the best possible conditions for the economy * * * to grow in a natural and balanced manner, and to use the powers of government intelligently to abet this natural process."

In all modesty, I think that what I recommended then is a pretty fair description of what has happened sisnce. The powers of government have been used intelligently to abet the natural process of economic growth. We have had our economic breakthrough and it has been bigger and more sustained than anyone imagined it could be. As a nation, we now have more of therything—including new cars—than I would have dared to predict seven years ago.

Today, our nation is far richer and its wealth is distributed more widely and used to better purpose than ever before. Economic growth has been accompanied by broad social progress. Unemployment is low and still falling. We have made important gains against poverty and prejudice. Education and medical care have been expanded and strengthened and made more widely available. We have come a long way since the dark days of 1958 toward the achievement of the American dream of freedom and abundance for all.

My purpose in saying all of this is not to take satisfaction in the fulfillment of my prescription. In fact, the point I want to stress is exactly the opposite one. The economic and technological triumphs of the past few years have not solved as many problems as we thought they would and, in fact, have brought us new problems we did not foresee.

What really counts, when we measure social progress, is not the ingenuity of technology or the growth of national product, but the quality of our society and our individual lives. The basic measures of social achievement are such things as human satisfaction and fulfillment and the growth of harmony, goodwill and respect among men.

Our progress in these essentials has, I fear, been far less than our technological and economic progress. Of course, it's impossible to put a yardstick to the essentials of the good life. We can compute the Gross National Product; we cannot compute gross national satisfaction or goodwill.

But each of us has a kind of built-in yardstick that tells us in very rough fashion whether our country is moving ahead, or slipping back, or standing still with respect to the really important criteria. We use these personal yardsticks by mentally stacking up all the encouraging reports and observations that come to our attention, and all the discouraging ones, and then seeing which stack stands the higher.

This is a very personal process and each of us is likely to come up with a different answer. In my own case, the stack of discouraging observations turns out to be a good deal higher than I think it should be. The material and technical and scientific progress we have been making in recent years has not yielded, to my way of thinking, the satisfactions we had hoped for.

I'm sure each of you would have his own list, but let me tell you briefly some of the things that concern me about the current state of our country.

I'm troubled by the growth of violence in our national life—by the riots in Watts and Chicago and New York and other cities—by the growth of urban crime—by juvenile vandalism—by violent resistance to the laws guaranteeing the civil rights of all citizens—by the slaughter resulting from the crime of drunken driving.

I'm troubled also by irresponsible and lawless protests and demonstrations by young people in the name of peace or free speech or civil rights or white supremacy. I'm troubled by the tendency toward rebellion for its own sake that Al Capp has been satirizing lately in his comic strips about an organization he calls SWINE—Students Wildly Indignant about Nearly Everything.

To move on to another area, I am disturbed that year after year, nothing is done to moderate the excessive powers of labor unions under the law. Irresponsible unions indulge in senseless strikes that do great harm to the public, in order to enforce demands that limit productivity, increase inflationary pressure and reduce employment. It seems to me that we could find ways to correct the abuses committed by some unions without impairing the ability of unions to carry out their important, legitimate functions in our economy.

On the national political scene, I am troubled both by the evident growth of the far right and by the extreme stance of the ultraliberals on the other side. When political strength settles at the extremes, compromise becomes impossible and moderation disappears. The only alternatives are deadlock—if the parties are equal in strength—or crushing defeat for the weaker side. In either case, the by-products are bitterness and frustration.

With the hardening of extreme political positions, there is a growing tendency to assume that the function of politics is to induce everyone to fall in line behind some particular set of policies. I have always thought that the function of the political process was to provide a forum for the accommodation of conflicting views—rather than to convert everyone to the true faith.

Our nation always needs a strong opposition party, but this does not mean that the parties must be diametrically opposed on major issues. On the contrary, it means that both parties must be sufficiently within the mainstream of public opinion to have a real chance at the polls, and therefore a real opportunity to influence policy.

I am concerned about the persistence within some elements in our national political life of the idea that business is the enemy of the people. Now, I don't expect that everybody will love the businessman. I don't expect business to be immune from investigation, criticism and regulation. Like everyone else, businessmen are often selfish, short-sighted and irresponsible and need to be called to account. Nevertheless, after the experience of the past few years, I should have thought that the connection between the pursuit of profit and the public welfare would be somewhat better recognized than it often seems to be. And I should have thought that fewer people would still be building careers by casting themselves as St. George slaying the business dragon.

The current traffic safety controversy is a good example of what I mean. I think it is fair to say that until very recently, most of the initiative for the improvement of traffic safety came from the automobile industry rather than from the public or from government. Nevertheless, with the benefit of hindsight, I wish that we in the industry had done ever more even sooner. Like everyone else who shares the responsibility for traffic safety—and this includes the general public and government a tall levels—we did not act soon enough and vigorously enough to help combat the rising toll of highway accidents.

The public discussion of this issue and the hearings in Washington have performed a valuable educational function. They have helped to create the climate of public opinion that is needed for constructive action. And they have certainly taught us in the auto industry that we have to expand and intensify our long-term efforts to build better and safer cars.

On the other hand, the progress of traffic safety would have been served better by a more moderate and rational discussion. Automobiles have been subjected to much irresponsible and uninformed criticism. Too much effort has been devoted to assessing guilt, too little to the rational search for constructive solutions. The potential for improving safety through changes in vehicle design has been exaggerated, and the potential for major gains through improvements in highways, drivers and law enforcement has been played down. Too much emphasis has been placed on demands for tight regulation of motor vehicles, too little on the kind of regulation that is necessary to achieve maximum progress in safety without impeding the progress and efficiency of an important industry.

The automobile industry has made an intensive study of these legislative issues. We have considered carefully the views of our critics. And we have offered our suggestions for legislation that we honestly believe will provide the right kind of vehicle safety regulation. We know very well that our suggestions will not be embraced in total by Congress. But we believe we have something important to contribute to the solution of this problem. We assume that our suggestions will be considered in the same constructive spirit in which they have been offered, and we hope that the harm that could be edone by prolonged, intemperate controversy can still be avoided.

Before I end this catalog of complaints, I should like to comment on one more very disturbing aspect of the political scene. As inflation picks up speed, the government is putting more and more emphasis on the guideposts for prices and wages.

I have no quarrel with the idea that government has a duty to remind private citizens of their responsibilities to the nation.

But the goverment has moved on from reminders to a considerable amount of pressure, applied mainly to business, and in a very few cases to labor. In effect, we are moving toward a kind of informal and very spotty price and wage control.

Nobody believes that the guideposts can possibly succeed in holding back inflation if demand pressures continue to build up. If the guideposts are called upon to do a job that is too big for them to handle, prices will still rise. The only result will be to break down confidence and to build up antagonism between government and the private sector of the economy. The growth in confidence and cooperation between business and government in recent years has been very good for our country. It would be a shame if those gains were now lost.

Having given you my list of some things that are wrong, let me hasten to add that I'm still an optimist about this great country of ours. We are most fortunate, at this difficult time, to have the benefit of President Johnson's wise leadership. If we face our problems realistically, we can solve them and move on to new ones as we always have.

I'm even willing to admit the possibility that my present concern over our national shortcomings may be more a reflection of my age than of anything else. When a man gets on toward fifty, I guess it's normal for him to worry more and more about what the younger generation is doing to the world he knew when he was young himself.

When all the allowances and qualifications are made, however, I still can't talk myself out of the uneasy feeling that all is not as well as it really ought to be. On the assumption that some of you share that uneasiness, I'd like to consider our nation's problems a bit further in an effort to determine just what they really amount to and what we might possibly do about them.

It seems to me that almost all of the specific problems I have mentioned have a common thread. The common thread is a strong element of antagonism and mistrust—antagonism between the young and their elders, between whites and Negroes, between people and their government, between conservatives and liberals, between many people—especially young people—and everything that stands for order and responsibility and tradition.

The disturbing thing is not that such tensions exist—they always do—but that the tensions seem more numerous and more severe than they ought to be in a country that is as free and as prosperous and as progressive as ours. We like to think of our country as the most successful democracy in the world—but if it is then why are there so many signs of frustration and ill will?

The basic reason, certainly, is that our nation still has some very real and very serious social problems waiting to be solved. Most Americans are free and prosperous, but some are not. We still have too many people in poverty, too many unemployed, too many living in slums, too many victoms of prejudice and discrimination.

Paradoxically, the rapid progress we have been making against most of those problems serves to add to the demand for still faster progress. The prospect of eliminating poverty, for example, makes poverty all the more intolerable to those who still suffer from it or are offended by it. We should not be surprised, therefore, if they demonstrate their impatience in all sorts of ways that make life uncomfortable for others.

In fact, we should be grateful that our country still has rebels and malcontents and protestors. Progress comes from discontent, not from complacency. It would be a stagnant world if all young people knew as well as their elders do what can't be changed and shouldn't be changed.

I am reminded of one of our recently retired executives who observed that he was glad he had lived to see the day when some of the young whippersnappers who had turned Ford Motor Company upside down back in the late 1940's were now regarded as old fogies by a new group of smart young men.

Here I think we come close to the heart of the matter. A company needs to be constantly rejuvenated by the infusion of young blood. It needs smart young men with the imagination and the guts to turn everything upside down if they can. It also needs old fogies to keep them from turning upside down those things that ought to be right side up. Above all, it needs young rebels and old conservatives who can work together, challenge each other's views, yield or hold fast with equal grace, and continue after each hard-fought battle to respect each other as men and as colleagues.

It's the same, I think with a country. We need to balance the forces for change and the forces for stability. We need a good deal of tension to get things done, but too much tension tears things apart. We need people with a conscience and a cause and a vision of a better world. We also need people with a healthy respect for order and tradition.

But above all, we need people who can disagree, who can stand up for their convictions, and still be prepared to live and work with the fellow on the other side. In the last analysis, it seems to me, too many people are concerned only with getting what they want regardless of the means and the costs.

People like this tend to feel that anyone who disagrees or is different or stands in their way is a scoundrel and an enemy. Disagreement to them means a struggle to the finish, with no rules and no terms short of unconditional surrender. When too many people feel this way, our society begins to fly apart.

A healthy, progressive society depends on people who recognize that disagreement is normal and health. They respect the other fellow and his right to be different. They know that the need to live in harmony and goodwill is as important as the need to be true to themselves. They fight for what they want within the bounds of civilized behavior and rational discourse. And they understand that compromise is the only realistic solution to most problems.

How do we increase our national stock of willingness to disagree responsibility and reasonably? And how do we reduce the tendency to strike out in anger and frustration? These, it seems to me, are the crucial questions, and I wish I knew the answers.

Part of the answer must lie in our educational system. Something serious must be wrong when so many young people who have every obvious advantage in life are so willing to reject the world they are about to enter. Between preparation for life and life itself, something is out of joint. Wherever the fault lies, it seems to me that our schools and colleges offer the best hope of teaching young people the difficult art of responsible dissent.

Another part of the answer must lie with the leaders of our major institutions—our governments, our businesses, our unions and all the others. Everyone in a position of leadership has a duty to set an example of responsibility and reason and goodwill. Disagree they must, or forfeit leadership. But no one in a leadership position has a right to build his strength by cultivating hate and fear, by maligning the motives of the other side or by encouraging disrespect for the law. Even when the other side fights foul, responsible leadership fights fair. Demagoguery is the worst crime a leader can commit.

Perhaps the most important part of the answer is that our nation must move more rapidly to solve its social problems and thereby eliminate the conditions that breed anger and frustration and blind rebellion. The greatest danger to a civilized nation is the man who has no stake in it, and nothing to lose by rejecting all that civilization stands for.

Those who are more fortunate, including the leaders of the business world, have a duty to their country and themselves to join the war on poverty, on discrimination, on ignorance, on unemployment. As long as these evils persist, our society will be diminished by crime and violence and demagoguery. In a country where business plays so important a role, it will always be a prime target for the demagog who thrives in a climate of frustration and rebellion. The free enterprise system will not gain the respect and the acceptance it needs until all men share in the abundance that system provides.

As American citizens, we have an even more important reason for helping to build a healthier society. The United States is the only country that can give the free world the military, economic and political leadership it needs. If we want people to listen to us, we must first mend our own internal problems. The leadership we now have is based too much on our military strength and our foreign aid dollars. Before we can exert real moral leadership, we must show the world that we are indeed the leading nation in all the ways that are important to people in their everyday lives.

We Americans are masters of technological and economic change, and our mastery has given us abundance beyond precedent. But material abundance is only the means to higher ends. Our task now is to build a society in which technology is harnessed to human fulfillment, and the growth of our economy is matched by the growth of harmony and respect among men.

Fino Urges Federal "Portable Pension" Mechanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to require the Secretary of Labor to study a Federal mechanism for "portable pensions" because I feel that in this day and age, there ought to be some way in which our workers can achieve job mobility without sacrificing accrued pension payments and rights.

The way in which present lack of pension interchangeability presently restricts the job mobility of American workers smacks of medieval feudalism when peasants were tied to the land. Lack of a credit mechanism to transfer pensions within an industry or within a group of companies—or ideally within a nationwide framework—contributes to overemployment in evermore redundant industries and to a lack of initiative on the part of those who have lost jobs but because of pension payments wait around for possible rehiring instead of moving on to new jobs. The lack of a viable national "portable pension" scheme is also a factor in keeping skilled labor from moving into booming new enterprises crucial to our expanding economy.

As far as I am concerned, a "portable pension" mechanism is vital to a 20th century industrial nation. I regret that the Johnson administration has given no leadership in coping with this problem. They are too busy trying to pull the wool over labor's eyes with respect to broken promises to bother with achievement.

My "portable pension" bill is part of a package I am introducing to help prove to labor that creative Republicanism and national labor can move together toward progress. My package also includes H.R. 14932, my bill to require the NLRB to order a union-busting employer who has defeated a union in an election only by unfair practices to bargain with that union as if it had won the election, and H.R. 14872, my bill to knock out the tax-free interest status of municipal bonds used by right-to-work States to attract runaway industries.

There is plenty of room within the Republican ideology for these badly needed measures, ignored by the Democrats, to aid and strengthen American labor.

National Freight Car Shortage

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALEC G. OLSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill S. 1098, to amend section 1(14)(a) of the Interstate Commerce Act to insure the adequacy of the national railroad freight car supply, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. OLSON].

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendmend and in support of the bill as reported by the committee. I believe it might be helpful to restate the purpose of this bill. That purpose, of course, is to relieve boxcar shortages by returning these cars to the railroads who own them and cannot afford to build new cars because the rate of payment they receive for cars out on other lines is so small that it does not reimburse them for their investment.

I think we should also bear in mind that this is sort of voluntary legislation. If the Interstate Commerce Commission should determine it needs to increase the rate that other roads must pay for cars that do not belong to them and if the roads holding those cars do not like the rates, they may simply choose to return the freight cars and build their own. Or else they may come to the conclusion that they can continue to rent cars that they do not own because it is more advantageous to do so.

I think this is a very simple objective that we are seeking today and it is simple justice that we seek. Certainly, I cannot see how we can make a determination other than to reward a man—or a railroad in this instance—properly for an investment in property.

An Expression of Ecumenical Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an ad which appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe of May 15, 1966, which expressed deep concern for the safety and future of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek Orthodox Church. The article follows:

AN EXPRESSION OF ECUMENICAL CONCERN

In growing anxiety for the safety and future of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek Orthodox Church in its historic setting in what is now Istanbul, we call urgent attention to these disquieting facts:

1. The Turkish government, having essentially and unilaterally abrogated the Treaty of Lausanne which guaranteed the future integrity of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, now threatens its right to function inviolate, to maintain its religious press and educational establishments, to minister freely to the Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey.

2. Since the disastrous unprovoked riots of September, 1955, in which the entire non-Moslem population suffered, when Orthodox Churches and sacred shrines were desecrated and gutted and the Orthodox Community sustained property losses amounting to half a billion dollars, pressures on the Patriarchate and its congregations have increased steadily and systematically, with the clear aim of diminishing its world influence, hopefully of forcing it to vacate the rightful place history has given it.

3. The provisions of the United Nations Charter respecting religious freedom, an essential element of international order, are being openly and flagrantly violated by Turkay today, with the explusion of members of the Orthodox faith and confiscation of their life's goods, closure of the educational and philanthropic institutions, expulsion of Orthodox clergy, including bishops, expropriation of churches, shutting down of the Patriarchal press, and, within recent days, unwarranted intervention in the purely ecclesiastical duties of Archbishop Iakovos, an American citizen, while on official Church business at the Patriarchate.

We urge these disturbing facts upon the conscience of all Americans and ask them to protest by every lawful and reasonable means these violations of the sacred principles upon which civilized society is founded.

This advertisement is sponsored by the Greek Orthodox Parishes of Greater Boston, 180 Pond Street, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts

Signatories to "Expression of Ecumenical Concern":

RICHARD CARDINALD CUSHING,
Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston.
Bishop MARK,
Albanian Orthodox Church of America.
Bishop GERASIMOS,
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North & South America—New England Diocese.
Bishop JAMES K. MATHEWS,
Bishop of Methodist Church.
The Reverend PAUL L. STURGES,
Executive Minister, Massachusetts Baptist Convention.
The Reverend FORREST L. KNAPP,
General Secretary, Massachusetts Council of Churches.
Bishop ANSEN P. STOKES, Jr.,
Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts.

"Where Law Ends, Tyranny Begins"—Law Day Address of Senator Richard B. Russell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege last Friday to attend the 18th annual Law Day observance at Mercer University. The occasion was highlighted by the dedication of the Langdale Law Library—named for a distinguished Georgian, Judge Harley Langdale.

I was impressed by the dignity of the occasion, the tribute to Judge Langdale and the academic caliber of students and faculty at Mercer University. Above all, I was inspired by the profound Law Day address delivered by Georgia's senior Senator, RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL.

Senator RUSSELL is one of the great men of our age. I would like to share his timely remarks with my colleagues at this point in the RECORD:

Today marks another landmark in the history of Mercer University.

The addition of the Langdale Law Library—named in fitting tribute to my good friend, Judge Harley Langdale—bears evidence of the determination to continue Mercer's tradition of excellence as a citadel of learning.

In the 133 years since this institution was founded at Penfield in Greene County, Mercer has furnished enlightenment and leadership to our State and Nation through the thousands of young men and women who have gone forth from this campus. Its graduates have distinguished themselves in many fields of endeavor and have brought great honor to themselves, their alma mater and to Georgia.

I particularly wish to commend President Harris for his leadership here. He carries forward an unbroken succession of illustrious educators who have guided Mercer's destinies and made it a source of intellectual and spiritual strength. His example in giving up the presidency of a much larger institution in order to devote his great energy and talent to Mercer is a tribute to his deep faith in the vital role of the smaller independent college in our plan of higher education.

It has always seemed appropriate to me that Mercer chose to name its law school in honor of a man of the stature and character of Walter F. George. It was my privilege to serve with Senator George for 25 years of the 34 he spent in the Senate, and I very early came to recognize him as a man of great wisdom, towering intellect and broad statesmanship. He knew no calling above that of love of country and love of God, and he demonstrated this countless times and in innumerable ways during his long and fruitful life on this earth.

George of Georgia, as he was respectfully known throughout the free world, was a gentleman to the manor born and a statesman of the highest rank. To me he was more. He was my friend. His memory will be cherished always, and his life's work will stand as an enduring monument to decency, dignity, and freedom.

No observance of law day would be complete without a reaffirmation and reiteration of a basic tenet of American democracy—that our's is a governmnt of laws and not a government of men.

The written law is the bulwark of our freedom. It is the means by which we define our rights and defend our individual liberties—

liberties which our priceless heritage as Americans. For as the English statesman, William Pitt, observed: "Where land ends, tyranny begins."

The men who composed the Constitutional Convention in 1787 were wise far beyond their time. They had suffered and sacrificed in the cause of freedom and had felt the whiplash of tyranny. They knew from personal experience the eternal truth which history teaches—that no men, or group of men, can be entrusted with government of unlimited power or a government unrestrained by law.

The Founding Fathers, therefore, drew heavily on both their wisdom and their experience to fashion a system of government that provided permanent safeguards for the rights of the American people. They knew the truth of Thomas Hobb's words that "Freedom is political power divided into small fragments." Accordingly, they drafted a written constitution based on the doctrine of divided and defined powers.

They applied the doctrine in two ways. First they delegated to the Federal Government the powers necessary to discharge its functions as a Central Government, and they reserved to the States the power to conduct their internal affairs.

To this plan of dual government—the heart of the federal system—they added a double check on unbridled power by dividing the Central Government into three distinct and co-equal branches—the judiciary, the legislative and the executive. It is this concept of checks and balances that sets the American system apart from and above every other type government known to man.

Our system of government was never represented by its architects to be perfect, for it was an instrument of mortal man . But, in Jefferson's words, the Constitution "unquestionably was the wisest ever to be presented to men."

Over the years—and particularly in the recent past—there has been an unmistakable assault on our constitutional system and on the doctrine of the separation of powers. This occurrence might be understandable if the Constitution could be classified as a vague document. But it is not vague. The limitations on power carefully delineated by the Founding Fathers are not obscure ambiguities, but precise statements of clarity.

The principal source of the assault on our Constitution is the present Supreme Court. In a long series of decisions reaching into many areas of our national life, the occupants of the Court have, in my view, clearly exceeded the power and authority granted the judiciary under the Constitution.

Indeed, the truth is that on many occasions in recent years, the Supreme Court has usurped and exercised the powers that clearly belong to the Congress and to the States. In the process, it has encroached upon the constitutional powers of Congress and struck down the actions of State legislative bodies in areas clearly reserved by the Constitution to the States.

I for one can only conclude that a mjority of the present Court has ascribed to itself a knowledge and wisdom it deems superior to that of the Founding Fathers. These Justices have stopped interpreting the Constitution and have undertaken nothing less than to rewrite the Constitution.

I submit that the time is long overdue for the Court to return to its proper constitutional role. I do not believe it is too much to ask that the Court interpret the Constitution as it was written, and not as some of the Justices might wish it had been written.

George Washington might well have had the present Supreme Court in mind when he said in his farewell address that: "If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation."

The Supreme Court is not alone in its assault on the Constitution. The executive branch of the Government and even Congress have contributed in the past few years to the effort to centralize all power and authority in Washington at the expense of the State and local governments.

I recognize that we are living in an era of vast and sweeping change. I recognize, too, that the accelerating shift to an urban-oriented society is producing new and challenging problems for government at every level.

But I emphatically disagree with those who contend our Constitution is outmoded and that our system is incapable of meeting the changing needs of our people. It is an insult to the Framers of the Constitution, whom historians have called the most brilliant gathering of minds under one roof, to suggest that they were so shortsighted as to fail to anticipate future changes in our national life.

The truth is that our constitutional system is fully capable of coping with the changes and meeting the needs of 20th century America. What is required is not a fundamental change in the system, but a determination to apply the efforts and resources of Federal, State and oftimes local government to common problems in programs that recognize the legitimate rights and role of each. This is another way of saying that the urgent need is for more Federal cooperation with the States and local government, and less attempt at Federal domination.

There are numerous examples of successful programs that have thrived on the proven concept of Federal-State partnership. This is the basis for the Federal highway program, for the joint airport construction program, for the growing attack on water pollution, and for many health and welfare programs.

I believe a major reason for the success of these programs rests in the recognition that the States of this Union do have rights and responsibilities under our Federal system. It was, after all, the States that created the Federal Government and not the Federal Government that created the States.

The debate over the relationship between Federal, State and local governments is not likely to end in the near future. Indeed, it is likely to grow in intensity and, hopefully, in enlightenment in the future.

During the past 2 years, a new phrase—"creative federalism"—has crept into the lexicon of the great society. No one, including those who band it about, seem to know what it means, but there are indications that the President will expound on the theme in a forthcoming message to Congress.

I shall await with interest the official unveiling of the "creative federalism" concept. If it is to mean more emphasis in the future on programs that stress the partnership concept, then it will have my unstinting support.

I believe we have an excellent and up-to-date example of such an approach in the Appalachia program, wherein twelve States, the Federal Government, and local communities are uniting to attack the pressing economic problems that long have gripped much of the Appalachia region.

But if "creative federalism" is to be nothing more than a clever cover for further enhancing governmental giantism in Washington while continuing to downgrade the States and local units of government, I shall oppose it with all the vigor I possess. We have seen far too much of this approach already, notably in recent well-intentioned but misguided programs such as the so-called war on poverty.

Let me, in closing these brief remarks, say a word about the place of the lawyer in our government of laws.

Under our constitutional democracy, no citizen regardless of his station can be excused from the obligation to observe the laws regardless of what his personal feelings about them may be. We cannot pick and choose among the laws, obeying those we like and ignoring those we don't like.

Today, even this cardinal tenet is being flouted by some who enjoy the fruits of our free society. Some of those who take to the streets to demonstrate against actions or laws of their Government which they happen to disapprove claim the right to disobey laws they deem to be unjust.

But there is clearly no such right. If it existed, we would not have a government of laws. We would have an open invitation to anarchy.

Those of you who are lawyers and those who will become lawyers understand more clearly than most people that disrespect for the law and contempt for legally constituted authority simply cannot be squared with our concept of a government of laws. You know that if one man is allowed to violate one law with impunity on grounds that he deems the law to be unjust, there will surely be another man who will claim the right to violate another law with the same impunity. This can only lead in the end to the total destruction of the entire body of law upon which rests not only our freedom but our civilization.

Lawyers have traditionally contributed to the stability of our society. This was so even in Shakespeare's day. Henry VI contains a memorable passage about the plotting of Jack Cade and his fellow rebels against the realm in which Jack is haranguing his followers with lavish promises of money, food, drink and clothing. He is interrupted by his lieutenant-in-rebellion, Dick the butcher, who cries:

> "The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers."

I have often thought that this in its way was a rather remarkable tribute to the practitioners of the law. Even in 15th century England, lawyers were considered to be the natural enemies of those bent on disorder and destruction.

Today, as in the past, the men of the legal profession stand as stalwart champions of government by law over government by men—no matter how well-intentioned the men might be. They know the truth of Daniel Webster's observation that good intentions are not a substitute for the rule of law. For as Webster said:

> "Good intentions will always be pleaded for every assumption of authority. It is hardly too strong to say that the Constitution was made to guard the people against the dangers of good intentions. There are men of all ages who mean to govern well, but they mean to govern. They promise to be good masters, but they mean to be masters."

National School Safety Patrol Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join with my fine colleagues in the House of Representatives in designating the second week of May at National School Safety Patrol Week.

Our school safety patrols perform a valuable service as auxiliary aids to our local police officials in improving traffic safety in the vicinity of the public schools. In volunteering for the school safety patrols, our children accept both a responsibility and a concern for the well-being of others. I believe these children should be commended for the fine contribution they have made to their schools and their communities through this volunteer service.

Let us all take time this week to offer our thanks and appreciation to the children serving on school safety patrols and afford them the acknowledgment they so well deserve.

New Version of Old Shell Game Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I know of no one who has more clearly diagnosed the Executive's Sales Participation Act of 1966 than James J. Kilpatrick. His column appeared in the Washington Star of May 10 and he was actually kind in calling the legislation a shell game. His column follows:

NEW VERSION OF OLD SHELL GAME IS CHARGED

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The slickest skin game of the old county fairs, at least in the gullible South, was the skin game known as the old shell game. It flourished for years, until some educated cops came along. They put the thimbleriggers on the run and the shell game all but disappeared.

Last week it came back to town. You will find it, if you look fast enough, in H.R. 14544, which came shooting out of the House Banking and Currency Committee like a little green pea under three walnut shells. This is President Johnson's sensational gimmick for turning $4.2 billion in federal assets into $4.2 billion in federal liabilities, all without adding a penny to the federal deficit. Or liabilities into assets. It is all the same thing. Come one, come all, and try your skill! The hand in truth is quicker than the eye.

Johnson sketched the general outlines of his "Sales Participation Act of 1966" back in January, but it wasn't until Wednesday, April 20, that the bill turned up in the House. Then presto! On Thursday April 21, with the ink still wet on the printed bill, Rep. WRIGHT PATMAN, D-Texas, scheduled three hours of hearings. Only administration witnesses were called. By a party-line vote of 22-3, with eight disgusted Republicans not voting, the bill came bombing out. A classic committee report followed on April 25. And last week the White House was proceeding in terrorem to get the bill whipped through the Rules Committee for an immediate vote on the floor.

The situation has its funny aspects, which is doubtless part of the game.

On the surface, this is a financing scheme by which the government would "sell off some assets." But the trick is that no assets would really be sold off.

The committee's majority report declares, deadpan, that the plan would "carry forward the objective of substituting private for public credit in funding the loan programs" of various federal agencies. But by its own terms, the bill provides for continued federal subsidies to make the private creditors secure.

The sponsors of this legislation are shouting from the housetops that this "participation" plan is truly nothing new—that it is in fact an old plan, devised by President Eisenhower in 1959. But when Eisenhower undertook to sell off some federal loans, he sold them off in straightforward transactions. Johnson's dazzling runaround is something else entirely.

Under terms of this legislation, the Federal National Mortgage Association, as trustee, would sell certificates of participation in "pools of assets" to be provided from the outstanding loans of various federal agencies. Up to $4.2 billion in such certificates could be sold, provided the market would absorb them, and why shouldn't the market absorb them? These handsome instruments would cost the taxpayers a rate of 5.4 or 5.5 percent, at least half a point higher than the rate on regular Treasury borrowings.

As the outraged Republicans point out in their minority report, this .5 percent represents an expense of $5 million a year on each $1 billion of participations sold. If the entire authority were exercised, the cost to the people would approximate $21 million a year. Over an average maturity of 10 years, these higher outlays for interest would amount to something in excess of $200 million.

Yet the cost of this scheme is the least of the objections to it. The purpose of this legislation is not to promote private credit. The purpose is to conceal a $4.2 billion deficit by entering the certificate sales as a "negative expenditure." Where has the deficit gone? It lies under the third shell on the left. If this maneuver works for 1967, we may never set eyes on a deficit again, for federal agencies have $33 billion in such assets to slide in Fannie Mae's direction.

By the same token, as the Republicans remark, the federal debt limit can be subjected to hocus-pocus-dominocus. Now you see it, now you don't. If the proceeds of these participations are applied on paper to debt reduction, the government's total debt will not have been reduced in fact. The debt will simply have been transferred to the debt of FNMA, which is outside the statutory limit. In the course of this vanishing act, government credit would be used, if indirectly, to effect a reduction in the federal debt. This isn't done with dollars; it's done with mirrors.

There were signs last week that the administration's razzle-dazzle might prove to be self-defeating. Missouri's influential Representative RICHARD BOLLING, a key man on House Rules, was balking hard. He describes the scheme flatly as "deceptive." Without a lot of sober persuasion, he won't be won around.

The administration's top persuaders have been summoned to the battle. With the President's prestige at stake, they may win in the end, but their problem is that members of the House and Senate stand a cut above the rubes of the county midway.

Hoosier's Poem Describes His State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poetic tribute to Indiana, written by a Hoosier farmer who has captured the charm of its people and the beauty of its countryside.

The poem follows:

INDIANA

I

Indiana, Indiana
With its wide and fertile plains,
With its many scenic wonders
Where it seems that Beauty reigns,
Where the rivers and the woodlands
With the charms they hold in store
Make both Hoosiers and their neighbors
Wish to linger and explore.

II

Indiana, Indiana
With its fields of waving grain,
With its days of golden sunshine
And its days of gentle rain
And its fruits so widely varied
In the autumn of the year
That it seems the Lord has surely
Made another Eden here.

III

Indiana, Indiana
Where a gifted folk belong
Who can make a host of gadgets,
Paint a picture, sing a song,
Where the people are so friendly
That their hospitality
Makes you feel that you belong here
And it's here you wish to be.

—GLEN W. GALBRAITH.

(Copyright pending)

Steel Industry's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, in March, Mr. Jack L. Ashby, president of Kaiser Steel Corp. and my good friend and classmate at Stanford University, delivered the opening address to a steel industry economics seminar at Claremont Men's College in Pomona, Calif.

This was the industry's first economics seminar in the Far East and it symbolizes the potential of a cooperative endeavor by industry and education for the betterment of the overall system. Jack Ashby's remarks are significant and timely for marking the status of the steel industry in a post World War II America and for indicating the problems—which he prefers to see as opportunities—that we must be concerned with now and in the future. For this reason, I insert this address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES FACING THE AMERICAN STEEL INDUSTRY

It is a great pleasure for me to be able to meet with you today—not only because we in Kaiser Steel have been afforded this opportunity to participate in the American Iron & Steel Institute's first economics seminar in the Far West—but also because of the excellent relationships between the steel industry and your educational institutions.

Many of the employees directly responsible for Kaiser Steel's growth since it first started 24 years ago have come from your schools. Many of them have received their economic training from some of you here in this room—and I want to tell you most sincerely that we appreciate your contributions to our company.

All of us in the steel industry are heavily dependent upon the educational institutions of our country for the leadership and technical skills needed to cope with the fast-changing competitive forces facing us.

Most of all, we are dependent upon your educational institutions to give us people with new ideas—a willingness to use new technologies—and an eagerness to innovate and experiment—always searching for better results for our industry.

That is particularly why a seminar such as this deserves and received our wholehearted support. In a spirit of searching self-examination—and mutual give and take—it seems to me that this seminar provides all of us in the steel business a great opportunity to present our needs to you—and through you we hope we can give a message to the leaders of tomorrow, whether they join us in steel business or associate with us through their work in other fields.

It is also, we are hopeful, a great opportunity for you to develop for us what your requirements and interests may be—and how we can be more helpful to you as you carry out your own objectives.

That is why we appreciate your presence here, and your willingness to explore the problems and opportunities facing the American steel industry today—because by this means all of us can leave this seminar wiser and better students of one of the great industries of our modern civilization and with a better appreciation of the relationships that exist between education and industry.

At the outset—I would like to strike a general position.

I think the educational institutions of this country are the best in the world. There's just no question in my mind that America's great strength and leadership are founded upon the fact that we try to give every child and every adult all the education he or she can profitably use—and of the highest quality and objectivity—and while there is always room for improvement * * * and improvements will be and are being made * * * your educational institutions will continue to be the foundation stone of the society we are all committed to build.

I also think that the American steel industry is the best in the world. It too, is one of the sources of America's strength—and it too excels in its field. It employs the superior products of your classrooms at superior wages to produce superior steels with superior efficiency. It too, can stand improvement—and improvements are being made.

As a matter of fact, I hope the central message you will take with you from this 2-day seminar is that the American steel industry is continuing on the march with the greatest array of new ideas and improvements now underway than at anytime in its long period of service to the nation.

There has been a technological and marketing revolution going on in the steel industry for some time that is of vital interest to every educator—and, especially, to economics specialists.

But the steel industry has its problems too—and they are serious and challenging problems. We don't think any of them are insurmountable, but they require study and analysis—patience and understanding—tolerance and cooperation—from educators, government leaders and everyone else interested in a progressive, healthy basic industry which has made and will make fundamental contributions to a brighter future for us all.

So we hope to present in this seminar—for your consideration—the economic, political and technical factors of greatest importance which surround the steel industry today—as best as we see them—to enlist your earnest cooperation in a search to find out how the steel industry can earn and continue to seek your understanding and support—and that of the public it serves.

Almost three-quarters of a million men and women work in the American steel industry today.

Hundreds of thousands more work in the plants of steel industry suppliers—and, of course, millions more work in the great steel-using industries such as automobile and container manufacturing, the construction industry, and thousands of other enterprises throughout the nation's economy.

There are more companies making steel today than there were 25 or 50 years ago—and my company is one of them—and there are about 1,200,000 stockholders who depend upon financial returns from savings they have invested in the industry's productive capacities.

Let me list some strong points about this industry:

First, as you know the year just past—1965—was a record-breaking year. The steel industry broke almost every record on the books—except for profits * * * it produced more steel last year than any other year in history. The United States is still the world leader in steel production. As a matter of fact, the steel industry used more tonnages of steel scrap—as a raw material—last year than it produced of finished steel products in the most intensive production year of World War II.

Second, the steel that the consumer gets today is a vastly superior product compared to the one turned out tweny years ago. As you know, steel is not a single product—but a whole family of materials—each produced to exacting specifications, for specific purposes. All steels have been improved—many new ones have been developed—and standards of service and quality have been upgraded sharply.

Third, the rate of technological change in the last ten years has been so fast as to deserve being called revolutionary. Oxygen steelmaking, continuous casting, pelletizing of iron ore, rolling mills of unusual size and efficiency—all these and more have caused great changes in manufacturing methods and quality control techniques. I think it is fair to say that no other steel industry in the world has demonstrated a greater ability to adopt new ideas and improved technological changes.

The ability to do this is another one of our great strengths, and comes—I believe—from the good educational background and continuous educational training of our people.

And, fourth, the raw materials position of the American steel industry is second to none. This is important because, as you may remember, it was not too long ago that serious doubts were raised as to the existence of sufficient quantities of iron ore of the quality required by steel producers.

New techniques for the utilization of low grade ores—such as pelletizing—and new iron ore discoveries around the world—have developed reserves for the steel industry to the point where they appear almost limitless. Ample supplies of coking coal and limestone are available here in this country.

There are many other plusses the steel industry has to work with, too numerous to mention here.

Now, let's take a look at some of our problems—which we believe are opportunities as well.

First, and foremost, is the problem of foreign competition. It may seem paradoxical to talk about foreign competition at a time when the American steel industry is running close to capacity. However, the long-range trend is certainly such as to give us serious concern.

The leaders in our steel industry have been strong in favor of world trade, and many of us have frequently said that we are willing to meet any fair competition that abides by the same rules of the game as we do.

However, a realistic view of competition posed by foreign steel includes the fact that some countries use steel exports as an instrument of national policy. Some steel companies are forced to maintain full output regardless of home market conditions, so that they are bound to dispose of their surpluses at whatever price will move the product.

Some steel mills have been built overseas with capacities far larger than can be absorbed locally, so that their obvious objective is production for export purposes.

All of these foreign steel producers who must export look upon the United States as their logical market. It is the easiest of all markets to enter—it is the most prosperous—it is the most diverse.

A second problem is that of continuing increases in the costs of producing steel. Everything that goes into a ton of steel costs substantially more today than it did five years ago—except steel itself. The record of the steel industry in holding the price line is excellent, especially when you consider how all other costs have been rising.

The consumer price index has risen 9.9 per cent since 1960, while steel prices have only risen 3.3 per cent in the same time. Labor costs, as you know, have been rising steadily, and while we are proud of the fact that our steelworkers are the highest paid in the world, we cannot close our eyes to the impact this has on our ability to compete with foreign producers whose costs—direct and indirect—are one-half to a third of ours.

A third problem is the low rate of return to the people who have invested their money in the steel industry. It is not enough for the steel industry just to remain competitive in this respect. We must maintain the steel industry as an attractive capital investment to build the plant that will support and build the United States in coming years.

Yet, the facts are that the steel industry is well below average in its rate of return on investment. The latest annual survey by the First National City Bank of New York shows a 7.3 per cent return on net worth for iron and steel in 1963—as compared to 11.6 per cent for all manufacturing * * * while the return on net worth for iron and steel increased to 9.2 per cent for 1964, it was substantially behind the 12.7 per cent for all manufacturing.

It is evident that one of steel's major problems is that as an industry it does not appear nearly as attractive to investors as do many other industries.

This is doubly unfortunate because future capital requirements are so large.

It is going to require more than $2 billion for new and improved production facilities just in 1966. Expenditures over the next three years could amount to $6 billion. Any investor—be he large or small—has a number of alternative choices for the placement of his funds. We want the steel industry to rank first on his list of choices. The fact that it does not deserves our most serious and careful attention.

To properly understand the present status of the steel industry, we must recognize certain facts:

1. It faces strong domestic and foreign competition—both from other steel producers and from substitute materials.

2. There are great pressures on its price structure from both directions—pressures to raise prices to cover increased costs—pressures to lower prices to meet foreign competition from low-cost producers.

3. It requires great amounts of capital to build new and improved facilities for making steel—and greater amounts will be required in the future.

4. There is a general public misunderstanding regarding the vital and necessary role of profits in the steel industry, and its direct effect on the ability of the steel industry to remain a strong and healthy bulwark of the nation's economic and physical well-being.

Let's take a brief look at the path that brought us to the present state of affairs

* * * a good starting point would seem to be the end of World War II.

I believe it is fair to say that public acceptance in 1946 of the steel industry's role in winning the war was great. The industry itself seemed to have great promise because pent-up consumer demand was high.

Competition from foreign steel was nonexistent. As a matter of fact, much foreign steel capacity has been destroyed, and the demand for American steel in foreign countries added to the over-all steel requirements picture.

On the other hand, the steel industry had just gone through four years of intense productive effort. At the beginning of World War II much of the country's steelmaking machinery was obsolescent—a result of a decade of restricted earnings.

Four years of round-the-clock operation during the war left our steelmaking facilities worn out and obsolete.

After the war was over, the United States Government set about the task of rebuilding the destroyed economies of its former enemies—as well as helping its allies. The American steel industry cooperated fully with its government, and millions of tons of steel products went overseas to help in the job. In the long list were the structural steel and machinery and other equipment necessary to build modern steelmaking plants.

At home, with steel in short supply for many years, competitive materials made important inroads into steel's domestic markets. Aluminum, concrete, plastic and wood helped fill the gap—and they never retreated, once they were in.

When the great task of reconstruction of Europe, Japan and Russia was finished, the American steel industry found itself with a production plant that had been worn into the ground—while overseas there were many fully modern steelmaking plants financed in great part by the United States—and built with the output of American mills. Foreign competition was vigorous and strong—and we had made it possible!

Today, under normal conditions, there is a world-wide over capacity for making steel. A good estimate is that there are about 75 to 100 million ingot tons more than the world needs.

As a result, imports of foreign steel into the United States have increased at tremendous rates. In 1963, they were five million tons—triple the tonnage of 1958. In 1965, they were eleven million tons—over twice the tonnage of two years ago.

In the mid-1950s, about four per cent of total world steel exports were shipped into the United States. Last year—a year of much larger total volume—about 17 per cent entered the United States. To put it another way around, at the end of World War II, the United States was the world's largest exporter of steel. Today—it is the world's largest importer of steel.

All of us realize we are living in a fast-changing, highly competitive era of greatly increased technological change. It is inevitable that the steel industry's problems and opportunities should bear magnitudes and similarities to those faced by the population at large and other major industries.

Indeed, I am fully aware that you economists in education have your own full share of problems coping with the great changes in education. So, I speak to you today not pleading for any special understanding or consideration. Indeed, I want to emphasize that I think the steel industry is just starting an exciting era of new and greater opportunities than it has ever had before.

It has faced tough competition before—and it has used that competition to toughen itself into an instrument of greater usefulness to the nation.

In a very real sense, education and industry are an inseparable team as they move ahead to improving the economic progress of our society. It is natural, then, that businessmen and educators get together—in seminars like this one—to give sober and careful consideration to any industry which qualifies as one basic to the continued health of the nation's economy and defense posture.

It is in this spirit that we expect this seminar to be a constructive bridge to better understanding between the steel industry and the public—and particularly by the leaders of tomorrow who are being trained by you today.

We ask your help—and we pledge our earnest support of every constructive program you might have in the furtherance of the free enterprise system that benefits us all. We solicit your comments—and your criticisms—and your cooperation—to make that system function still better in the future.

As the two days of this seminar go by all too swiftly, it is my earnest hope that you will participate as freely and fully as your inclinations allow.

Let me express my appreciation once more for your presence here today—and to tell you again how complimented we in Kaiser Steel are to be your hosts tomorrow.

The Heart of the Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, a thoughtful and comprehensive editorial on the subject of transportation appeared in a recent issue of the Quincy, Mass., Patriot-Ledger. It lauded President Johnson's proposed Traffic Safety Act, but concluded that—

> The heart of the program is the Department of Transportation.
>
> The President's proposals add up to the most comprehensive approach to the Nation's transportation problems made yet by a Chief Executive—

The editorial added.

Under unanimous consent I insert it in the RECORD:

TRANSPORTATION START

"America today lacks a coordinated transportation system that permits travelers and goods to move conveniently and efficiently from one means of transportation to another, using the best characteristics of each."

This complaint by President Johnson, contained in his message on transportation submitted this week to Congress, certainly is nothing new. Nor are some of his suggestions particularly novel. What is different is that the President of the United States is putting the weight of his office behind a set of recommendations expanding and coordinating the Federal Government's role in national transportation problems.

Over the years, the U.S. Government's transportation functions have evolved in a piecemeal and fragmented way. There are the Federal regulatory agencies, each concerned with one particular form of transportation—the Federal Aviation Agency, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Maritime Administration.

The Federal Bureau of Roads administers the federally-aided highway construction program. Then there is the Federal demonstration program of high-speed trains being administered by the Department of Commerce. Meanwhile, the Coast Guard has responsibilities in maritime safety, and is under the wing of the Treasury Department.

The federal transportation picture thus is a hodge-podge of agencies and offices, some within various departments of the Executive Branch, others working independently as regulatory agencies, but none really splicing together the various means of transportation as the President points out.

What Mr. Johnson proposes to do is to "coordinate the executive functions of our transportation agencies in a single coherent instrument of government"—a cabinet-level Department of Transportation. The same recommendation was made 30 years ago by a Senate committee, and has since been endorsed by other governmental groups.

In this new department, the President would merge the Bureau of Public Roads, the FAA, the Coast Guard, the Maritime Administration, the safety functions of the CAB and the ICC, and other transportation-related governmental bodies.

The value of having these transportation functions under one roof is obvious. It should result in the formulation of an overall governmental policy on all forms of transportation, and the development of programs to carry it out. Rather than treating the railroads, the shipping lines and the airlines separately, our national transportation services can be treated as a unit, and service improved.

Safety, too, plays a large part in the President's proposed program. Within the Department of Transportation, he recommends a National Transportation Safety Board of five members appointed by the President whole sole function will be the safety of travelers. "It will review investigations of accidents to seek their causes," the President explains. "It will determine compliance with safety standards. It will examine the adequacy of the safety standards themselves."

This will shift the accident-investigating functions of such bodies as the CAB and the ICC to a central board concerned with all transportation safety problems. But the economic regulatory functions of the ICC, the CAB and the Maritime Commission would not be altered.

The President also proposes a Traffic Safety Act, with a national highway research and test facility to study ways to cut down on traffic fatalities. He recommends that the Secretary of Commerce be given authority to establish safety performance criteria for all automobiles and their parts. If voluntary standards are not satisfactory after a two-year period, the President proposes that the secretary of commerce be given authority to impose nationwide mandatory safety standards on auto manufacturing. In other words, he is giving the car-makers two years to produce safe cars or submit to stiff federal regulation.

Of particular interest to this shipbuilding area, Mr. Johnson wants a study made of advanced vessel concepts. This would be carried out by the secretary of commerce with the defense secretary, the President's scientific adviser and the Atomic Energy Commission, and would include research, development and planning of high-speed, large capacity ships "devoted primarily to transporting pre-loaded containers of varying types between the major ports in the world"; research on an ocean-going surface vessel capable of skimming over the water at speeds more than 100 knots, and continued exploration of the application of nuclear propulsion to merchant maritime ships.

Particularly welcome is the President's endorsement of private shipbuilding and a strong merchant marine. He said: "Our private shipyards should continue to serve the needs of the country. They can become more productive and competitive through research and development and through standardization of ship construction. With a new Department of Transportation, we will increase our efforts to bring a modern, efficient merchant marine fleet to this nation."

The President's proposals add up to the most comprehensive approach to the nation's transportation problems made yet by a Chief Executive. But they are only the beginning of the task. The heart of Mr. Johnson's program is the Department of Transportation, and the obvious merits of efficiency, economy and coordination must outweigh the predictable opposition from the various agencies who would lose some of their authority and prestige by being merged into a new federal department.

The Living Past in Pierce City, Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the following is an account of a hardware store in my hometown. It shows a life much different from that lived by the average person today, and, as such, would have some interest to everyone.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Times, May 5, 1966]

IN HIS HARDWARE STORE, 19TH CENTURY LIVES

(By Harold O. Taylor)

PIERCE CITY, MO.—It almost seems as if time had come to a contented but definite halt 84 years ago at a spot on Commercial Street in this little Lawrence County community of southwest Missouri.

Here stands a successful hardware store outwardly showing a lone concession to modernism—electric lights have replaced kerosene lamps. They are the simplest of lighting fixtures—on long cords from the high ceiling.

Otherwise there has been virtually no change in the general physical makeup of the store since it was erected in 1882 by the late D. S. Flowers. There is the original pine flooring made of 2 by 6-inch boards, so worn that heads of the durable cut nails stand up in bold relief.

Bins that for well over three-quarters of a century have held nails of all types and sizes snuggle against each other in a continuing chain for two-thirds the length of the store. In use are floor-to-ceiling rows of drawers of varying sizes that were installed when walls of the brick and frame building were new.

WITH STORE SINCE 1898

Waiting on customers is the "17-year-old boy" employed by Flowers in 1898 on the basis he would be a steady worker. Lewis Seifert, now 84, is owner of the store where he went to work 68 years ago at a salary of $92 for the full year.

The complete dearth of changes is cited in a statement made the other day by Seifert. If Flowers were to come back to the store today, step behind a counter and take an order from a customer, he could without hesitation put his hand on the desired merchandise, in the same place it has always been, says Seifert.

Although Seifert has been the owner the last 27 years, steps to have the store known as the Seifert hardware store are of comparative recent origin. The founder passed the store on to his son, the late George Flowers, who retired and moved to California leaving Seifert in charge. After the death of George Flowers, his widow was the owner but Seifert continued in charge. These days some of the less frequent customers call Seifert "Mr Flowers."

The firm is the second oldest business in continuous operation in Pierce City. It is nosed out for first place by the Buchner implement concern, originally a harness shop but changed periodically over the years although remaining in the same location. Today it is operated by Richard Buchner, a grandson of the founder.

ITS SECOND LOCATION

Materials for the hardware store were freighted for the most part from Eureka Springs, Ark., over winding Ozark mountain roads. It was actually the second location for the Flowers operation, the new store being two doors removed from a corner site, yielded when a bank wanted that spot.

Always business has been good at the little hardware store, even as it is today in a community of some 1,275 residents where there are five hardware stores. So D. C. Flowers wanted a helper. Checking possibilities he learned of the industrious 17-year-old who had proved dependability as a cow tender.

Many families in town owned cows in that era. Young Seifert had several homes on his list where he would call each morning, milk the cow, and take it to pasture. In the late afternoon he would take each cow home and do the night milking.

When Seifert was hired by Flowers, he reported for work at 7 a.m. and worked until 10 p.m., six days a week. On Sunday he played with the town baseball team. These days he opens the store at 6:30 a.m., and stays on the job until 6 p.m., five days a week. On Saturday he closes at 8 p.m. Sundays he usually drops by the store to "do a little book work," and in the spring and summer seasons waters garden plants the store keeps in stock.

EMPLOYEE OF 45 YEARS

A nephew of the owner-operator, Ralph Seifert, became an employee of the store while completing his high school education and has been on the job 45 years. Lewis Seifert's appearance belies his 84 years. Of average build, he has no stoop of his shoulders, does not wear glasses while waiting on the trade, and appears as spry as his nephew in mounting the rolling ladder needed to reach uppermost shelves. For 27 years he has not been absent one day from the store.

But it was not always this way. One time he went on a Frisco excursion from St. Louis to Niagara Falls. How long ago that has been can be surmised from the train fare. It was $10 for the round trip.

Seifert was more carefree in earlier days as a store employee, in a period when the Frisco ran periodic excursions to Eureka Springs at $1 a ticket. In recalling these days, Seifert confesses being a near juvenile delinquent when he joined some other "town boys" for inexpensive transportation on the specials.

As an excursion train would pull into the Pierce City depot, many of the male passengers would poke their heads out of coach windows for a look. One of the Pierce City boys would run along the side of the car with a stick, knocking off hats of the inquisitive passengers. The others would "politely" recover the headgear, to be returned to owners but minus ticket stubs traditionally stuck in the hatbands. Supplied with "passage paid" stubs, the Pierce Citians boarded the train to make the trip for free.

PREPARING FOR HARVEST

In the long ago, the harvest season was heralded when dray wagons pulled up to the rear door of the store to unload possibly 100 kegs of horseshoes and perhaps a ton of horseshoe nails, Seifert recalls. Farmers were getting teams ready for a busy season.

One can still buy horseshoes and horseshoe nails at the store, but the demand is far less. There is even less demand for collar pads for work teams and for neck yokes, yet these are in stock at the store, displayed among more modern items.

Pierce City in the early days was quite a railroad town on the Frisco. More than a half century ago, the terminal was moved five miles east to Monett.

Loss of the terminal was a blow to Pierce City, at that time a town of some 3,500. Siefert recalls the day and the bitterness and the epithets. Blaming some of the "railroad money grabbers who could buy Monett land cheap and sell it high" for the shift in locations, some Pierce Citians tagged the new terminal point "Turnip Town," saying it had been built in the turnip fields.

Time has long ago erased any ill feeling and Pierce City-Monett relations are the best. Seifert remembers only because of his longevity in the Pierce City business world.

He recalls, too, quite a number of prominent persons who have listed Pierce City as their homes, including Harold Bell Wright, whose novel, "Shepherd of the Hills," is laid in the area. Wright started a career as a minister at the Christian church in Pierce City, later to serve other churches in Missouri and Kansas, before devoting his full time to his popular novels.

Often, Seifert says, he went to the "little white church on the hill" to hear Wright preach. The church building today is a municipal library, designated as the Harold Bell Wright library.

PASTOR ATTENDED DANCES

Pierce City had a popular dance club when Wright was minister there. On many occasions Wright attended but only to listen to the music. Still in that era the pastor's appearance at a dance was considered most daring, Seifert recalls.

The store today is identified merely as a hardware store. Long ago the name of Flowers faded from the windows and Seifert has never got around to have the current ownership shown.

Lest there be any impression that up-to-date merchandise is missing, that is not the case. Modern merchandise is stocked along with the old. Electric mixers may repose on a shelf next to a heating stove poker of the type used 70 year ago.

The era of yesterday lives principally in the physical makeup, outside and in. A pot-bellied stove at the rear of the building has been a gathering spot for 57 years. Always there are chairs about the heater, and on cool and cold days they are filled.

The stove cost $62.50. Within the last year Seifert has been offered $150 for the relic. It is not for sale, any more than a drawer-filled screw case made in Joliet, Ill., in 1874, for which a collector has unsuccessfully offered $250.

Not so long ago a museum owner on the West coast tried unsuccessfully to buy the entire east side of the store with its towering drawers. He wanted to set it up in his "antique city."

Seifert said he wouldn't know how to operate with such "old friends" gone from his store. Besides he is a man of habits.

He smokes a pipe and cigars about the store. Seldom does he smoke at home. Mrs. Seifert did not like the smell of tobacco so he never fired up. And Seifert has been a widower since 1938.

National Freight Car Shortage

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill S. 1098, to amend section 1(14)(a) of the Interstate Commerce

Act to insure the adequacy of the national railroad freight car supply, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER].

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, I have had this matter explained to me before today. It has been explained by those who are proponents of this amendment, exactly as the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KORNEGAY] and the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONAS] have explained it to me.

In talking with my staff, I do not receive that result. I do not get the same interpretations. I am not saying anyone is not telling the truth about this, but as a lawyer I have read this amendment through and I have a great deal of difficulty in coming to a conclusion as to exactly what these words do mean.

The staff on both the majority and minority have come to the same conclusion: They cannot tell what the effect of this is going to be.

It seems to me to be extremely dangerous to take an amendment and bring it here unless we know positively at this time what the effect of this amendment is going to be. It is only for this reason that I object to the amendment. I hope it will not be adopted.

Poverty and Discrimination in Southwest

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Texas, HENRY GONZALEZ, in expressing our grave concern over the poverty and discrimination which blight the lives of millions of our fellow citizens.

During the past decade the Congress has been engaged in an historic effort to give full meaning to the constitutional rights of all Americans and to the spirit of equal opportunity which is an essential part of our free society. As a member of the Judiciary Committee, who helped to write the Civil Rights Acts, I know that the struggle has been a gruelling one. We have had to contend with corrupt traditions of prejudice which for too long have stained the fabric of our Nation. We have come to realize that the poverty and deprivation arising from centuries of mistreatment and neglect will not vanish with one touch of the legislative wand.

What has been achieved, and what will be achieved, has been the product of unity among the forces pressing for equal opportunity. George Orwell's biting satire of totalitarianism contained the famous phrase, "We are all equal—except some are more equal than others." Equality of opportunity exists for all Americans or its exists for none.

If the United States is to attain our egalitarian goals, then the Congress must be active and forceful. The expression of solidarity which we have witnessed on the floor of the House today is an encouraging sign that the Congress will meet its responsibility.

Pledge Adopted by Senior Class of Girard High School of Girard, Kans.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a pledge composed by Mr. Bill Vietti, president of the senior class, and adopted by the senior class of Girard High School of Girard, Kans.

Reading this is a refreshing reminder that there are millions of young people in America today who are not ashamed to be Americans. They are deeply proud of this Nation and all that it stands for. In my opinion they are the ones that we should be spending our time, money and energy on—for they are the ones who will make sure that the future of our country is in good hands.

All too often the publicity of television, the assistance of Federal Government money and the efforts of many good intending individuals are wasted on the publicity-seeking misfits of society we have come to call "beatniks." This sad class of so-called Americans has no pride in our Nation, our heritage or our form of government. Fortunately they are still in the minority.

I commend a reading of this pledge to my colleagues who are interested in learning the sentiments of that sound portion of our younger generation who are proud to be Americans. I am proud to have Bill Vietti and the senior class of Girard among my constituency.

The following was written by Bill Vietti, president of the senior class of the Girard Rural High School of 1966, and was read as the finale of the senior variety program held in the Girard High School on April 28, by himself.

AMERICA

(By Bill Vietti)

What do the words, "The United States of America" mean to us and why should we always support what they represent throughout the World?

They mean a purple sunset over the grassy plains of our own Kansas, which seems to set fire to the wheat-covered horizon.

They mean a big red barn on a distant hill or a small white church in some green valley.

They mean the historic landmarks such as the Alamo, Independence Hall, Valley Forge, Bunker Hill, Bull Run, and Pearl Harbor.

They mean Omaha Beach, Normandy, Sicily, Midway, and Guadalcanal.

They mean the rocky coasts of Maine and the sandy shores of Florida.

They mean the hot and humid deserts of Nevada and the snow capped peaks of Colorado.

They mean row upon row of giant green corn all across the Great Plains.

They mean a million railroads and highways where 185 million people travel with the greatest amount of freedom found throughout the world.

They mean the Great Lakes, the pine forests, the Grand Canyon and all the many beautiful National Parks.

They mean the deep blue lakes of the North, the rain swept mountains of the West, the cotton-covered hills of the South, and the populated cities of the East.

They mean the cow-boy, the buffalo, the meadow lark, the Indians, the bald eagle, and the jack rabbit.

They boast the names of such great men as George Washington, Abe Lincoln, Davy Crockett, and many many thousands more too numerous to name.

They tell of Paul Bunyan, Johnny Appleseed, Casey Jones, Uncle Sam, John Henry, Rip Van Winkle, the Battle Hymn of the Republic, and Yankee Doodle.

They mean cries of victory through all 190 years of existence.

They express the efforts of every battle fought to retain her name.

They mourn the death of all that have believed in and supported her and they represent all the tears shed by the ones that lost those close to them.

They express all the thoughts and actions of 185 million people who hope never to see her name destroyed.

They mean the back up and support of the greatest armed forces in the world and they were proved as such in Germany, France, Korea, and are now being proved in Vietnam.

We, the senior class of 1966, promise to always uphold these five Big Words, "The United States of America" for we cannot forget what men and women before us have fought for to give us what we have in these words. Let us never take them for granted. Let's not let the words "The United States of America" be just a legend and die in history books in future years. Let's keep them alive to ring in the ears, hearts, and souls of everyone of our generation and of every generation until the end of time.

Casper Nohner, South Dakota Newspaper Editor, Dies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN REIFEL

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, with the recent death of Mr. Casper Nohner, one of South Dakota's foremost newspaper publishers for over a half century, my State has been deprived of an eminent citizen, a scholarly editor and a leader in the Nation's small town press.

Among the many editorial tributes being paid to Mr. Nohner by his South Dakota newspaper colleagues was an editorial appearing the Clear Lake Courier. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

CASPER NOHNER

The city of Hayti lost its outstanding citizen and the press of South Dakota is without its most scholarly writer in the death last week of Casper Nohner, editor and publisher for many years of the Hamlin County Herald-Enterprise. "Cap," as he was familiarly known, was the outstanding editorial writer in South Dakota. Equally notable was his exceptionally complete coverage of news of the Hamlin county area, publishing the news as it occurred without fear or favor—the mark of a true journalist.

In deference to the many other fine newspapers published in South Dakota, including both dailies and weeklies, we can easily say that no editorial column was as brilliant as that of the Herald-Enterprise each week. Cap's use of words, his brilliance in putting his profound thinking into print, and his tenacity in fighting for a principle, had no peer. His personality, as reflected in the kind of a newspaper he produced, stamped the Herald-Enterprise as one of the best small town newspapers in the county.

The Herald-Enterprise was a must on our reading list every week even though at times we did skip reading some of the other fifty exchanges which come to our desk. Naturally no one agreed with everything Cap wrote. If they had, he would not have been the great thinker and writer that he was. But his many readers every week knew that he was sincere in his thoughts and that he had the courage of his convictions, and there were many who believed that he was right on most issues most of the time.

High Interest Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly concerned about the trend to higher interest rates. I am opposed to the tight money philosophy because I believe it is inequitable and injurious in its impact throughout the economy. Also, there are more effective ways of controlling inflation.

One of the first to feel the burden of high interest rates is the homebuilding industry. This is an example of the undesirable social effects of tight money. Following is a letter on this subject from a building firm in my State of Oregon.

BREEDEN BROS., INC.,
Eugene, Oreg., April 20, 1966.

The Honorable AL ULLMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ULLMAN: Are you aware that the governments tight money policy to curb inflation is inflecting most of its force and effect exclusively on the homebuilding industry?

Are you also aware that the homebuilding industry is one of the few segments of business in the United States which was already depressed and operating below capacity needed to adequately house our expanding population?

Are you further aware that the burden, of the governments tight money policy falling primarily on housing as it does, is borne to a large extent by newly formed, fast growing families with young children; a segment of our population least able to stand the added cost and most likely to suffer long range effects of inadequate housing production.

Following is a review of recent FHA home mortgage manipulations:

Last fall, 5¼ percent FHA mortgage loans in this area were being discounted 1 percent by finance institutions making the loans. Following the federal reserve increase in interest rates last fall, Fannie Mae (The Federal National Mortgage Secondary Market) quickly jumped, by a series of increases, their secondary mortgage purchase discount, from 2 percent for 30 years, 5¼ percent FHA mortgages, which had been stable for some time, to 3 percent on December 10, 1965, 4 percent on January 18, 1966, 5 percent on March 4, 1966 and 7 percent on April 12, 1966. This caused all commercial banks, savings and loan companies and insurance companies, who normally loan on FHA insured property, to raise their discounts from 1 percent last fall to a current 5 percent. Over this period of time FHA has twice attempted to reduce discounts to home owners by raising maximum interest rates allowed on FHA home loans, but each time their efforts have been largely nullified by Fannie Mae's counter discount hike and by the sale of large sums of government bonds at more attractive interest rates. To further jeopardize and impede the FHA home loan program, Fannie Mae reduced the maximum size mortgage they will buy from $30,000 to $15,000 recently. These actions have litterly absorbed the bulk of loanable funds normally being invested in home loans.

Added cost of a $15,000 home mortgage since last fall are:

Additional discount required today	$600.00
One half percent interest over life of 30 years mortgage	1,125.00
Total additional financing costs today	1,725.00

This scandalous inflationary 11½ percent increase in the cost (mortgage cost increase only) of a home occurred in less than 5 months, all of which, I might add, has been artificially injected into the mortgage loan segment of the homebuilding industry by our government tight money policy which instead of retarding inflation is in fact stimulating it.

To further confound the homebuilding industry and inflate the cost of a home, the government placed huge orders for lumber and plywood recently (an entire years requirement all in one order instead of spreading orders throughout the year, so I understand) which caused prices to jump 20–30 percent within the time span of a few days.

We stand ready and willing to bear our share of this nations burden during her time of need but it seems grossly unfair to the people of this United States of America and thoughtless to the extent of stupidity, for their government to apply sanctions which restrict one of the two basic industries (shelter and food) required to sustain life, while auto, T.V. and hundreds of less essential products are allowed to almost completely escape the burden of blunting this nations war caused inflation.

A damper on consumer credit would have fallen more evenly on all segments of our population and industry and would have relieved the inflationary pressures much sooner then the current type money policy.

Trusting you will give this most urgent and fast worsening problem your immediate attention, I remain

Sincerely yours,

J. T. BREEDEN,
President, Breeden Bros., Inc.

One Thousand Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered on May 1, 1966, on the occasion of the Bristol, Conn., observance of the Polish millennium. Its author, Dr. Chester Natunewicz, is presently assistant dean of Yale College and assistant professor of classics at Yale.

ONE THOUSAND YEARS

(Chester Natunewicz, M.A., Ph. D.)

We have gathered here this afternoon to celebrate an important event in the history of the Catholic world, more particularly in the history of forty million Catholics of Polish descent currently dispersed throughout the world. It is the millennium—coming from the two Latin words mille and anni—the thousand-year anniversary of the baptism of Poland's first historical ruler to Christianity. As the Rev. Joseph Swastek, from whose recently published pamphlet on the millennium I shall quote freely, is careful to state, the occasion which we mark today is not the anniversary of the Polish land or the Polish people; both these existed since before the birth of Christ, as archeological discoveries abundantly prove. Nor is it the anniversary of Poland's emergence as a political entity, because the formation of the Polish tribal state took place between the middle of the ninth and the second half of the tenth century. Nor still does this day mark the coming of Christianity to the Polish people, since the earliest existing records refer this advent to the second half of the ninth century. Nor, finally, are we commemorating the anniversary of the baptism of the Polish nation as a whole, because the conversion of the Poles to Catholicism was brought about, not by mass baptism in the tenth century, but to continued missionary evangelization that extended over more than a hundred years.

Father Swastek thus goes on to say that the millennium we observe today, as I stated above, commemorates the Catholic baptism of Poland's first historical ruler, Mieczyslaw, or Mieszko, as he is better known. In other words, it is the anniversary of the official acceptance of Catholicism by a member of Poland's first historical dynasty—an acceptance which set the stage for the entry of the Polish people into the Catholic Church.

Viewed in the perspective of world history, one thousand years is a relatively short span of time. But in the annals of Catholicism, ten centuries constitute over half the Church's existence on earth. It is for this length of time that the Catholic Church has served and guided the Polish people.

Thus the "tysiaclecie", as we call it in Polish, is primarily a religious observance, involving, above all, an earnest spiritual preparation. Under the inspiration of Stefan Cardinal Wysznski and the Polish hierarchy this has taken the form of a program of spiritual renewal known as the Great Novena of the Millenium. Extending from 1957 to 1966, this nine-year long moral crusade of prayer and sacrifice, the most concerted in the nation's history, has aimed not only at disposing the Polish Catholics for the holy observance of the millenium but also at strengthening them spiritually against all encroaching powers of darkness.

Each year of the Great Novena, on the first Sunday of May in churches all over Poland, Catholics have solemnly renewed their 1956 Czestochowa pledge to the heavenly Queen of Poland and have begun the specific spiritual work appointed for the coming twelve months. In 1957, the objective of prayer and sacrifice was loving loyalty to God, the Cross, the Gospel of Christ, and the Church; in 1958—personal sanctification through life in the state of sanctifying grace; in 1959—defense of the life of the soul and the body; in 1960—sanctification of sacramental marriage; in 1961—strengthening family life in God; in 1962—dedication of the youth to Christ; in 1963—extension of social justice and love; in 1964—cultivation of Christian virtues and elimination of national vices; and in 1965—Invocation of Mary, the Protectress and Queen of Poland.

The late Pope John XXIII blessed the Great Novena, encouraging Polish Catholics to remain faithful to their promises and to prepare themselves with ardent hearts for the thousandth anniversary. To invite American Catholic participation in the millenary devotion honoring and sustaining Poland's Faith, Pope John blessed a copy of the portrait of Our Lady of Czestochowa which is to be carried in a continuing visitation of churches and dioceses in the United States, just as is being done with its counterpart in Poland. The original portrait, venerated for nearly 600 years at the famed monastic shrine of Jasna Góra, in 1956 evoked from over a million pilgrims the historic pledge which affirmed the Polish nation's fidelity to Christian ideals and laid the basis for the Great Novena.

Since 1959, American Catholics have increasingly joined their Polish brethren in prayer for the intentions of the Great Novena. Inspired by the itinerant Modonna and led by Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston, Archbishop John Król of Philadelphia, and Archbishop John F. Dearden of Detroit, they stand ready to participate ever more fully not only in commemorating Poland's thousandth anniversary but also in sustaining Poland's historic faith—the faith into which Mieszko was baptized.

While the principal emphasis of todays' observance, is, as I have just shown, religious it is also proper that we use this day to pay tribute to an entire nation and to a people that during its thousand years as a political and religious entity, has constantly maintained the struggle for liberty and resolutely withstood the onslaughts of successive waves of barbarians and tyrants, be they under the leadership of sultans, czars, emperors, or fuehrers. We direct our homage also to a culture and heritage, that, despite countless attempts to obliterate, denigrate, and suppress it, has remained vigorously and vibrant, conservative of the best in the past, creative and original in the spirit of the present. It is this culture and heritage to which I would like to address my remarks this afternoon, in the hope that we may all reinforce our pride in being of Polish descent, and of having been brought up in Polish homes, in a Polish parish, and in all the traditions of Poland.

Perhaps we should begin with that which is most obvious—the history of the Polish state. We read in our sources that Poland's history officially began in 966 with the conversion to Christianity of Mieszko, the earliest tribal chief of the Polanie, a West Slavic tribe that rose to prominence in a region of central Europe around the fortified town of Gniezno. From such humble beginnings a large state emerged in the 11th century under the rule of Boleslaw I, who introduced religious orders throughout the country; and from that time on, Poland was instrumental in the spread of Christianity throughout all of central Europe where she still remains, despite the restrictions and harassments of the current government, the champion of the Roman Church. In the thirteenth century it was Poland that saved Western Europe and Western Civilization in one of the most decisive battles in the world's history by defeating the Turks at Lignica in 1241. In the fifteenth century came the battles of Grünwald and Tannenberg in which, under the leadership of Wladyslaw Jagiello II, the power of the Teutonic Knights was crushed. Shortly after these battles, both of which took place in 1410, the Polish Habeas Corpus Act was passed in 1430, and it must be noted that this preceded by all of 349 years a similar promulation in England, thus making Poland the originator of one of the great principles of our legal system. Shortly afterwards, in 1454, the Statutes of Nieszawa were drafted, and Poland, surpassing all other nations at that time in political advancement, gave to the world the first charter of parliamentary government. All the time Polish heroism on the battlefields continued. In 1444, King Wladyslaw III defeated the Turks at Varna; In 1605, at the beginning of the greatest age of Polish heroism, Jan Chodkiewicz routed the Swedes at Kircholm. He was followed in 1612 by general Stanislaw Zolkiewski, who put the Russians to flight and chased them all the way to Moscow which fell to his vigorous assaults. The Swedes returned in 1655, but once again brave champions emerged to defend their fatherland in the persons of Stefan Czarniecki and the Paulist priest, Augustyn Kordecki who saved Czestochowa. Then, in 1683, came one of Poland's greatest victories when her king, John Sobieski, came to the aid of a continent that was near collapse before the might of the Turks, and defeated the Moslem invaders at both Chocim and Vienna, thus once again saving Europe and the Christian faith.

In the 18th and 19th centuries Poland began to experience the first truly tragic periods in her history, as she suffered her three partitions at the hands of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. For all that, her intellectual activity continued and in 1773 Poland gave the culture of the world another first when Father Hugo Kollataj established the first education commission in Europe, based on principles that comes into vogue in other European countries only considerably later. Finally, in the 20th century, under the leadership of Marshall Józef Pilsudski, the Polish army defeated the Bolsheviks in the battle afterwards named "the Miracle of the Wisla" and once more Poland's brave warriors became the saviors of Western Civilization and democracy.

Great events these and great the men who shaped them and throughout the different periods of Poland's history consolidated and fortified her dominion and institutions. Who can forget such names as Stefan Batory, the most illustrious of Poland's elected kings, a champion of social justice, and the founder of Poland's maritime ambitions? Or King Kazimierz III the Great, the father of modern diplomacy, the founder of the University of Krakow in 1364, a distinguished patron of the arts, and the protector of the oppressed? Or General Jan Henryk Dabrowski, the organizer of the Polish legions in France and Italy during the troubled period at the end of the 18th century? Or, in more recent times, General Józef Haller and Wladyslaw Sikorski, who organized and commanded similar forces in exile in France and England?

But our praise must not be limited to rulers and statesmen, military and naval leaders. Over the centuries Poland has produced not only legions of warriors, but also legions of scientists, professors and educators, artists and architects, composers, musicians. Immortality has been achieved not only on the battlefield, but also in the lecture hall, the concert auditorium, the university laboratory, the painter's studio, and the writer's garret.

Already legendary are the names of Wincenty Lutoslawski, one of the greatest scholars of Plato that the world ever produced; Bronislaw Malinowski, the founder of modern anthropology and sociology; Feliks Pawlowski, in the first rank of the world's authorities on aerodynamics; Waclaw Sieripinski, a pioneer in the field of mathematical logic; Tadeusz Zielinski and Tadeusz Sinke, internationally famous scholars of Greek and Roman antiquity; Henryk Arctowski, the renowned geophysicist, who for many years was the chief of the Science Division of the New York Public Library; Witold Chodzko, whose contributions to the fields of neurology, psychiatry, social hygiene, and sanitary administration remain inestimable; Marja Curie-Sklodowska, the discoverer of radium, recipient of the Nobel price, and to her own day the only woman ever to have been made professor at the Sorbonne; Wladyslaw Heinrich, the founder of the first academic laboratory of experimental psychology in Poland; Dawid Fahrenheit, ininventor of our system of temperature measurement; Mikolaj Kopernik, the creator of the foundations of modern astronomy and the discoverer of the theory of planetary movement; Ignacy Lukasiewicz who developed the first model of the kerosene oil lamp.

When we look at the Philadelphia-Camden bridge over the Delaware River, we should remember that its chief engineer was a Pole, Rafael Modrzejewski. Those of us who work with liquid air in the laboratory, know that the inventor of the process for liquefying air was another Pole, Karol Olszewski. First and second year medical students are forever indebted to Dr. Fryderyk Kazimier Skobel for his contributions to the fields of medical history and lexicography, while most of the basic research in the field of ophthalmology was done by Dr. Juljusz Szymanski of the University of Wilmo. Military Science was advanced by Prof. Edmund Zalinksi of MIT, who invented the pneumatic dynamite torpedo gun, the electrical fuse, the ramrod bayonet, and the telescopic sight for artillery. Bird lovers have been instructed by the researches of Prof. Kazimieriz Wodzicki.

For those of us also who show a predilection for the fine arts, many Polish greats may be cited. The sculptors among us will marvel at the "Annunciata" of Ksawery Dumkowski in the new Jesuit Church at Kraków, the realists in painting will appreciate Artur Grottger, who, in addition to being a famous political cartoonist, received the title of the Polish Goya for his portrayal on canvass of the horrors and pathos of partisan warfare. Those, on the other hand, who are addicted to such American historical painters as Trumbull and Stuart will find fascination in the awesome canvasses of Jen Matejko, Poland's greatest painter. Anyone who has seen such brilliant works as the "Battle of Grünwald," "Prussian Homage," and "Sobieski at Vienna" cannot help being overwhelmed by the genius, patriotism, and inspiration of this artistic giant. Poland also had her Michelangelo in the person of Wit Stwosz, who, in the sixteenth century, created the world-renowned altar-piece of lindenwood above the high altar in the Marian Church at Kraków. A polish painter likewise, Jan Styka, has the distinction, for what it is worth, of having produced the world's largest painting in his "Golgotha." Finally, no discussion of Poland's graphic artists would be complete without the mention of Stanislaw Wysplanski, who, in addition to his other accomplishments as a dramatist and poet, was a painter of the first rank, and created one of the world's finest stained-glass windows in his "God the Creator" which we can visit today in the Franciscan Church at Kraków.

For those of us too whose artistic sensitivities are mainly audial or audio-visual, Poland has produced a whole galaxy of brilliant names. Chopin, Landowska, Moniuszko, Paderewski, Stokowski, Rodzinski, Rubinstein, Szeryng, Stern, Wienlawski, Kiepura, are only a few of our compatriots who have achieved greatness in music. During the last century the Shakespearean performance of Helena Modrzejewska were regarded as classics in themselves; her place in this century as the foremost interpreter of Shakespeare of Polish descent has been taken over by John Gieegud. In the art of the cinema, Poland today, with directors like Roman Polanski, Andrzej Wajda, Munk, Lenartowicz, Has, and Chmielewski; actors of international acclaim, such as Elizabeta Czsewska and Zbigniew Cybutiski; and prizewinning films like "Cztowiek na Torze," "Eroica," "Kanal," "Poplól i Diament," "Zimowy Zmierzch," "Petia," "Pozegnania," "Kapelusz Pana Anatola," and "Ewa Chce

Spac," has more than held its own before the sophisticated tastes of the world's theatre-goers. Even in the United States, stars of Polish birth or extraction, like Pola Negri and Jean Parker, have had a great impact over the years on the development of this newest of the arts.

But all the achievements that I have so far mentioned are in the domain of the secular and worldly. What, one may ask, can be said of Poland and her faith, what of her spirit? It is precisely in these realms, ladies and gentlemen, that the country and people which we honor today have contributed the most. To quote again Father Joseph Swastek's recent pamphlet on Poland's 1,000th anniversary: "During its thousand years of Catholicism, Poland has given the Church millions of members, and hundreds of thousands of priests and bishops, monks and friars, nuns and brothers, its finest sons and daughter, the fairest flowers of the land."

We commemorate and possess as worthy models of lives spent in the service of God twelve native-born Polish cannonized saints and sixty-two Blessed. We find a constant source of inspiration in the holiness and sanctity of persons like Blessed Andrzej Bobola, the Jesuit martyr; the Dominican friar and my own Blessed Czeslaw; the Introducer of the Dominican order in Poland, St. Jacek Odrowaz, or, as we know him, St. Hyacinth; Blessed Wincenty Kadlubek, the first Pole to receive the Cistercian habit; St. John Kanty, the patron of Poland and Lithuania, who in his lifetime was Professor of theology and Sacred Scripture at Kraków; St. Kazimierz, the peacemaker king of Poland; St. Stanistaw Kostka, the young noble who gave up his worldly possessions to practice a life of humility and penance in the Jesuit order.

Can we ever forget the martyr St. Józefat Kuncewicz, who reunited the Uniates to the Roman Catholic Church; St. Wojciech, the very first Polish martyr, whose body, after he had been slain by the Prussians, was, we are told, ransomed by Kink Boleslaw I for an equivalent weight in gold; or St. Jadwiga, the patroness of Silesia; or St. Stanislaw of Szczepanowa, Bishop and martyr, who was slain by King Boleslaw II because he had admonished him for his atrocious cruelty and unbridled lust? But the number of Poland's great religious is not bounded by those who have received official recognition by canonization or beatification.

There have been other men whose contributions to the spiritual life of the country can never be adequately recognized, save by the Divine Lord Himself, men like Cardinal Zbigniew Olensnicki, secretary to King Wladyslaw Jagiollo and the Bishop of Kraków; Piotr Skarga, the father of Polish prose and the creator of the greatest sermons ever written in the Polish language; Cardinal Mieczyslaw Ledochowski, the Primate of Poland who has achieved immortality for his determined and inspired opposition to the May Laws of the Kulturkampf; Cardinal Adam Sapleha, Archbishop of Kraków, who during the second World War, when Kraków was the headquarters of the Central German Government in Poland under the Gauleiter Frank, requested, when he had been invited to dinner by Frank, that, instead of any sumptuous fare, he be served the same meager rations that were then being doled out to his people.

Today also we have great men to guide the spiritual destinies of the Polish nation. While I was in Rome I had the honor of knowing His Excellency Joseph Gawlina, the late Archbishop of the Polish Emigration. Shortly after the Coronation of Pope John XXIII I also met His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. From Cardinal Wyszynski I heard perhaps the greatest sermon that I shall ever hear.

At the Te Deum following the Coronation of Pope John in November of 1958, and held at the Church of St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Martyr in Rome, His Eminence, addressing the Polish community of Rome, said, "In our faith we Poles are not ostentatious; we do not pass ourselves or our nation off as God's chosen people; we are as humble on the outside as the coal of Silesia, but, on the inside, just as that same Slaski wegiel, we glow brightly and fervently, in the everlasting brilliance and ardor of God's service."

Numerically speaking, ladies and gentlemen, Poland has not produced the number of saints that other Europeon countries have. But the reason for that is that we are a nation of saints and martyrs. We have only one major recognized religious shrine, at Czestochowa, but our greatest shrines are Lignica, Grünwald, Tannenberg, Kircholm, Varna, Chocim, Vienna, Narvik, Tobruk, Monte Cassino, Majdanek, Treblinka, Belzec, Sachsenhausen, Oswiecim, and Warsaw herself, where on all the major street corners today one sees memorials to the groups of Poles brutally shot by the Nazis on those very corners in reprisal for the insurrections of 1943–1944.

Four million of our brethren by nationality and 2,500,000 of our Jewish brothers perished at the hands of the Hitlerites in the Second World War. Can we not say that these, just as their countrymen fighting in exile, in ages past as in more recent times, have won the crown of sainthood in the eyes of the Lord? Can we not say that our whole nation, suffering throughout its history from the greed, injustice, and oppression of its neighbors, continuing even in this day to suffer, has won for itself the glory of martyrdom? But these tragedies of Poland that have brought her national sainthood have been much more elquently and feelingly expressed by her own great writers than by anything I have to say. The theme, for example, of Poles driven from their country and condemned to exile, has been immortalized by the words of Juljan Niemcewicz, who wrote:

Wygnancy, co tak diugo biadzicle po swiecle,
Kledyz znuzonya stopom spoczynek znajdzlecie?
Dzikl golab ma gniazdo, robak ziemi bryte,

And the poet Marcell Skalkowski lamented the grievous suffering of his fatherland in the words:

Boze Ojcze! twoje dzieci,
Piaczra, zebraza lepszej doli;
Rok po roku marnie leci,
My w niewoli, my we niewoli!

Slowa Twoje nas uczyly:
"Kazdy wlos nasz policzony."
Boze! policz te mogily,
Te placzace matki, zony . . .

Jeslis lud nasz wybral, Panie,
By powtorzyl meke Panska:
O! to daj raz zmartwychwstanie,
Wskrzes, a zdeptaj ztosc szatanska.

O! bo brzydki smiech szatana,
Ze Syn Bozy z krzyzem chodzl,
Trudem Zana—krwia Rejtana,
Wdowia Polska zal zawodzi.

My juz tyle krwi przelali,
Ze nia zmyte ojcow gczechy;
My juz tyle lez splakali,
Ze nie stanie lez pociechy!

Boze! patriz: my na kolana
Scielem Ci sie tak w pokorze:
Polska lzami, krwia skapana,
Krwia i lzami wskrzes ja boze!

Poland, then, is a country which has been lacerated, divided, bled. Her people have suffered death, torture, banishment, separation from both homeland and loved ones. And yet, be it in that part of the fatherland that still remains or in the different corners of the globe over which they have been dispersed, our people still, through their courage, talents, devotion to God, and energy continue to make an ever greater impact on the civilization and culture of the world. Poland perhaps has the distinction of being the only European country who people and their descendants have done more for the rest of the world than for herself.

Even today, while the present population of the Polish Republic is 29,000,000, we see 6,370,000 Poles living in the United States; 260,000 in Canada; 400,000 in Brazil; 120,000 in Argentina; 72,000 in Australia; 750,000 in France; 140,000 in Great Britain; 130,000 in West Germany; 40,000 in Belgium; and tens of thousands in other smaller communities all over the globe. And everywhere that Poles have gone, they have enhanced the greatness of their adoptive lands. Of this, the best example is our own country, where Polish exiles, immigrants, and their descendants have been second to no national group in making America what she is.

It was our people who worked the coal mines of Pennsylvania and the farmlands of Wisconsin, whose labor was the backbone of the steel mills in Gary and Pittsburgh, who built the cities of Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, and Chicago, and, I might add, Hartford, New Britain, Bristol, Springfield, Chicopee, and Holyoke as well. Collectively and individually in every conceivable endeavor they have brought honor upon themselves and their country of origin. In every dramatic episode in the history of our nation a Pole has played a major part.

Tadeusz Kosciuszko, during the revolution, taught George Washington the secrets of military fortification and founded West Point, while Kazimierz Pulaski established the first American cavalry. During the Civil War, General Wlodzimierz Krzyzanowski distinguished himself in the Union ranks at the battle of Gettysburg, and Captain Leo Jastrzebski, who was later to become the mayor of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, fought bravely on the side of the Confederacy.

In the war with Mexico, Feliks Wardzinski won an equal place of honor with Sam Houston and Stephen Austin in the hearts of all Texans by his heroism at the battle of San Jacinto. In World War I, Michael Ellass, for singlehandedly capturing 60 Germans in the battle of Montrelagne, won the Congressional Medal of Honor and was one of those invited to carry the coffin of the Unknown Soldier to Arlington National Cemetery, where he is today himself buried.

But the exploits and achievements of Poles in America are not limited to the military. We have had thousands of priests and bishops of Polish extraction, like the famous radio-priest and originator of the Rosary Hour, the Reverend Justyn Figas, and our own beloved Monsignor and pastor fo many years, the Rev. George Bartlewski.

In the business world, the Piascekis produce helicopters, and the Lipinskis furs; Alfred Dankowski was the father of the trailor industry and the Jakubowski farm of Moscow, Idaho is the world's greatest producer of green peas. In the realm of politics we have the Adamowskis of Chicago, the Lesinskis of Detroit, Senator MUSKIE of Maine, Ambassador Gronouski, Attorney Tadeusz Jaworski of Houston, Texas, who last year was one of the leading candidates to replace Robert Kennedy as Attorney General, and our own distinguished Congressman, the Hon. BERNARD GRABOWSKI. For many years a Pole, Robert Moszczynski, was the Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

In the world of music we have the ace drummer of the world in Gene Krupa and in the field of journalism such brilliant columnists as Tad Szulc of the New York Times. In education two of Poland's very best scholars, the renowned sociologist Florjan Znanjecki, and the brilliant political scientist

Zbigniew Brzezinski, are working side by side at Columbia University. The city of Sandusky, Ohio, is named after the great Polish pioneer and woodcraftsman Jakób Sadowski.

Finally, lovers of sports can take pride in the many Polish names, both of past eras and of the present generation, that have been immortalized on the playing field. Al Simmons, or Aloysius Szymanski, was one of Connie Mack's most glorious stars playing with the Philadelphia Athletics; Stan Coveleski, playing with Cleveland, won fame by pitching his team to three victories over the Brooklyn Dodgers in a single World Séries. Another Stan, Musial, has just retired after a record-breaking career with the St. Louis Cardinals. In football we have all heard of Dick Butkus, Ray Wietecha, Jim Ninowski, Bronco Nagurski, Dick Modelewski, and Ed Danowski. Even the Ivy League in recent years has had its share of Polish greats. Like Dartmouth's former captain Al Rozycki, and the stalwart tackle of this year's Princeton team, Stan Maliszewski. Basketball fans will never forget such college stars as Chet Jaworski of Rhode Island State; boxing enthusiasts remember the former world's middleweight champion Thaddeus Jarosz; wrestling devotees, Stanislaus Cyganiewicz, for 15 years the world's wrestling champion. Stella Walaslewicz Walsh became an Olympic sprint champion in women's track, and Francis Taberski won the world's pocket billiard champion seven different years. In swimming, Chet Jastremski of Indiana has recently been churning up the country's pools in all kinds of record-breaking times.

But these are only a tiny fraction of the achievements of our people here in the United States. Perhaps no lees an achievement, though much less publicized, is that of one Anthony Draplewski of Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, who raised 14 children and saw 12 of them graduate from various universities. All that has been done by the persons I have mentioned redounds not only to the greatness of the United States, but is a visible testimony to the intrepidity, foresight, industry, patience, and above all, spirit of a people that even its transplanted situation had a consciousness of national and personal greatness, a pride in achievement, and an energetic and unflagging enthusiasm for service to humanity.

It is this spirit which we also honor today and which continues to blaze in the hearts of all Poles, wherever they may be. It is the spirit that moves Cardinal Wyszynski to speak out courageously against atheistic and communistic oppression; It is the spirit which has made Poland the prime participant in the project to save many ancient monuments from being flooded by the Aswan project in Egypt; It is the spirit that has been responsible for the renascence of Polish folk culture and art, particularly in the formation of such singing and dance ensembles as the Mazowsze and Slask; It is the spirit in which the gallant warriors of Monte Cassino gave up their bodies to Italy, their hearts to Poland, and their souls to God; It is the spirit of the Polish wedding, the Polish polka, the Polish ham, and the Polish kielbasa; It is the spirit of the oplatek and the swienconka; It is the spirit that can laugh at the Palac Kultury i Nauki and call it the Kulturnik; It is the spirit that builty the mighty industrial complex of Nowa Huta and rebuilt the Stare Miasto of Warsaw, that moved the whole city of Lwow en masse to Wroclaw in order to remain on Polish soil, that poured out its heart in its ecstatic reception of Richard Nixon and Robert Kennedy; It is the spirit that, at every meeting of Pole with Pole, elicits effusive joy, unstinting hospitality, and unrestrained affection; finally, it is the spirit that never flags in its desire for freedom and its hope of eventual salvation from tyranny.

On this memorable occasion, therefore, fraught as it is with both religious and cultural significance for our compatriots the world over, let us remember the heritage we have built up over the last thousand years, a heritage primarily of unity with and faith in the Almighty, greatness in every phase of human endeavor, resourcefulness and courage in the most trying situations, and honor and love both among ourselves and all our brethren on this earth.

Art Collection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Post of last Thursday, May 12, there appeared two articles of great significance for the cultural life of our Nation's Capital.

They were in regard to the possibility that the extensive art collection of Mr. Joseph H. Hirshhorn, of New York City, may be brought to Washington. It will certainly be a marvelous thing if this can be done.

I know that my colleagues and many other people, too, will be interested in the articles which follow:

FAMED ART COLLECTION IS PROMISED TO THE UNITED STATES

(By Leroy F. Aarons)

The famed art collection of uranium tycoon Joseph H. Hirshhorn has been promised to the Federal Government, ending one of art history's greatest cliffhangers.

Letters of agreement between Hirshhorn and the White House have been drafted and exchanged, but not signed, it was learned yesterday. President Johnson expects to announce the acquisition in the presence of Hirshhorn and his wife, probably next week.

Involved are 6300 paintings, drawings and sculptures, representing one of the largest private art collections in the world. The present-day value has been estimated at $25 million to $50 million.

MAY DONATE $1 MILLION

The collection will be administered by the Smithsonian Institution and housed in a new museum and an outdoor sculpture garden to be built on the Mall, possibly across from the National Gallery. The President is expected to ask Congress for funds to build the museum.

In addition to the collection, Hirshhorn is understood to have agreed to donate $1 million for the purchase of works of contemporary art.

Negotiations for the huge collection have been going on a year in the deepest secrecy between Hirshhorn, who lives in New York City, officials of the Smithsonian and the White House. Negotiators here thought they were close to obtaining the much-sought collection about a year ago, but discussions dragged on for a full year more.

THOUGHT OF CREATING TOWN

The discussions were particularly delicate for two reasons. For one, Hirshhorn was torn between a number of competing sites for his collection, and at one point thought about creating a new town, Hirshhorn, in which to display it. Secondly, the industrialist is extremely sensitive about publicity surrounding the disposition of his works.

The Administration is still so sensitive about the matter that officials scheduled to discuss plans for the new museum on Capitol Hill this week have been instructed not to leave any copies of the agreement lying around.

CURATOR WORKS FULL TIME

Hirshhorn, 67, amassed his art treasures during a lifetime of collecting, much of it with money mined from uranium-rich acreage in Ontario's bush-covered Algoma Basin. The collection is so vast—4800 paintings and drawings and 1500 pieces of sculpture—and Hirshhorn buys with such speed and volume that it takes a full-time curator to keep up with the inventory.

He has probably the world's largest single collection of American art, with examples rich in depth ranging from Thomas Eakins of the mid-19th century to Willem de Kooning, the great contemporary abstractionist. The collection is especially strong in works of the 1930s by such artists of later prominence as Milton Avery, Franz Kline, Ben Shahn, Philip Evergood and Stuart Davis.

The sculpture collection is international in scope, encompassing the Hittite culture, Greece's Golden Age and such masters of the late 19th and early 20th centuries as Rodin and Maillol. Most impressive, however, is the depth of the contemporary collection, with numerous examples of such greats as Jacques Lipchitz, Marino Marini, Henry Moore, Picasso and Giacometti.

Hirshhorn was reared in the Jewish ghettos of Brooklyn, where his mother settled after emigrating from Latvia in 1905 with him and his 12 brothers and sisters. Fascinated with art from an early age, he used to paste examples of calendar painting over his bed.

At age 17, Hirshhorn went into the brokerage business with $225. He made $168,000 in the first year and by 1928 was making profits of over $2 million. He pulled out of the stock market just before the crash with $4 million.

Hirshhorn takes a businessman's approach to collecting, buying up whole lots at a time and dickering for a bargain rate. But he is also gifted with a sensitivity for art and an extraordinary perceptiveness that enabled him to buy works of unknown artists who were later to become famous.

His collection is scattered around the world, jamming his offices in Manhattan and Toronto, and displayed throughout his Park Avenue apartment, his Riviera villa and his country home in Greenwich, Conn. The bulk of the trove, however, is kept in closets, storerooms and warehouses.

Hirshhorn and his collection have been wooed by more than half a dozen museums, including the Tate Gallery in London and others in Baltimore, Beverly Hills and in France, Israel and Canada.

New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, himself a collector, offered to build a museum if Hirshhorn would give his works to New York State.

Acquisition of the art treasure by Washington, with both the President and Mrs. Johnson taking personal interest, is expected to rank as a major coup in the art world.

VAST COLLECTION WILL ADD A MAJOR DIMENSION TO ART HERE

(By Andrew Hudson)

Joseph H. Hirshhorn's decision to give his vast modern art collection to the Federal Government adds a major dimension to art in Washington.

This collection is particularly strong in modern sculpture, both European and American. Its 1,500 sculptures range from Rodin's

"The Burghers of Calais" through Maillol, Degas, Lipchitz, Matisse, Picasso, Moore, Giacometti, Calder and Smith to recent works by such contemporary Americans as John Chamberlain and Jasper Johns.

It also includes a couple of sculptures by the American painter Thomas Eakins. Almost every prominent name in modern sculpture is represented and the proposed Sculpture Garden of the new Museum will almost certainly be a rich experience.

The collection's holdings in paintings and drawings (numbering 4,800, mainly American) make it the largest private collection of American painting in existence. However, in this area the collection is more diffuse and not so distinguished as it is in sculpture. The choice examples apparently lie in American work of the 1930's and earlier, in paintings by Dove, Marin, Gorky, Stuart Davis, Homer, Sloane and Demuth.

Hirshhorn came rather late on the scene in regard to abstract expressionism, though he did pick up a good 1943 Pollock and some Klines, The more recent work in the collection includes Larry Rivers gigantic assemblage "The Russian Revolution," which was shown at the Jewish Museum last year.

As far as the paintings are concerned, the most promising feature is what may be a donation of an additional $1 million for further purchases. If this could be used toward upgrading the collection in terms of both postwar American painting and modern European painting, we should have a very remarkable museum collection indeed.

OTHER COLLECTIONS CITED

Washington at present contains one of the most comprehensive collections of Western art in the world—up to around 1905—at the National Gallery. There are several fine examples of work after 1905 at the Phillips Collection but these were chosen not to present a comprehensive survey of modern art but according to personal taste—as the late Duncan Phillips was always the first to admit.

Various works in the collections of the Corcoran Galley of Art and the Washington Gallery of Modern Art serve to complement the Phillips Collection, especially in contemporary American art. And doubtless the revitalized National Collection of Fine Arts, which aims, like the Corcoran, to be primarily a museum of American art, will be building a collection of modern and contemporary work.

GALLERIES SHARE TASK

However, the task of collecting modern European art for this city and of putting contemporary American art in an international context has fallen on the shoulders of the National Gallery and the Washington Gallery of Modern Art. The Gallery of Modern Art has done an admirable job over the past four years, but it has to rely on gifts and bequests for acquisitions and it doesn't have space to put even its present collection permanently on display. It doesn't look as though the National Gallery is about to venture into contemporary art.

It's hard to foresee how this arrival in Washington of a new museum of modern art will affect our other museums. There has been no talk of any exhibition program; indeed, one of the first questions to arise will be where the money is to come from to finance the museum's operation. As things are, the National Collection is having to organize benefits to raise money for its programs.

A possible development might be a merger of the present Washington Gallery of Modern Art and the new museum, with the former continuing a wide-ranging, forward-looking exhibition program and the latter building up an international collection of modern art.

Trade Expansion Begun by L.B.J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in the President's state of the Union message he mentioned the necessity for expanding our trade with the communist-bloc countries but only recently the administration sent to he Congress the proposed legislation which Chairman MILLS of the Ways and Means Committee refused to introduce. Actually the trade has already been expanded as set forth in the Allen-Scott column published in the Northern Virginia Sun of April 12. The column follows:

TRADE EXPANSION BEGUN BY L.B.J.

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

President Johnson apparently isn't taking any chances on Congress' approving of his announced plan to expand trade with Iron Curtain countries.

Without fanfare, the administration already is doing exactly that.

The likelihood in this election year of Congress' going on record to increase East-West trade is remote. Still languishing in the Senate is last year's laboriously negotiated agreement with Moscow to open consular offices in the two countries. Opposition to that is so powerful that no move has been made to act on the treaty.

It's a safe conclusion the President's proposal to boost East-West trade would have no better luck.

But unpublished Commerce Department records disclose the administration already is opening the door wide as it can to further trade with the Communists. Last year that topped $143 million.

This has been ascertained by Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, Republican of California, member of the House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee. After a lot of digging he has uncovered the following significant facts:

In 1962 East-West trade totaled less than $50 million. In 1963 it jumped to $139 million; in 1964 to $406 million due to the sale of $320 million in agricultural commodities; last year upwards of $143 million.

Much of this business has far greater military value to the Reds than the dollar total would indicate.

"We sold them electronic equipment, aircraft parts, industrial instruments, chemicals, metals and a tremendous amount of technical data," LIPSCOMB pointed out, "and we did that without having any idea of its uitimate use. The Johnson administration talks about increasing trade and building bridges to the East, at the very time the Soviet is powerfully aiding our enemy in North Viet Nam.

"I am utterly unable to understand how it makes any sense to help equip the Communists who are assisting aggressors to kill and maim our soldiers in Viet Nam."

Dramatically illustrative of LIPSCOMB's stinging accusation is the following astonishing contradiction:

Last July and August the Commerce Department issued export licenses for the shipment of $5,436,000 of copper scrap to Yugoslavia. At that very time, the department was directing U.S. manufacturers of copper products to divert a greater proportion of the metal for military orders.

Also uncovered by Representative LIPSCOMB are three unannounced instances of sales to the Soviet bloc this year of distinct military value:

Technical data for the construction in Russia of three giant fertilizer plants to produce ammonia, nitric acid and ammonium nitrate. LIPSCOMB points out that in the last few years the Soviet has supplied North Viet Nam with more than 150,000 tons of fertilizer.

$660,000 of platinum pellets to Bulgaria. These pellets are used for the production of high octane gasoline, and to increase yields in the chemical industry. World demand for platinum is soaring, and Bulgaria's principle suppliers have been Russia and East Germany.

Sale to Rumania of electronic and navigational equipment for installation in planes obtained from Russia. Also instruments for testing flight equipment.

LIPSCOMB critically notes that while the Commerce Department is permitting a great deal of technical information to be exported to the Soviet bloc, no dollar value is placed on it. There is not even a reference to this matter in the department's annual report on East-West trade.

But the Communists consider this technical data, LIPSCOMB declares, the most important part of their trade with the U.S. As evidence of this, he points out the data usually involves the construction of huge industrial undertakings.

As significant examples, LIPSCOMB cites that in 1965 Russia imported U.S. technical data for the design and building of:

Ethylene plant capable of producing one million metric tons of heavy petroleum a year. The plant also would produce hydrogen propane, propylene, butane, butylenes and gasoline. Plastics, petrochemicals and synthetic fibers are produced from them.

Plant to manufacture 4,000 tons annually of parachloroaniline, and 2,500 tons of dichloroaniline—used among other things as a weed killer.

Other technical data the Commerce Department permitted to be sent to the Communists was for a methane pipeline booster station in Rumania; gas processing plant in Russia; copper rolling mill, pulp mill evaporator and an ammonium sulfate plant in East Germany; electrolytic process plant in Hungary; and a silicone steel processing plant in Czechoslovakia.

Polish Millennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, May 3 is a special day for people of Polish origin.

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, of the State of New York, has issued a special proclamation in that connection. I commend it to my colleagues:

PROCLAMATION

On May 3, 1791, the Polish Diet, after four years of continuous deliberation, adopted a constitution assuring all inhabitants of Poland civil and religious liberty with equal protection for all under the law. This Constitution, the first guarantee of personal and religious liberty adopted for its people by any nation in Central or Eastern Europe, was to become a beacon light of liberty and hope for all oppressed peoples of Europe and near-Asia.

This year people of Polish origin and friends of Poland are celebrating the Millennium of Poland's devotion and dedication to the principles of Christ. The adoption of the Polish Constitution of the third of May, 1791 is one of the many great accomplishments of the Polish people. Today, the people of Poland are restricted by their Communist oppressors from openly and freely celebrating this great event.

The people of the State of New York, hating oppression and loving freedom, are in sympathy with the aspirations of the Polish people for full freedom and deliverance from the yoke of Communism.

Now, therefore, I, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, set aside Tuesday, May 3, 1966, as Polish Constitution Day in the State of New York.

The Draft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the draft is at last becoming the subject of constructive debate. Jarred by increased induction quotas and, most recently, by student deferment tests, more and more people are raising questions about the selective service system.

To date most of the heat has been concentrated on the inequities in the draft law. College exemptions, for example, have thrown the brunt of the fighting in Vietnam upon those who for financial and other reasons have not gone to college.

I think that it is important that these inequities be pointed out. But, I think that it is equally important that Congress take a fresh look at the concept of national service versus selective service.

Alternate forms of national service should be explored. Might conscription be used to train people, to allow them to make use of their talents, to put the idealism of America's youth to work for America?

Mr. Speaker, in the weeks to come, I would hope that the debate over the draft would expand to a debate over national service. In an editorial on Saturday, May 14, the New York Times suggested this.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, May 14, 1966]

Testing for the Draft

The need for a fundamental reappraisal of Selective Service procedures is put into sharp focus as several hundred thousand students across the country take the first draft deferment tests today.

As long as the present deferment system remains in force, the use of these tests is preferable to reliance on college grades and class standing. The national examination at least frees faculty members from the unwanted obligation to apply academic yardsticks to the draft decision. It also offers assurance that attendance at a more demanding college will not reduce the chances for deferment.

These factors make current student sit-in strikes to protest the tests and civil disobedience directed against the university administrations particularly inexcusable. The forms of protest have the earmark of adolescent irrationality—temper tantrums aimed at those who want to assure the fairest possible treatment under existing conditions.

Nevertheless, it is plain that the test only alleviates a generally unsatisfactory procedure. Deferment of college students places most of the burden of military service on the shoulders of the very poor or the academically untalented. This smacks of a caste system, in which prolonged education can readily turn deferment into exemption. When only a small minority of the nation's youth attended college, deferring students was an essential measure to guarantee that the country could not lack for doctors, engineers, scientists, teachers and other skilled personnel. But, with greatly expanded college attendance, such emergency action is less justifiable.

If selective induction is to be continued, then it would be far less discriminatory to return to the original concept of the lottery, with deferments taking into account only questions of hardship, conscientious objections and demonstrable national interest.

Even this would be only a stop-gap improvement, however. Nationally sound reform lies in the direction of universal national service, with limited options to serve either in the armed forces, the Peace Corps, the National Teacher Corps or a variety of domestic urban and rural missions. Leading educators have already endorsed such a plan. It is now up to the nation's educational, manpower and military leadership to evolve a blueprint for national debate and Congressional action.

Politics Guides Security Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in the May 1 edition of the San Diego Union an article appeared entitled "Politics Guides Security Plans." It was written by Edith Kermit Roosevelt and illustrates the current tendency to downgrade the CIA, the FBI, and the Defense Intelligence Agency by the State Department's Intelligence Bureau.

My colleagues will benefit considerably from reading this article and I include it herewith as an extension of my remarks:

Politics Guides Security Plans

(By Edith Kermit Roosevelt)

Behind the now famous Otto Otepka case involving the right to uproot lax security in the State Department is the story of a highly organized campaign to concentrate power in the agency's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. The secret objective even is to build it into a superintelligence agency.

This is the same State Department bureau where certain personalities have consistently practiced distortion and suppression of vital intelligence data.

Otepka was ousted from his post as security chief at the very time he was investigating the structure and organization of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and checking up on its personnel. On Aug. 12, 1963, Otepka testified before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that as far back as 1957 the most derogatory cases were located in I & R.

He had documentary proof that this sensitive bureau, consisting of about 350 employees, has been a focal point for diversion and paralysis of U.S. policy. For example, he had prepared an exhaustive analysis of the policy patterns and papers produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research proving that I & R had consistently ignored, distorted or suppressed intelligence information it had received concerning Castro and his Communist supporters.

After Otepka was fired, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research quickly moved to get rid of other checks over its activities. Previously, the State Department's Office of Security had received all FBI and CIA reports dealing with domestic and foreign intelligence matters. Now, these are sent at once to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

The importance of this is that in the past when the Office of Security received the full intelligence reports, competent security evaluators often learned information about State Department employees which had a direct bearing on loyalty investigations.

Under the new system, security men are dependent on the political guidance of persons in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. The bulk of these lack training as security evaluators or have a political motive for not providing the information to the Security Office.

Significantly, too, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research has become the liaison with the FBI for reports by U.S. embassies on Americans traveling abroad. FBI requests for information on these Americans are no longer given "routinely" to a trained security man in the Passport Office for transmission to embassies abroad.

Instead, the Justice Department channels these FBI requests to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research to forward to our diplomatic posts "only in cases where an important national interest would be served."

An important effect of these changes in procedure is that more individuals in more government agencies learn of these information requests. Invariably, this increases the risk that the person on whom the information is gathered may find out about it, as well as inteersted foreign powers.

At the same time, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research has set up a Foreign Area Coordination Group known as FAR to coordinate all research grants on foreign affairst throughout government. FAR has veto power over all government grants and contracts for research abroad.

The role of the other intelligence agencies, such as the CIA, the FBI and the Defense Intelligence Agency, have been correspondingly downgraded. The result is a one-voice in intelligence tailored to the political bias found in the State Department's Intelligence Bureau.

Grocery Buyer Doesn't Need Package Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a nationally recognized journalist in the economic area, Mr. John M. Johnston of the Chicago Daily News, in his column of May 7, discusses the pending legislation coming before us this session. I insert this editorial in the Record and direct it to the attention of the members of the congressional committees which are now working in this legislative field.

Grocery Buyer Doesn't Need Package Law

(By John M. Johnston)

One of the television commercials that promoted the Democratic landslide in the 1964 Presidential and congressional elections showed a winsome little girl picking daisies. Suddenly she disappeared in the awesome cloud of an atomic blast, the message being that if those bloodthirsty Republicans got into office we should soon be in a shooting war with A-bombs to follow.

Oblivious to the irony, some of the men elected with the aid of this precious bit of salesmanship are now trying to frame a "truth-in-packaging" law to protect the public against too-slick tricks. What position should be taken toward such a law by those who detest fraud and deceit but cherish liberty?

If you oppose censorship, as all should who uphold freedom, you are soon confronted with the case of some degenerate peddler of prurient filth. If you oppose having the government dictate the size, shape and labeling of packages, do you have to approve such labels as "6 cents off the giant half-quart" or weights designed to thwart price comparisons?

The answer is no. Just as there is obscenity beyond the pale of responsible defense, so are there marketing practices that the most devout enterpriser must criticize. The question really becomes whether it is possible to devise a law rifled unerringly at the evils, never bringing down a legitimate effort.

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D. Mich.), most fervent sponsor of policing packaging, complained that there are 71 different sizes of potato chip packages. He would have the law restrict these to standard sizes, each differing by two ounces, so that buyers might compare prices per ounce.

When you begin specifying package sizes, however, your troubles start. For example, candy bar makers wish to cater to the public preference for 5-cent bars or 10-cent bars. When the price of the ingredients fluctuates, they vary the weight of the bar by some fraction of an ounce.

Shall the law compel a standard size that will swivel in price from 4 and 3/16 cents to 6 and 1/10th cost? Clearly such a requirement would introduce baffling complexities.

Sen. Hart also complains that "family size'" and "economy size" descriptions may be meaningless or deceptive. He adds that some food processors must have the canary in mind when they promise "two servings."

It is a safe bet that more clamor about all this is coming from the self-appointed champions of the consumer than from indignant shoppers. When a housewife thinks she has been stung, she takes the most effective action possible: she buys a different product.

There are, unfortunately, cases where she is stung and doesn't know it. But there are already federal laws against fraudulent trade practices and deceptive labeling. As long ago as 1953, the Hoover Commission recommended that the overlapping jurisdictions of the Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration and other agencies be combined in a single administrative court.

Under this kind of flexible regulation, the processor who really offered an "economy size" could continue. The potato chip maker who wanted to add an extra fraction of an ounce as a sales inducement might do so. The faker whose picture on the box proved too misleading could be hauled up—with a chance to prove his case in court if he cared to try.

No law can defeat and outlaw deceptive practices without also interfering with harmless salesmanship—such as, for instance, lipstick and a padded bra.

Prayers in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, television station WBBM–TV, the Columbia Broadcasting system affiliate in Chicago, carried an excellent editorial over its station on Tuesday, May 10, dealing with the entire subject of prayers in the public schools. I believe WBBM–TV and its editorial director, Mr. Carter Davidson, have performed a significant public service and adding their voice to the growing dialog on this very important subject. The editorial follows:

Prayers in the School

In all of the nearly two centuries it has existed, the Constitution of the United States has been amended only twenty-four times.

The first eight amendments make up the Bill of Rights, which guarantee us our civil liberties. Others deal with such weighty matters as rights to vote, the makeup of our Congress, prohibition and the amendment which later repealed it, the income tax and the procedures for electing our leaders.

Now it is proposed that we amend the Constitution one more time. The purpose would be to guarantee schoolchildren the right to pray in their classrooms if they want to. It may sound like a small point, perhaps even frivolous, compared to the more ponderous matters dealt with in other constitutional amendments.

But we support the proposed prayer amendment, if only to clear up a confused muddle which has set neighbor against neighbor, religion against religion and community against community clear across the nation.

Senator Everett Dirksen, of Illinois, along with 43 other Senators have sponsored a Senate Joint Resolution calling for the amendment. It is a rather simply worded document. It merely provides that no one in authority can either prevent or require any person to participate in prayer in a public building, nor can any one in authority tell any one what to pray.

The prayer issue has erupted several times in the Chicago area, as well as elsewhere. There is, in fact, a federal court case pending here now arising from the prayer issue in a school in nearby DeKalb.

We think the Dirksen prayer amendment would put an end to such disputes. We also hope it will put an end to the endless arguments over separation of church and state, and just what that issue entails.

There have been hints, for example, that a suit might one day be filed requiring all United States coins to be re-issued because the present ones carry the legend "In God We Trust."

Some have even suggested that it may be unconstitutional for a President of the United States, or any other public officer, to take the oath of office with his hand placed upon a Bible.

Three court decisions, two by the Supreme Court and one by a U.S. Court of Appeals, have virtually banished prayer from schools in this country.

But the decisions also have served to confuse the whole country on the knotty problem of the relationships between church and state. The net result has been to breed intolerance and to create bickering among friends and neighbors who adhere to differing religions.

We believe the Dirksen amendment would clear the air, by simply stating that children have the right to pray in their classrooms if they want to, and don't have to pray if they don't want to.

Presented by Carter Davidson, Editorial Director of WBBM–TV.

Danger: Poisoned Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN D. DINGELL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the Appendix of the Congressional Record a grave warning appearing in the Washington, D.C., Daily News of Friday, May 13, 1966, entitled "Danger: Poisoned Air":

Danger: Poisoned Air!

A New York City task force report this week should convince even the most skeptical that air pollution has become a matter of pressing national concern.

The 10-man task force reported the city's air is loaded each year with 730 pounds of pollution for every man, woman and child in the city.

That's more than five times the average resident's weight.

Street dirt, exhaust gases from autos, buses, trucks and planes, fly ash, soot, industrial chemicals and other offensive or poisonous materials make the simple act of breathing not only unpleasant but potentially dangerous for many New Yorkers.

Sure, New York is Big Town, with problems of commensurate enormity. But problems of proportionate size exist in many American cities, large and small.

New York's near-crisis situation merely underscores the warnings voiced in growing chorus by the scientists.

Only last month Dr. Walter Orr Roberts, director of the National Center for atmospheric Research, Boulder, Colo., told Science Service the time is ripe for some large city to be trapped under a deadly smog blanket that could be fatal to thousands of persons with respiratory diseases.

Just such a choking cloud blanketed Donora, Pa., for several days in 1948. Smog is a continuing problem in Los Angeles. The task force says New York has escaped "Widespread disaster" only because prevailing winds dissipate the airborne poisons.

Even the Rocky Mountain area, idealized as the "wide open spaces," faced such a problem that a tough anti-air-pollution bill had to be enacted in Colorado this year.

The nation gradually is waking to the fact that many of its citizens may literally suffocate from poisons either carelessly or deliberate pumped into the air. The President's latest conservation message, for example, calls for increased Federal efforts to fight air pollution.

Federal standards to reduce air pollution by motor-vehicle exhausts, effective for 1968 model cars and trucks, have been announced. State and local governments also are beginning to move against the poison-air menace.

If its work adds urgency to these efforts, the New York task force will have served not only its city but the nation.

Talking Typewriters—Freeport, N.Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most interesting projects to be funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity involves the use of a unique educational machine known as a "Talking Typewriter," to assist on a voluntary basis the educational training of preschoool children, school dropouts, and also unemployed youth and adults.

The "talking typewriter" is actually a computerized machine, about the size of an upright piano with a typewriter keyboard. It contains a speaker and a lighted window. The student or other learner sits along in front of the machine and when a key is pressed, the letter appears in large print on the window and a prerecorded voice gives the sound of the letter. Another example of how the machine works involves finding the letters or keys to fit the printed word which appears on the screen. The other keys lock until the learner has pressed the correct keys, spelling the printed word. Then the machine's voice praises the learner and a picture of the word appears. The machine can be programed in many ways to teach a variety of subjects at various levels of education.

The "talking typewriter" has reportedly taught 2-year-olds to read, spell, punctuate, and even touch type within less than 1 year. One of the most difficult problems in teaching children involves prolonging the child's attention-span. The "talking typewriter" has proved to be a technique which produces no signs of boredom. It has been heralded by education experts throughout the United States as having great potential.

There are machines of this type presently being used in the New York metropolitan area and in other communities in the United States. The Office of Economic Opportunity is working on applications for the use of a number of these machines in demonstration programs for the development of more comprehensive evaluation.

In March 1965, the Board of Education of Union Free School District No. 9, Freeport, N.Y., applied to the U.S. Office of Education for a grant of more than $1.1 million to finance a program using 20 "talking typewriters." The application was subsequently referred to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As the Representative of the Fifth Congressional District, New York, I surveyed all pending applications for Federal aid and when I learned of the Freeport application, I expressed my interest in the program to officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

More than 1 year after the original application had been filed, the OEO chose the Boards of Education of Chicago, Ill., and Freeport, N.Y., for consideration for the first two demonstration sites. The final contract covering the $1.1 million program was sent to the president of the Freeport School Board by officials of the OEO and based upon the approval of the present school board, the president signed the contract.

As negotiations entered the final stages, however, a local school board election was held. Three of the five members of the school board were replaced and one of the three newly elected members took office immediately. The other two will take office after July 1. The Office of Economic Opportunity requested that the newly elected school board, as it will be constituted on July 1, be polled with respect to the "talking typewriter" program. The results of the poll were three members opposed and two in favor of the demonstration project.

On May 13, 1966, I received the following letter from William G. Phillips, Assistant Director for Congressional Relations, Office of Economic Opportunity:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,
Washington, D.C., May 13, 1966.

HON. HERBERT TENZER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TENZER: This refers to the proposal for an experimental reading program utilizing "talking typewriters" in the Freeport, Long Island, public schools.

As you know, we were favorably disposed toward the Freeport proposal because of the qualification and experience of the superintendent in this type of program. However, as we reached the point of preliminary contract negotiation, it became evident that there was substantial opposition to the program within the community. Because we are reluctant to commit a substantial contract to an area where the program is known to be controversial, we informally polled the school board of the Union Free School District No. 9 as presently constituted and as it will be constituted after July 1. The results of this action confirmed the opposition to the program.

Accordingly, we have reluctantly decided that it would not be in the best interests of the program to favorably consider the Freeport proposal. We are proceeding with the Cook County element of the project through the Department of Public Aid. A copy of our press release is attached.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM G. PHILLIPS,
Assistant Director for Congressional Relations.

I have always maintained that the administration of our schools should rest with our local school boards, nevertheless, I cannot withhold by feeling of disappointment that the newly elected school board in Freeport failed to confirm the approval given to this project by the present board.

This grant would have been the largest Federal grant ever made to a local school board anywhere in the United States, and I expect a number of other communities in the Metropolitan New York area will now enter the competition for this demonstration project so that there will be such a program located on the east coast.

It would have been a tribute to the village of Freeport and good for local business because education experts in the field of education would come from all over the United States to Freeport to study the program and view it in operation.

The following newspaper article and editorial reflect the present situation in Freeport, N.Y.:

[From Newsday, May 14, 1966]

UNITED STATES RESCINDS $1 MILLION LONG ISLAND SCHOOL PROJECT

WASHINGTON.—The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity rejected yesterday a $1,030,380 "talking typewriter" experimental program sought by the Freeport School District because three members of the school board as it will be constituted on July 1 opposed the project. Two of the three opponents were elected last week.

School Superintendent Edward A. Welling said he was "terribly disappointed for the children of this community." Rep. HERBERT TENZER (D-Lawrence), who announced the agency's decision, said that if the new board changed its position he would seek to expedite a reconsideration by the Federal agency.

With Freeport out of consideration for the program, other New York communities were expected to enter the East Coast competition for the demonstration grant, the largest ever offered to a public school system. A similar demonstration grant of $575,000 to Chicago was also announced yesterday.

Notification of the rejection came in a letter to TENZER from William Philips, the agency's assistant director for congressional relations, who said, "As you know, we were favorably disposed toward the Freeport proposal because of the qualifications and experience of the superintendent." But as preliminary contract negotiations began, Philips stated, "it became evident that there was substantial opposition to the program within the community." To avoid committing the program to a district in which it would be controversial, Philips said, the agency informally polled the school board as presently constituted and as it will be composed on July 1 when the trustees-elect take office. He added, "The results of this action confirmed the opposition to the program."

Dr. Irving Fishman and Joseph McAndrews, two newly elected trustees, voted against the project, along with veteran trustee Hugh Erwin. Dr. Harold Schade and S. Ralph Marra, who was elected last week, voted in favor. The school board had voted 3–0 with one absentee and one abstention to approve entering into a contract with the Federal agency prior to the school elections in which opposition to the program developed. Fishman strongly criticized the project during his campaign as experimental.

Fishman declined comment last night on the decision and McAndrews could not be reached for comment. Erwin said he was opposed not to the program but to the contract, which he said would have cost the district at least $50,000 in classroom renovation for which there was no provision in the budget. But he expressed surprise that the agency did not go ahead with the project after the incumbent board approved it.

The "talking typewriter" is a combination typewriter and tape recorder. Students are told by a recorded voice which keys to press in order to form words or numerical combinations. The recording praises the student for pressing the right key and corrects him for pressing a wrong key. About 300 students and 300 adults were to be taught reading and mathematics under the system. Welling said the program had a "fantastic potential for improving academic achievement."

[From the Long Island Press, May 14, 1966]

DESTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE

Two years ago, the company that makes a "talking typewriter," lent one of the machines to the Freeport schools to see how it would work as a teaching aid.

It was a great success.

The federal Office of Economic Opportunity, so impressed by the performance and the potential to train semi-literates, agreed to foot the bill for 20 of the $30,000 machines in a project at the Freeport schools to demonstrate the device for the entire nation.

But, suddenly, the project fell through this week because two new members of the school board joined a third to tell Washington they were opposeed.

Why? No one really knows. The three aren't saying. The issue can't be local economy because the machines will cost the community nothing. There has been no evidence to show the machines are anything but useful. Why reject them?

The school board should spell out to the district its opposition instead of creating the frightening impression that knownothingism has crept into the last place it should ever appear. The nature of this capricious rejection transcends the question of the machines. But more important, the board cannot callously refuse to explain its action. Otherwise, it undermines the very process of education it should be guarding.

This past weekend I received a number of phone calls at my home as well as telegrams and letters from residents of Freeport who requested my assistance in obtaining a reconsideration of the application by the Office of Economic Opportunity. I find it difficult to understand the basis for opposition to this program. I have not received a letter or statement setting forth the reasons for the opposition. If the majority of the residents want this program, as I believe they do, they should express themselves, and I, as their Representative, will make every effort to obtain a reconsideration of the application.

Mr. Speaker, if "creative federalism" is to become a reality, then the people must be informed and must be willing to speak out so that Federal, State, and local governments can effectively work in partnership. As their Representative in Congress, I will continue my efforts to keep my constituents informed and to encourage them to speak out on the issues of the day and on projects such as the "talking typewriter" program which affect our Fifth Congressional District.

New Speedup of Tax Collections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I realize that accelerated wars, one in Vietnam, and the Great Society one on the home front have increased the pressure to get more money, faster, into the Treasury.

The latest gimmick in this money grab is a new regulation of the Internal Revenue requiring two deposits a month instead of one by employers of the income tax they withheld from their employees pay and also of employer-employee social security taxes.

Under the present requirement employers must deposit these taxes by the 15th of the following month. Under the new regulation, as I understand, employers will make semimonthly deposits within 3 banking days after the 15th and last day of each month covering taxes collected up to and including the 15th or last day of the month.

I have long strongly objected to the fact that business firms are compelled to do so much accounting for the Government at such a heavy cost.

This new proposal will double this cost which is especially hard on a small business which has no electronic bookkeeping equipment.

However, where the real problem comes under the new plan is with firms with branches where all the payroll accounting is done at one office and where information as to withholding has to be forwarded from these other offices.

I can understand why an administration that wants to spend more money quicker would want a speed up of collections.

But these new regulations show a complete lack of consideration of corporation procedures and appreciation of office costs.

Mr. Speaker, this new regulation should be rescinded.

National Educational Theater Association Addressed by Joe Flynn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Joseph A. Flynn, one of the stars of "McHale's Navy," is a new member of the California Arts Commission. In this connection he has been working to develop an appreciation of drama in our schools. Recently, he addressed the National Educational Theater Association on this subject. The text of his statement, which I believe is timely and thought provoking, follows:

I stand before you today as a defrocked, or, perhaps, de-uniformed television and movie star. I use the word "star" adivsedly. It was my agent who advised me. He said I may never get the chance again. Actually the word "star" is more abused in Hollywood gossip columns and fan magazines than Cassius Clay is in the sports pages. I recently picked up a magazine listing the 20 new "stars" in Hollywood. I guess the magazine was referring to Hollywood, Fla., because I didn't recognize anyone they were writing about.

But I am not here today to tell jokes—as I have just proven to you. I would, with your permission, like to talk about the role of acting in the education field. Now I am sure you are light years ahead of me on this subject—so I hope you will put up with the ideas and opinions of a very interested amateur.

I believe that drama and education do mix today and play a very healthy and vital role in regard to the young people of this Nation. I am not suggesting that American institutions of learning just concentrate on turning out a nation of Marlon Brandos and Tuesday Welds. We're not quite ready for that yet. Perhaps, in some schools or colleges, acting classes are regarded in the same light as courses in water skiing, basket weaving or fencing—interesting, but who really needs them?

I think the majority of young people can benefit from being exposed to drama in many ways. Let me cite an example I know of personally. An actress friend of mine told me recently she still attended dramatic classes. I was surprised because the lady in question is quite a celebrated performer with considerable stage, movie, and television roles to her credit. In fact, she has been nomiated a few times for an Oscar. I jokingly suggested that for her to attend drama school was similar to a banker going to night school to learn arithmetic.

But she was deadly serious about it. She explained as a young girl she came from a rather upset family and was terribly unsure of herself, frightened and shy. She was introduced to school dramatics and found herself as a person. It wasn't that she was escaping into a world of fantasy—she was actually discoverning the she could live in a world of reality.

Today, she explained to me, she uses her dramatic studies as an escape valve for her emotions and tensions. She says it's cheaper than a psychiatrist's couch and more fun. Acting professionally is her job. She loves it, of course, but approaches it in the same manner a lion tamer approaches his cats—with grim determination, wariness, and a professional attitude. Acting for money is not all fun and games as you undoubtedly know. When you have to earn your living by it—and become engaged in the unholy war for meaty roles—it is a serious business.

But when you are studying acting and not under the impression you are another Bernhardt or Forbes-Robertson then it can be fun. Dramatic classes in educational circles contribute, I believe, a great deal to the future outlook of students even if they never take up acting as a career.

The study and enjoyment of acting opens up many doors to young people that might have remained closed. It brushes the dust from windows they might never have gazed through. Acting can be a vocation and an avocation—a two-pronged aristic weapon.

The study of law can lead a person to the bench, politics and even the White House. The study of physics may enable some young genius of tomorrow to land us on the moon. The study of medicine can lead to a Nobel Prize, perhaps, or a cure for a disease we regard incurable today.

All well and good—an all, of course, important. But the study of acting, while seemingly frivolous to some, has a right to take its place alongside more illustrious pursuits. It may not lead a young man or woman to Broadway or Hollywood fame, but it can be helpful in equipping them to venture out in our world jungle with a much needed "touch" that can put them ahead in many ways of others. It's an important "touch" too—not to be taken lightly.

In a way I could compare it to the finishing schools young girls attended in more pleasant times. They were taught the proper graces they would need to take their place in society. Actually, these schools were simply training grounds and the course the girls were taking then is the same today—how to land a husband. (You see, I told you this was a serious talk.)

Actually, these schools—some still exist—did serve an important role in the lives of young people. Too many schools today turn out young men and women into an alien world. Some kids are not equipped for the battles that lie ahead. However, many young people who are active in dramatic classes do not fit into this category in my opinion. I don't mean to suggest they are polished pros when they get their diplomas, ready for the diplomatic corps, but I do think they have learned many things through drama functions that enable them to "roll with the punches" they will meet.

With the exception of a tiny handful of performers, actors, as a rule, are not shy people. There are those who can give a magnificent performance on stage and cringe with terror at the thought of having to meet more than two or three other people. These are rare birds, indeed.

Actors, for the most part, are outgoing in their attitudes towards others. If they are good actors they can develop a facade—and, by this, I don't mean a phony all-smile front—that enables them to meet people on equal terms regardless of their professions or positions in life. If taught—and learned—correctly—acting gives a person poise and an ability to show an interest in others * * * who, as the case may be, may not be exactly that interesting.

Acting makes them aware of their appearance * * * their clothes, faces, posture. I know, of course, all about the long-haired young men and frowzy-looking females in the business—but on the whole, actors dress well and look well.

So I believe I have made two points for the importance of acting studies in the lives of the young. But there is far more to it than just good looks, manners and social graces. The study of acting often lifts a young person to an intellectual plane that might have otherwise evaded him * * * even if he were studying the highly intelligent pursuits of law, medicine or science.

The serious student of acting learns early what life is all about. It's all there in the roles he or she is given to read and play. It reaches back to dignity and awe of Euripedes and Agathon * * * embraces the volatile worlds of Shakespeare and Shaw * * * throws a light on the dark reaches of O'Neill and Williams.

A young person thinks he or she is an island * * * that what is happening to them has never happened to anyone before. They discover through drama that others suffer and bleed * * * defy defeat and bow to disaster * * * and, perhaps best of all, they learn the human animal is an amazing creature—complicated, cagey, kind, cruel, filled with hate, loaded with laughter.

From words written by men who no longer exist or who are still with us today, they find a tool which enables them to communicate with others and to be understood as well as understanding. A young person studying drama learns to live outside himself and in others. Aristotle wrote that man, unlike other animals, is the most imitative of living creatures * * * that the instinct for imitation is implanted him since childhood * * * and through it he learns his earliest lessons.

Acting enables a young person to learn what makes people tick and why they do the things they do. What do they fear? What makes them love? What drives them? Destroys them? And why they exist?

In a sense the study of acting alone is the study of religion, philosophy, science, law—and all that may be found in other textbooks—in one. It is the basic seeking for the truths that others have found and are trying to pass on.

The teaching of acting is, then, an important and vital task. Brains whirl and ideas are born * * * ideas that have a reality of their own. A critic once remarked that there is much action in an idea, as much as there is in a circus. Teachers of acting are the ringmasters of this circuit because they can plant the ideas.

Acting alone is on one level that leads the student on to others. They invariably find music and literature and art. They take an interest in things they would pass before. I've been in well over 30 movies and 200 television shows. I like to think that each role has advanced me in some way to become a better person. If not, I've at least enjoyed the work because I enjoy my profession and recommend it to young people who are not afraid of sticking their necks out.

The study of acting can lead to other careers * * * it helps in advertising, politics or just being a husband or wife. Some of the best acting performances take place in the home—believe me. And on the subject of politics I might add that more actors than ever seem to be taking an interest in running for office.

I ran for the legislature back in my native Ohio once * * * but was talked out of accepting the position by the voters. I am happy to state that I was recently appointed by the Governor to the California Arts Council * * * so being an actor can lead you down many other interesting avenues. But with Ronald Reagan running, George Murphy already in, and Jerry Lewis trying to make up his mind, I think the day will soon come when we'll all be marking our ballots at Central Casting than the polls.

On that cheerful note, I would like to conclude this address. It has been an honor for me to be here. I hope I have been able to express in some way why I think the work you are doing is important * * * and why you should keep it up. Thank you again.

City of Hope Auxiliary Names Charles Offer "Man of Year"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. REES
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

CITY OF HOPE AUXILIARY NAMES CHARLES OFFER "MAN OF YEAR"

LOS ANGELES.—Charles S. Offer, Sr., Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Budget Finance Plan, has been named "Man of the Year" by the 500 Club for the City of Hope, an auxiliary of the medical research center.

Offer will be guest of honor at a black tie dinner-dance, June 12, in the International Ballroom of the Beverly Hilton Hotel.

Presentations are expected to be made to Offer by the Los Angeles City Council and the County Board of Supervisors, Melvin Malat, president of the 500 Club, said.

"The City of Hope conducts a relentless search for new insights into the treatment and conquest of catastrophic diseases," Offer said when informed of the 500 Club's selection. "I am honored to be able to share in that search."

City of Hope is a major medical and research center supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

Besides serving as Chairman of the Board of Budget Finance Plan, a Los Angeles-based diversified national finance company, Offer is president of Transnational Insurance Company, Chairman of the Board of Century Bank, and Chairman of the Board of State Savings and Loan Association.

Offer, a native of Los Angeles, and a fourth generation Californian, attended the University of Washington and Southwestern Law School. He was Budget Finance Plan's founder and served as Managing Director of the company from 1937 to 1945 and as president from 1945 to 1962.

He has associated himself with all deserving major philanthrophies in Los Angeles, taking a special interest in the City of Hope.

Offer is a leading national authority on legislation of the financial reforms, which has included an active and creative role in the development and passage of the following: Personal Property Brokers Law of 1931, Constitutional Amendment of 1934, Capital Investment of Institutional Investors in the Consumer Finance Business, Broadening of Services rendered by the Consumer Financial Industry, Insurance Coverage to People not otherwise able to receive it.

This effort has greatly contributed to making Los Angeles one of the leading centers for the consumer finance industry, which has assumed an ever expanding role in serving the financial needs of the citizens of the community.

Offer is a member of Elks Club B.P.O. 99, the Outrigger Canoe Club (Hawaii), the Del Rey Yacht Club at Marina Del Rey, the Friars Club, Tamarisk County Club and the Palm Springs Racquet Club.

Offer has two children, Arlene Offer Scult of Phoenix, Ariz., and Charles S. Offer, Jr., assistant secretary of Budget Finance Plan.

Past recipients of the 500 Club's "Man of the Year" awards include Stanley Kramer, Mervyn LeRoy, Richard Diller, Campbell Stewart, Mark Boyer, George Carter, Bart Lytton, Louis Lesser, Howard Ahmanson, Elliott and Ruth Handler, Art Linkletter and Eli Broad.

A Blue-Ribbon Year—1965—in California Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it continues to bewilder me how a few persons keep talking about "chaos" in California agriculture after such an impressive year in 1965.

I simply cannot comprehend how anyone can claim California farmers suffered when net farm income last year soared above the $1 billion mark.

By any standards, that represents a most healthy and productive year.

In 1965, net farm income reached $1,015,600,000—a rise of 4.8 percent, or $46.6 million, over the average for the last 5 bracero years, 1960–64.

As a result, California growers showed profits of slightly over 27 percent last year, giving them a blue-ribbon year.

I, therefore, am quite disturbed at a misleading statement that recently was entered into the RECORD. Let me attempt to clarify the situation for the RECORD.

At the outset, the statement says that Secretary of Labor Wirtz and Governor Brown of California terminated the bracero program. This is simply not factual.

As we all know, the U.S. Congress terminated the bracero program by allowing Public Law 78 to expire on December 31, 1964.

After this wise congressional action, the Secretary of Labor fulfilled his public duties by protecting domestic workers and insisting on improved terms of employment.

Today, the entire Nation owes Secretary Wirtz a great deal of gratitude for his courageous and humanitarian stand to improve the lot of seasonal farmworkers.

The statement under consideration, which is heavy on misleading rhetoric and thin on documentation, charges that termination of the bracero program triggered:

First, higher consumer prices; second, a shortage of farmworkers; third, increased imports of farm products from Mexico; and, fourth, increased welfare costs.

Let us review the validity of these allegations one by one.

First, consumer prices. Throughout 1965, the consumer prices of produce remained remarkably stable even though prices of most other products showed increases.

In every month of 1965, the prices of fresh fruits averaged lower than during 1964—the last bracero year.

And, between August 1965 and January 1966, the average retail prices of fresh fruits and vegetables ranged from 1.5 to 6.0 percent lower than during comparable periods the year before. In March 1966, the average price of fresh produce was just 0.5 percent higher than at the same time in 1965.

In those cases where consumers are paying more for agricultural commodities, the reason cannot be traced back to farm labor. The cost of field labor represents a very small percentage of the retail price. For instance, the payment of the criteria wage of $1.40 an hour in California last year roughly added about a penny to the retail price of each unit of most fruits and vegetables.

Second, labor supply. In 1965, the California growers did not suffer serious labor shortages as is evident from the banner year most of them enjoyed. The crops were harvested.

During the year, Americans worked in vastly increased numbers in a wide range of agricultural products, including those which formerly employed braceros.

As a result, domestic farm employment was up by about 20,000 in the summer and fall of 1965 over the comparable period in 1964, accounting for 97.3 percent of the man-years of labor in California's seasonal hired farm employment in 1965, compared to 2.7 percent for contract foreign labor.

Significantly, domestic labor averaged, from 1959–64, just 73.7 percent of total seasonal man-years, while foreign labor totaled 26.3 percent.

Because of an uneven distribution of farmworkers in the Nation, a tight farm labor situation exists in some localities. But, with the unemployment rate among agricultural workers—6.7 percent—running about twice that of all workers, farm workers are most certainly available.

To obtain them, however, growers must stage intensive recruitment efforts, either on their own or through their public employment service office, just as employers in other industries have traditionally done.

California asparagus growers have not done this and they are in trouble. Glen Brockway, San Francisco regional administrator of the Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security, recently denied the San Joaquin Farm Production Association's request for 2,500 Mexico workers to harvest white asparagus. Mr. Brockway said the reason for the denial was, in part, that:

> The Association has declined to undertake an effective recruitment program to obtain domestic workers.
>
> It has declined to use the offices of the Employment Service to obtain domestic workers.

If all parties involved cooperate fully, I do not believe we will encounter very many tight labor situations that cannot be relieved through intensive recruitment.

I personally do not foresee any critical labor shortages in California this year. There certainly were not any last year.

Third, increased imports from Mexico. According to U.S. census data, $69.7 million in fruits and vegetables were imported to the United States from Mexico in 1965.

This is a rise of only $2.7 million or 4 percent over the year, compared to an $11 million—or a 19 percent—increase between 1963 and 1964.

In fact, the 4-percent rise in Mexican imports between 1964 and 1965 showed a marked slowdown from the average annual rise of 10.5 percent during the last 5 bracero years 1960–64.

But I would not argue that the termination of the bracero program led to this slowdown.

Fourth, welfare costs. There is absolutely no evidence that termination of the bracero program led to soaring welfare costs in California.

In fact, the evidence at hand is much stronger that welfare costs in California, as in other States, increase in the face of our rapidly expanding population.

For a little keener perspective in the matter, let us compare the welfare costs between California and a State with a fairly comparable population—New York.

In 1960, when the bracero program was in full swing, California's total payments in the Aid for Families With Dependent Children program ran nearly $9 million more than in New York.

Last year, however, the total Aid for Families With Dependent Children payments in California, now the Nation's most populous State, were $12.9 million less than in the Empire State.

In view of these facts, I cannot see how, by any stretch of the imagination, anyone can argue that termination of the bracero program caused welfare costs to "soar."

Furthermore, this statement omitted the crucial point that California, unlike New York, has a 1-year residential requirement to qualify families for this aid.

Regardless of one's vantage point, California agriculture—and indeed the entire State—benefited greatly from last year's bountiful harvest.

Last year, realized net income per farm hit $11,160, up 16.3 percent over the annual average for the years 1960–64.

The end of the bracero program means thousands of more jobs for domestic workers—and that millions of dollars remain in our country instead of leaving, improving our national balance-of-payments situation.

And it also means, in spite of the moans of a misguided few, that America has made a historic first step toward bringing agriculture into the mainstream of our economic life.

Let us continue our progress by providing agricultural workers with the same protections and working conditions long enjoyed by workers in other American industries.

Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the vast and growing potential of the Job Corps for transforming what President Johnson calls "taxeaters" into highly useful and productive young taxpayers is suggested by two excellent articles which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

The first article, "Situation Wanted," appeared in the Pennsylvania Business, and describes the job being done by major industrial concerns operating Job Corps Training Centers to turn teenage dropouts into skilled and capable workers. The other article, "Job Corps Add Welders to Labor Market," was written by Eugene Whitmore and appears in the April issue of Welding Engineer. It focuses on the outstanding record being achieved at the Gary Job Corps Center in San Marcos, Tex., in the field of skilled welding instruction for corpsmen. The Gary Center is within the boundaries of my congressional district.

Both articles, I feel, suggest that more attention should be paid to the achievements of the Job Corps. As Dr. O. J. Baker, director of the Gary Center, points out:

> Statistically, if less than five percent of the Job Corps trainees hold responsible employment for the remainder of their working years, they will have paid back the investment the government has made in the program.

Under unanimous consent I am including these two articles at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Pennsylvania Business, March 1966]

SITUATION WANTED

Available by mid-1966, approximately 4,500 young men and women per month trained in such occupations as retail sales, welding, office and clerical work, food service and preparation, machine shop, auto and small appliance repair. For information, contact: Mr. David L. Janson, Job Corps Placement Division, 1200 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20506.

Ads like the above will be in order this Summer when Job Corps centers throughout the country will begin to graduate big classes each month. The Office of Economic Opportunity now has the job of placement.

The Corps is intended to salvage and make productive citizens out of some of the estimated 500,000 American youths, aged 16 to 21, who are out of school and lack marketable skills. Nearly 18,000 youths are presently wearing the blue blazer of the Corps. They are scattered throughout eight men's urban training centers, five women's centers and 54 conservation centers, where the young men are receiving basic education and work skill training through doing necessary conservation work. Additional centers are planned for the future.

The men's camps combine the atmospheres of an army post, a boarding school and a college campus. Bigger urban centers, such as the Gary camp in Texas (dedicated by President Johnson), offer courses in retail sales, welding, auto repair and the like. The OEO contracts running the camps to companies, universities or nonprofit groups. Operators include: Litton Industries, Inc.; U.S. Industries, IBM's Science Research Associates, ITT's Federal Electric Corporation, Ford Motor Company's Philco Corporation, Packard Bell Electronics, Burroughs Corporation, Xerox, and Westinghouse Air Brake.

Since only 819 were graduated from the Corps on February 1, it is still a bit early to tell if jobs will be waiting for the larger numbers to follow. During the fiscal year beginning July 1 the Corps is scheduled to grow to 124 camps accommodating 45,000 youths, and the Government plans to spend $350 million on it—more than a fifth of all planned antipoverty spending in fiscal 1967.

While admitting that the big job is still to come, the Corps is proud of its accomplishments to date. Among these are:

J. R., a 20-year-old who came from a small town in southern Texas. He dropped out of school after completing the seventh grade. He worked in various odd jobs on vegetable farms and packing plants. He spent six months in the Job Corps, completed his math and reading programs and took the ten weeks welding course. J. R. is now working in Chicago at $2.50 an hour.

Another success story was that of T.P.N. Now 22, he quit high school in the 10th grade to go to work to support the family. He worked part-time in a gas station and served in the Coast Guard for several years. He was in the Job Corps for four months, learned typewriter repair, and completed his work for a high school equivalency diploma. He recently was hired in Oakland, California as a repairman. T.P.N. plans to take college courses at night. "My major goal is now to get three or four years of college under my belt. Education and learning have become absolutely fascinating . . . they've gotten into my blood."

Then, there are the others—the ones who are not admitted to the Corps and those who drop out. Some 300,000 have applied. Most haven't been screened since the Corps tries to keep its pool of accepted youths waiting for camp assignments to a couple thousand. Environmential, educational and behavior records of the youths are studied and they receive medical, IQ, reading and arithmetic tests. "Functional" illiterates may get in, but complete illiterates don't. Neither do youths with histories of repeated criminal behavior.

As for the dropouts, 32 of every 100 enrolled at Gary in the initial months failed to complete prescribed training. Job Corps staffers expect the rate to decline and insist that even brief exposure to a camp can change the life of a youth conditioned to poverty. Gary has traced many who quit and finds that a few are re-admitted to other camps, while some find jobs, go back to school or enter the military.

At Gary, which took its first trainees last March 3, enrollment is rising by 150 a week and will reach a peak of 3,000 soon, making the camp the biggest in the Corps. It offers the most courses, too—39.

A Corpsman's weekday begins at 6. After breakfast, he cleans his room, then reports to class at 8. He's required to spend three hours a day in academic courses, three hours invocational training and one hour in physical education. A citizenship class is mandatory.

Corpsmen draw salaries of $30 a month, and an additional $50 a month is set aside as a terminal leave bonus. A youth can have half his terminal leave bonus, or $25 a month, sent home to a dependent. If he does, the Government matches his contribution, so that the dependent gets $50 a month.

While the exact costs of training a Job Corpsman haven't been pinned down yet, they likely will turn out to be more than it would take to keep him in Havard. One estimate puts it at $4500 per student based on an average nine months in the Job Corps.

The director of Gary, Oscar J. Baker, a noted Texas educator, makes no pretense that his charges aren't a challenge. "Students here have one common factor," he says. "They come to us with a sense of failure and various degrees of skepticism that they will ever be much more." First objectives of Gary, he says are to rekindle their hope and restore their confidence.

"Public schools," says Mr. Baker, "operate seven hours a day while we operate like a city. In training Corpsmen, you are concerned with them 24 hours a day." He also contends, "statistically, if less than 5% of the job Corps trainees hold responsible employment for the remainder of their working years, they will have paid back the investment the Government has made in the program."

[From Welding Engineer, April 1966]

JOB CORPS ADDS WELDORS TO LABOR MARKET

(By Eugene Whitmore)

Several highly skilled weldors are making their numerous years of experience available to the 267 young men enrolled at the Gary Job Corps Training Center, San Marcos, Texas.

Operated by the Texas Educational Foundation, under a contract with the federal Office of Economic Opportunity, the center offers courses in welding, heavy equipment operation and maintenance, automotive repair and maintenance, commercial art, retailing, food service and printing. But the courses in welding, which require two years for completion, have the largest enrollment.

Divided in two sections, the welding courses begin with instructions in basic welding. After completion of this training, the students are ready for instruction in advanced welding, which includes Mig, Tig and open-arc flux-cored welding and oxy-acetylene cutting and welding. Advanced blueprint reading and sketching, as well as welding for structural pipe and pipeline projects, are also taught.

The first instructions, however, are in safety. Before the trainees can proceed into the advanced welding courses, they must prove by a test that they understand they can be seriously injured in many different welding activities if they are careless or reckless, or fail to use every possible safety device and protection.

After passing the safety tests, trainees spend a total of 520 hours in various welding activities before instruction is completed. With two years of practical training, working with every type of modern equipment under strict shop and factory type discipline and methods, they are prepared for many welding assignments in shops, factories, on pipelines or similar projects.

For the most part, the young men taking this training are high school dropouts from low income families who have been unable to find jobs because of lack of training or experience. All trainees must be under 21 years old when they enter the training program; they can be as young as 16.

The courses, which began in January 1965 with 15 men, have grown to the present enrollment of 267, almost the center's capacity. Actually, the center could accept 270 students since it has 75 work stations in advanced training and 45 work stations in basic training. These 120 work stations are enough to accommodate 270 students since each man spends at least three hours daily in academic classes, which include instruction in mathematics, science, English and citizenship.

Classes start at 8 a.m. and continue until 6:30 p.m., daily. All training is on an individual basis, while the trainee is actually performing some welding operation. There is very little classroom lecturing, but plenty of face-to-face instruction and encouragement as the men acquire skill and understanding of various welding techniques.

The building in which most of the training is conducted is a former airplane repair shop. The welding booths are equipped with modern tools and machines representing every recognized manufacturer of welding equipment. The aim is to prepare the students to use any commercial welding equipment when they move into industry and obtain a job.

Brown & Root, a contracting and construction firm, sent men to help plan and layout the training center, and more than 30 top companies have cooperated in furnishing, installing and maintaining the center's welding and allied equipment.

The center is operated as nearly like a commercial enterprise as possible. For example, there are tool cribs, and a student must sign for tools when they are drawn from the crib and he is held accountable for both the tools and for the metal used in the work.

Advanced welding explores the techniques of build-up, hardfacing, structural pipe and pipeline arc welding, as well as special metals welding and instruction in metallurgy. Shop practices, such as planning and estimating, shop organization and management, testing and inspection of metals, preheating, post-heating and stress relief, along with special shop projects and custom work, are also part of the course.

As the men complete their basic training and go into this advanced welding, a record of their work and achievements is started. This "Progress Record" is an eight-page folder with spaces to record 156 separate assignments, *e.g.*, in the Tig welding section alone there are 30 assignments ranging from the introduction to the equipment to welding dissimilar metals and aluminum pipe.

The record shows the date each project was assigned, date of completion, and the trainee's rating. The ratings are: (1) incapable of performing, (2) incapable of performing, needs additional experience, (3) capable of performing with total supervision, (4) capable of performing with minimum supervision, and (5) capable of performing on his own.

Considerable ingenuity has been used in finding materials with which the men can work. Aluminum wire, for example, is expensive, so the men follow power line construction and pick up scrap pieces. These are used in some of the welding booths. Short lengths of discarded rails and all sorts of other scrap are cut up, welded, recut and welded again. Thus instruction costs are said to be kept down to $500 per man per year, much lower than in private schools.

The quality of instruction can be seen from the experience brought to the center by some of the teachers:

David Humphrey; 18 years of welding experience, including plant construction, pipeline construction and maintenance; and shop work. Taught five years at Howard County Junior College.

Doyle D. Short; 23 years experience, involved in both topside and underwater welding, operated commercial diving firm specializing in underwater cutting and welding. Ten years of teaching experience.

H. B. Vann; five years experience in welding, 16 years of teaching heavy equipment welding, mixing alloys and build-up hardfacing, impact shock abrasion and hydraulic presses.

Caleb Dibrell; 24 years welding experience, including four years with government trade school at Kelly AFB, Texas, two years in aircraft welding, two years in steel testing and materials inspection.

Nearly all the students expressed a desire to return home and get a welding job. Some had specific plans as to the type of work they will seek; others were more general. But all were emphatic in their interest in welding as a career. Several large firms have offered to hire all men recommended by the Gary instructors and to give them jobs at the levels indicated by the trainee's progress record.

So modern is the equipment, the layout and the safety precautions that a number of commercial operators and some executives from large production welding shops have visited the training plant for a first-hand look.

Disclosures of the Week (11)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, certain new serious disclosures came to my attention last week which I would think would invite public indignation and tend to cause people to lower their respect for the way the Johnson administration is conducting our affairs.

Case one: The Richmond Va., Newsleader reported that we are spending $25 billion a year for the war in Vietnam; the Communists, on the other hand, are only spending $1 billion. If this continues for 20 years what will be the result on U.S. finances considering the huge domestic spending. We better get in and win, or get out.

Case two: Typical of the policy which Secretary McNama defends as economy was the case of a jeep found on a Far East Army base. It had 13,000 miles on its odometer. Army inspectors said it could be repaired for $4.47 but it was declared overage and disposed of.

Case three: The Federal payroll is listed at $35.3 billion next year, up $4.8 billion in the past 2 years.

Case four: The Neighborhood Youth Corps of the poverty program has thus far spent $287 million. And to date the Youth Corps has produced 1,061 "graduates" including those who entered the Armed Forces. The cost works out to $270,909 per graduate. The most expensive school in the world.

Case five: In De Kalb, Ill., a suit has been filed to stop a kindergarten class from saying:

> We thank you for the flowers so sweet, we thank you for the food we eat, we thank you for the birds that sing, we thank you for everything.

Case six: The Baltimore Sun reports that a manual of Federal programs takes 332 pages to describe the 223 Federal assistance programs under which Maryland State and local agencies can tap the Federal till.

Case seven: Senator LAUSCHE told the Senate the other day that a certain Thomas F. A. Plant of Stanford University was allocated $1,100,000 by the Federal Government to make a study of the subject of alcoholism and its impact upon the people of the United States.

According to the Senator, after 5 years of study, Mr. Plant, the researcher, recommends to parents of teenagers that they should begin feeding their children alcohol. He concluded that taboos against liquor advertising on TV, radio, and otherwise should be eliminated. He wanted future television to show family drinking.

That was what the taxpayers money was used to recommend.

Fourth International Congress for Noise Abatement, Baden Baden, Germany, May 13, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Robert Alex Baron, my constituent and a noted American noise abatement exponent, was the sole American delegate to address the Fourth International Congress for Noise Abatement, which he did on Friday, May 12, 1966, in Baden Baden, Germany.

The Congress was held from May 11 to May 14, with more than 20 nations from Europe, Africa, and South America participating. The overall theme of this Fourth Congress of scientists, technologists, medical men, public officials, and noise abatement experts is "Noise Abatement in Practice."

Mr. Baron was good enough to take with him a copy of my Noise Control Act of 1966 (H.R. 14602) and my statement with respect thereto, which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 21 at pages 8339 and the following and the followup material which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Monday, May 2, 1966, at page 9024, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Tuesday, May 3, 1966, at page 9223.

I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues the address given by Mr. Baron at Baden Baden:

NOISE ABATEMENT PROBLEMS IN THE U.S.A.

(By Robert Alex Baron)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of this distinguished and humanitarian Congress.

I would like to report that the United States is the quietest country in the world. I would life to—but I can't. To the contrary, we probably produce more noise, and do less to reduce it, than any civilized nation in the world. In truth, I must report that our noise environment may be likened to a plague of jet engined locusts.

Our task is so impossible it is difficult to say who is the masochist—the one who submits to this painful noise—or the one who vainly tries to fight it.

Allow me to cite two examples of what noise abatement must contend with:

First, we have 69 million automobiles, 13 million trucks, and 300,000 buses. Think of the din caused by the horns, the defective mufflers, the noisy engines and screaming brakes.

And second, there is the $72 billion construction industry, which employs more than 3 million people to operate its air compressors, pneumatic tools, cranes, hoist engines and cement mixers—all unmuffled for economy.

What politician dares silence this voting bloc? Where is the David to battle this Goliath?

Most noise is found in our congested cities where four out of every five Americans are expected to live by 1990.

The responsibility for noise abatement rests not in the hands of the Federal Government, but with thousands of local governments. Most of these local governments do not provide their citizens with adequate protection from excessive noise. Many of their statutes are virtually unenforceable for lack of precise, measurable standards. And in the few cases where precise standards exist, there is often a lack of trained personnel or the sound measuring instruments necessary for enforcement.

How do we abate motor vehicle noise in American cities? We don't.

There are some exceptions. Memphis, Tennessee, for example, has won for itself the title of "quietest city in the United States." Why? Because it has a reputation for enforcing its motor vehicle noise laws. It is also one of the few cities in North America with decibel standards.

Most New Yorkers do not know that New York City also silences auto horns—by law—but not by practice. Out of an estimated 600 million cars on our streets during the year 1964, there were only 2,500 summonses and arrests for unnecessary horn blowing.

I am not sure we can blame the police force for not enforcing this law. They are understaffed, busy with other work, and can't cope with the more than two million vehicles on the streets each day.

Although New York's noise laws require effective muffling of motor vehicles, it is estimated that half the trucks on the streets, and all of the buses, are poorly muffled.

New York's noise code, in common with that of most American cities, relies on such undefined terms as "loud", "excessive", and "unreasonable". These terms are so vague and subjective that convictions are rarely obtained. This further discourages law enforcement officials and encourages people to believe there is a fifth freedom, the right to be noisy. In 1964, New York issued only 343 summonses and arrests for violations of the general anti-noise regulations.

Of our 50 states, only one—New York—has a decibel definition of excessive noise. Its 88 decibels on the "A" scale limit affects only the worst offenders; it permits many loud trucks to operate.

In addition to the noise from motor vehicles, New Yorkers are assaulted each year by the noise of 10,000 demolitions and building projects, plus 80,000 street repair projects.

How do we abate construction noise? We don't. New York, in common with most cities of the world, exempts daytime construction noise from any noise control, and there are many loopholes for night-time construction.

Construction noise is considered to be a mere "temporary annoyance", and the suffering it causes is regarded as "the price of progress." This I discovered from the personal experience that forced me to become a noise abatement missionary.

Briefly, the Transit Authority of New York City decided to extend its 90 decibel subway in front of my apartment and office in the heart of mid-town Manhattan. Before the construction began, Upper Sixth Avenue was a pleasant cosmopolitan neighborhood of apartments, hotels, schools, a hospital, and skyscrapers. It has since become an acoustic nightmare.

For more than a year my family, my residential and business neighbors, and myself were subjected to the continuous, nine-hours-a-day, five-days-a-week acoustic assault from a battery of giant air compressors stationed on the street corner below my window. Generating a noise level of 103 decibels at the source, this construction project won for my corner the title of "noisiest corner in the word", and the noise was referred to as a "symphony of insanity."

In an attempt to abate this horror, I canvassed every area of city government, progressing from the policeman on the corner to the Commissioner of Health, and, ultimately, the Mayor. With no results. This three-year-long project, as well as the thousands of others that may operate for months and years, is protected as "a temporary nuisance", "a necessary evil."

It was a shock to discover that the public is completely at the mercy of the construction industry, that no abatement program exists on any level of government. Not even the United States Public Health Service is involved.

Not finding any source of relief or knowledge of construction noise abatement in the United States, I joined the British Noise Abatement Society. Thanks to Mr. John Connell and the Society I learned the first principle of noise abatement: fight with knowledge and strength instead of meaningless complaints.

A year ago Tuesday, on May 10, 1965, I called my neighbors together and formed the Upper Sixth Avenue Noise Abatement Society. My long-range objective is the formation of a permanent, effective, national organization. This type of citizen's group is urgently needed against noise; our cities protect us neither during working hours nor leisure hours.

Leisure time is defined as time free from occupation or business. There is no such thing as a specific time for leisure. The diversity of occupations and the gains of labor make for a flexibility of working hours and working days, and more time for leisure. While some seek quiet for reading, or conversing with friends and family, others are at work making noise and disturbing the peace. Later, the roles are reversed.

Even those at home in leisure contribute to the noise with 70 million television sets, 8 million air conditioners, and millions more of hi fi's, barking dogs, and W.C.'s. Uninsulated walls make a joke of privacy,especially in the new buildings; when your neighbor sneezes, you can say "gezundtheit."

I mustn't forget to mention helicopters, permitted to fly from heliports in the center of the crowded city. Then, there is the new juvenile menace: toys with loud, realistic motor noises; bicycles and tricycles with imitation motor noises, training our children to be the noisy motorists of the future.

Leisure time includes time for sleep. The right to sleep, which even ancient man recognized as a basic health essential, is a right in name only. Rich in variety and volume are the legal and illegal noises of the night: the honking of auto horns; the ear-piercing screaming sirens of fire engines and police cars; and the mechanized sanitation trucks—noisy mechanical cockroaches—crawling freely through the city and operating at 100 decibels for half-hour intervals. City officials do not require the sanitation truck industry to develop a silenced vehicle.

In one 26-year period, garbage collection noise had moved up to first place in a list of the ten most disturbing city noises. This is not noise abatement in practice.

Granted the magnitude of our noise problem—why is it that a nation as resourceful as the United States has no noise abatement effort commensurate with its needs? There is no simple answer.

Part of the problem is that we as a nation have been more concerned with the making of things than with the quality of our environment. For example:

American engineers and lawmakers see noise as a "right" of the construction industry. Where "social utility" is involved, the public's right to peace and quiet is non-existent. The courts have ruled that persons living in organized communities must suffer some damage and annoyance from each other.

Doctors and the public are not convinced of the cost of noise, that even routine urban noises such as subways, buses, and trucks may well result in hearing damage, cardiovascular problems, and mental health problems.

Noise lacks a sense of urgency. It lacks the drama of the air pollution deaths in London. As a result, priority is given to water pollution, air pollution and hundreds of other problems shouting louder than noise for attention, support, and the limited funds available.

We do not heed Thomas Edison's warning that as city noises will grow greater, man may eventually be born deaf.

While urban noise abatement languished, industry and government military and space agencies have launched the attack. Private industry sponsors noise-control research and hearing conservation programs. Decibel limits are set on the worker's noise environment; newly purchased equipment is required to meet 'tuned-frequency' specifications.

Of course, economics is a key reason for industry's interest in noise control. More and more states are beginning to recognize noise-induced hearing loss as compensable.

In the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), doctors, acoustical engineers and psychologists have been working to understand and tame the noise environment for space and military personnel.

There are some hopeful signs for plain John Q. Public.

In my opinion, the most significant step took place when a special White House panel included excessive noise in the same category as contaminated water, polluted air, and junkyards. In its report of November 7, 1965, this panel also declared the public is entitled to freedom from pollution.

Shortly thereafter, on March 2 of this year, President Johnson called for a full scale attack on jet noise.

A New York Congressman, THEODORE KUPFERMAN, who is a friend of the Upper Sixth Avenue Noise Abatement Association, introduced a bill calling for a comprehensive program to abate "noise pollution" by means of a federal, state, and local partnership.

On a local level, New York City will soon be the first city in the nation to have a building code which provides for sound insulation and noise-controls in dwellings.

To further the cause of noise abatement in New York City, I am trying to get the new Mayor to set up a task force on noise, with every chance for success.

These measures will require broad support.

We must all help. If the cause of noise abatement is to progress, we must support the declaration that man has a right to be free of excessive noise. We must convince the doctors of the world that noise is a health hazard. We must codify all available health data and disseminate this information to the medical profession.

We must enlist the support of the architects, acoustical engineers, machinery manufacturers, and contractors. We must assemble the best in silenced equipment and machines in a World Trade Fair for Silencing.

We must educate the public health and administrative officials of the world. We must stimulate research on noise standards and sensible guidelines for model noise codes.

Who knows, we may someday have a Decibel Olympics where the manufacturers and nations of the world can compete for the honor of having designed and produced the quietest and most efficient machinery and motor vehicles.

Officers and delegates to this Fourth International Congress for Noise Abatement, the noise explosion will get worse before it gets better. We must work together for a sane acoustic environment.

I thank you.

Quasset School, America's Oldest "Little Red Schoolhouse"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting ceremony took place on April 29, 1966, in the little town of Woodstock, Conn., in my congressional district. Woodstock is the location of the Quasset School, known as America's oldest "Little Red Schoolhouse." It was built in the year 1748 of local handmade brick, situated on a hill, overlooking a lake and an Indian settlement of that time—all three bearing the name Wabaquasset.

In 1943 the building was abandoned, but was subsequently rescued from public sale, dismantled and reconstructed. It was dedicated on May 24, 1954, with the idea in mind that it would be preserved as a reminder to all children of present and future generations of the early beginnings of public education in our country. Today, it serves as an auxiliary part of the new Consolidated Elementary School in Woodstock, and also as a museum and historic landmark.

The prime mover in the preservation of this school was the late Albert Williams of Woodstock, who was the founder of the Quasset School Historical Association. It was primarily through his devoted efforts that restoration and preservation of the Quasset School was made possible.

It is also interesting to note that the people of Woodstock, Conn., regard Woodstock, England, as their mother town. In fact, residents from the English Woodstock have taken a great interest in the restoration of the Quasset School and has shipped a young oak seedling from Blenheim Castle, Woodstock, Oxfordshire, the birthplace of the late Sir Winston Churchill, for planting at the school in Connecticut. On April 29, the ceremony referred to above took place. It was dedicated in remembrance of Albert Williams, the oak seedling was planted, and the ties of friendship between the people of the two Woodstocks—one in the United States, the other in England—were renewed and strengthened.

As our special guest for the day and main speaker we had the Right Honorable Viscount Margesson, who represented the British Ambassador Sir

Patrick Dean. On this occasion he delivered a very fine address. The family of Albert Williams was present. Mrs. Albert Williams, assisted by Viscount Margesson, planted the tree and a son, Lloyd Williams, spoke briefly for the family. There were a number of residents from Woodstock and surrounding area, as well as the children of the school.

Mr. Henry Joy, chairman of the Quasset School Historical Association, opened the ceremony with remarks of welcome. I participated in the program with brief remarks, then I read a message from Gov. John Dempsey, of Connecticut, and introduced Viscount Margesson. The Woodstock School Band, under the direction of Mr. Edward Rolf, played several musical selections.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD some of the highlights of the ceremony, including a copy of the program, the letter from Governor Dempsey, the remarks by Lloyd Williams, and the address by Viscount Margesson. I believe it is of historical and educational value:

PROGRAM

Processional march, "Trumpet Voluntary" by Purcell, Woodstock School Band under the direction of Mr. Edward Rolf, bandmaster.

Welcome, by Henry Joy, chairman of Quasset School Historical Association.

Musical selections: National anthems: United States, "Star Spangled Banner," Great Britain, "God Save the Queen."

"How the Oak Trees Came to Woodstock," remarks by Mr. Lloyd Williams.

Message from Gov. John Dempsey, as related by the Honorable WILLIAM ST. ONGE, Representative in Congress from the Second Congressional District in Connecticut.

Address, by the Right Honorable Viscount Margesson, representing Sir Patrick Dean, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Embassy of Great Britain. Lord Margesson will be introduced by Congressman ST. ONGE.

Planting of the Blenheim oak tree: Mrs. Albert Williams assisted by school children and Lord Margesson. Musical accompaniment "Choral Prelude," by Rinck performed by the school band.

Conclusion of the ceremony: "Minute Man March," by the band.

AN OAK TREE FROM BLENHEIM

(Remarks by Lloyd R. Williams)

Last May Jim Milnor spoke to me about the possibility of having some suitable memorial to my Father at the Quasset School. I suggested an oak tree from Woodstock, England, the Mother town of Woodstock, Conn. Jim thought it was a good idea so in September my Mother and I went to England to make arrangements for importing several young oak trees from Woodstock.

We had written ahead to the Mayor and Town Clerk and on arrival in Woodstock we were most pleasantly surprised to learn that the trees would be coming from Blenheim Palace, the birthplace of Winston Churchill in Woodstock. If Winston were alive today, I am sure he would have approved. No man of this century had a greater interest in American history and education.

Blenheim Palace was built by Queen Anne and presented to the first Duke of Marlborough, John Churchill, as a gift in perpetuity to the Churchill family for the great victory of the Duke over the French and the Bavarians in the Battle of Blenheim. It was at Blenheim Palace on November 30, 1874, that the beautiful Lady Randolph Churchill, and American, broke away from a state reception and rushed down the marble staircase to an empty servants room to give birth to a premature six-month baby. That baby, the one who was always in a hurry, the Woodstock child who couldn't even wait to be born, was to become The Man of the 20th Century, Sir Winston Churchill.

Fortunately, the soldiers at the Battle of Blenheim didn't have to fight our modern day inspection and quarantine restrictions. Our oak trees from Blenheim had to go through a battle of their own, but they have apparently survived desipte the loss of some limbs and a week or 10 days without nourishment. Among other things, the trees had to be shipped dry root without any soil, and fumigated and inspected before and after shipment.

The trees did get one break. Ordinarily, they would have had to be placed in quarantine for several months, but because of the importance of this occasion arrangements were made for a special post entry quarantine permit whereby the trees could be planted immediately in Woodstock soil. Through an agreement with the Connecticut Forestry Department the trees will be inspected periodically to make sure no disease organisms have been brought into the United States.

The biggest hurdle of all was in England. To meet the exacting U.S. requirements the sacred soil at Blenheim had to be inspected. Nothing like this had ever occurred during the 262-year reign of the Churchill family. I am glad to report that the soil passed the test. And now we finally have the oak trees from Blenheim ready to begin a new life in American soil.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS,
Hartford, Conn., April 7, 1966.

Mr. LLOYD R. WILLIAMS,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you for your gracious letter of invitation. I was pleased with word of plans for a tree planting ceremony on Arbor Day at the Quasset School.

Though I would be pleased to join with you for this historic ceremony honoring your father, I am committed to an annual luncheon speaking engagement in Hartford that cannot be changed at this late date.

Since I cannot be with you personally, I hope you will express my warm greetings to the residents of Woodstock—many I know as close friends—and my appreciation for their interest and efforts in restoring historic Quasset School. You and your family are to be commended for maintaining a close association with a project so dear to your father.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

JOHN DEMPSEY,
Governor.

TEXT OF SPEECH MADE BY THE VISCOUNT MARGESSON AT WOODSTOCK, CONN., APRIL 29, 1966

The ceremony we have come to attend today is designed as a memorial to the late Mr. Albert Williams, who was the prime mover in the community's drive and effort to preserve the Quasset school as the priceless landmark it is in the history and development of the nation's public school education.

I see the event as the latest example in a long and impressive list of Anglo-American efforts and ventures which are now taking place between countless ordinary people, educational and cultural institutions and at all levels of government in coordinating the national policies of our two countries. We have long shared many different aspects of our national life and heritage—in thought, religion, and in democratic principle, to mention only a few—and we can surely take great pleasure and satisfaction in this event as an expression of the spirit and practice of co-operation between our two countries, which is increasing every year in volume and importance.

The planting of a tree is full of wide implications and symbolic meaning and on this occasion we are today planting not only a tree but an oak tree, and not only an oak tree but an oak tree whose place of birth was Blenheim Palace, near Woodstock, Oxfordshire, England, where Sir Winston Churchill also was born. These facts, with their implications, are in the minds of all of us who are here today; let us see if we can gather together the different strands of their significance.

A planting is a new beginning, and a small beginning. A seed is sown, it sends down roots and takes nourishment from the soil. It grows in size and strength. So it was with your country when, not far from where we stand today, the early settlers, sailing from Europe, and in particular from England, landed, some 350 years ago, and planted the colonies which were the seeds of the future United States. And so it was with the foundation of the Quasset School which was one of the first seeds of free public school education planted in this country; a small beginning leading to far reaching results, some of the splendid products of which I see assembled in front of me today! Nearly 92 years ago, a child was born at Blenheim Palace, who grew into a man of world stature and fame, a man whom we are also, in part, by the planting of this tree, honouring today.

An element common to these things is time. It takes time for small groups of people to grow into a nation, for a small educational experiment to develop into a nation-wide system; it takes times for a child to grow into a man and for a seed to grow into a tree.

The life-span of an oak tree is thought to be more than 1200 years! According to the latest estimates it matures for 500 years, remains with little change for the next 200 years, and declines for another 500 years.

Certain famous oak trees in England have been given names: There is the Panshanger Oak near London which is believed to have been a seedling at the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066 and requires 7 men with linked arms to encircle its girth.

The remains of the Oak at Hatfield, under which Queen Elizabeth I was sitting when she was brought the news of her accession to the throne in 1558, has been named the Elizabeth Oak.

The Major Oak in Robin Hood's Sherwood Forest, still standing, is believed to be 1400 years old. It was a full grown tree when Magna Carta was signed in 1215. The hollow of the trunk will hold 15 people. The girth is 37–38 feet.

Another oak in Sherwood Forest is known as Robin Hood's Larder.

According to legend it was used as a hiding place for deer Robin Hood had slain.

Some years ago some school girls boiled their kettle in the hollow of the trunk to make tea, and by mistake burnt down a large part of it. As you know, the English must have their afternoon cup of tea even if it means burning down an oak tree to get it; but the remains have been preserved.

The Cowthorpe Oak in Yorkshire is well over 1600 years old.

In Windsor Forest there is an oak tree called William the Conqueror's Oak, which is over 2,000 years old, and which is said to be the oldest of all living oaks.

APPROPRIATE TO NAME THE TREE WE ARE PLANTING TO-DAY, THE BLENHEIM OAK

Of all the trees in the English woods, the oak is the most famous and has been more used by and useful to my countrymen than any of our other trees.

Drake's ship, the Golden Hind, and all the other ships of the English adventurers who were sailing to different parts of the world nearly 400 years ago, were made of oak.

Through the centuries, fishing and cargo vessels of all kinds, framed in oak, were launched from the slipways of ports round the British coast from Northern Scotland to Southern England. Later, when these ships were broken up, the oak timber was used for beams, rafters and doorposts in the houses, cottages and barns of the coastal towns and villages. Sometimes the woodwork of these houses bore the original marks showing where it had been placed in the ships.

Oak has also been used for centuries to make furniture, tables and chairs and if one day you visit Hampton Court you will see the oak roof of the Great Hall with its famous hammer beams built in Henry VIII's reign. The most famous of all is the huge oak roof of Westminster Hall in London a part of the Royal Palace of Westminster which was erected over the Hall in 1399.

But the oak tree has been a friend of man and useful to him in other ways as well. As residents of Connecticut, you will know from your history of the State that it was an oak tree which provided a perfect place, 300 years ago, in which to hide the Charter from the prying eyes of the—wicked English governor!

And in England it provided shelter for one of our kings, Charles II, when he had to take undignified refuge from his pursuers who had a few years before cut off his father's head. As a result of this escapade a large number of inns, pubs or bars, as you might call them bear the name: Royal Oak.

There must be a moral in this somewhere; I suppose it is that an astute businessman can always turn to his own advantage somebody else's misfortune—even a king's.

Anyway we must leave Charles up his oak tree in Shropshire—from which, of course, he ultimately descended so as to be able to mount the English throne 9 years later as King Charles II—and return to weightier matters.

A long life is not the only characteristic associated with an oak tree, there are many others—hardness, strength, nobility, fortitude, steadfastness, the ability to withstand shock and strain and to endure. Am I speaking of a tree or of a man? In speaking of one, I am speaking of the other, for these were the qualities we rightly associate with Sir Winston Churchill, with the addition of another—courage—which an oak tree cannot possess, but which he possessed in abundance and for which he will be remembered as long as history is read, the courage that he demonstrated to the world in our fight against Hitler when he was at the height of his power, the courage that turned Britain's darkest hour into her finest hour.

This is not the time to quote at length from the famous Churchill speeches of the war, but I should like to pass on to you something that he said to the boys at his old school, Harrow, when he paid a visit there in 1941—although I hope my doing so will not get you into trouble with your teachers tomorrow: "The lesson to be derived from recent experiences is never to give in. Never, never, never, not in any event great or small, large or paltry never, never yield except to conviction and good sense. Never yield to force, never yield to the growing and apparently overwhelming might of the enemy." (Text reported in the Times, October 1941.)

Inspired by Churchill, Britain stood alone against Hitler after all the other nations attacked by him had been over-run and crushed; it was a small beginning, but it sowed the seeds out of which grew the victorious Grand Alliance between our two countries during the war, and out of which, in time, the Western Alliance grew between the countries of the Free World on which the structure of the whole of our postwar world is based and in the security of which all of us here are now living.

Let us learn from the oak tree and from the life of Sir Winston Churchill the lessons that both have to teach us and apply them to our own lives; let us live strong in our resolve to overcome together in the future, as in the past, the dangers and complexities that lie ahead.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I in conclusion, on behalf of my Government and my country pay tribute to the late Mr. Albert Williams, and extend my sincerest thanks and appreciation to his son and widow whose inspiration, hard work and perseverance have made possible the event which we are about to celebrate today?

Communist Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the administration announced it is seeking legislation to give it additional authority to negotiate commercial agreements with the U.S.S.R. and other nations of Eastern Europe.

This would be part of the effort to "build bridges" to the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe which it is claimed would benefit us through allowing them to sell more goods here and presumably open the gates wider for U.S. sales to Communist bloc countries.

I believe this is a highly inadvisable proposal which runs directly contrary to our national interest and security.

Something that is not always fully realized is that we are already seling significant amountls of technica data and equipment to Communist bloc nations and that these items are highly significant toward building up the economic and industrial potential of those countries.

At various times in the past I have brought to the attention of the House many instances of licenses issued authorizing shipments to the Communist bloc. One of these was my statement to the House which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last fall, September 2, 1965. It will be recalled that among the many items referred to were licenses to ship oil production and vital equipment and data to Rumania.

I know that many Members of Congress and large segments of the public who share my deep concern about shipments of such items as oil producing equipment to the Communist bloc will be interested in a letter I have just received setting forth the impressions of an American couple who recent witnessed the shipping to and unloading of oil production equipment in Rumania. The letter states:

> On January 27, 1966 we were aboard the *Aimess Lykes* at New Orleans, bound for the Mediterranean and Constanza, Rumania. At that port we loaded a complete crane (for oil field use apparently) with parts—one piece alone weighed 24,800 lbs.
>
> On February 26, 1966 at Constanza, Rummania this shipment was unloaded. A representative of the American shipper was on hand to check the arrival—even to the extent of photographing the equipment in the hold. Apparently this piece by piece check and pre-unloading photography was to prevent any complaint by Rumanian interests.
>
> On the dock adjacent where our ship was tied up was a city block completely covered by military vehicles, jeeps, armored cars, etc. labaled for "Haiphong Made in Bucharest, Rumania." We were shocked to find our country shipping industrial material to a country who was supplying the Vietcong with material to kill American boys.

I am sure that millions upon millions of Americans concur completely in those remarks. Why, indeed, should the United States sell data and equipment to the Communist bloc countries who are aiding Communist aggression in Vietnam?

There is little likelihood in my view that selling advanced equipment and data to the Reds can really reduce Communist zeal for world conquest or their deceit and duplicity in carrying out their goals.

Heroism in Vietnam by San Leandro, Calif., Hospitalman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, the United States is involved in one of our Nation's noble efforts, to preserve a democratic and free society for millions of Asians in the southeastern part of their continent.

In this century there have been four calls to greatness on the part of the young men and women of our country. One of these times is now, and I was very gratified to read in the San Leandro Morning News of May 3, 1966, an article concerning the award of a Silver Star for heroism to Hospitalman Bradford T. Fredette, of San Leandro, Calif. I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an account of his actions over and beyond the call of duty as a member of the U.S. Marine Corps:

HEROISM IN VIET NAM: SAN LEANDRO HOSPITALMAN AWARDED SILVER STAR

(By Mary McAllister)

> One of the nation's highest medals, the Silver Star, has been awarded to Hospitalman Bradford T. Fredette, United States Navy, 20, of San Leandro, former Morning News carrier, for his courageous and selfless action that saved many lives last December on the battle field in Chu Lai, Viet Nam.
>
> His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ellsworth Fredette, 1460–142nd Avenue, received the medal Sunday night.
>
> The medal and citation were presented to Fredette, a 1963 graduate of St. Elizabeth's High School in Oakland, by Lieut. Gen. V. H. Krulak, U.S. Marine Corps, commanding officer, on behalf of the President of the United States.
>
> The citation tells the story. It reads:
>
> "For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action while serving as a Corpsman with Company E, Second Battalion, Seventh Marines, in the Republic of Vietnam. On 10 December 1965, during Operation Harvest Moon, Company E was assigned the mission of assaulting a fortified insurgent communist (Viet Cong) position. Soon after the Company crossed the line of departure,

the platoon to which Hospitalman Fredette was assigned began sustaining casualties from automatic weapons and mortar fire. Ignoring the intense fire, he selflessly exposed himself in order to aid his fallen comrades.

"One Marine had received a puncture wound in the throat, preventing him from breathing properly. With a calm and thoroughly professional manner, Hospitalman Fredette expertly performed a tracheotomy, thereby undoubtedly saving the life of the Marine.

"As his Company continued in the assault, they received several more casualties. Hospitalman Fredette persisted in his tireless and heroic efforts, moving from man to man, rendering effective aid and comfort. When the enemy mortar fire ceased, enemy infantry counterattacked his unit. Realizing the impending danger, he unhesitatingly picked up an M79 grenade launcher from a fallen Marine and delivered a accurate fire upon the advancing enemy, causing the enemy to withdraw.

"Again demonstrating his seemingly inexhaustable energy, he established a temporary aid station for the further treatment and subsequent evacuation of the wounded. By his heroic actions, exceptional professional ability and tireless devotion to duty throughout, Hospitalman Fredette was responsible for saving the lives and reducing the suffering of many Marines and upheld the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service," the citation from the President concluded.

Brad Fredette had seen a tracheotomy performed, but had never done one himself, his mother told The Morning News. With grenades and gunfire raining all around him, he calmly took an ordinary pair of scissors, cut a hole in the wounded man's throat, holding it open with the scissors until the ambulance arrived. Then he went on to the next man that needed help.

"He didn't have to be in the front like that," said his proud mother, her eyes moistening a fleeting moment at the thought. "He took a chance on his own life.

"All he thought of was taking care of the wounded. He didn't have time to stop and think how he felt." Joanna Fredette quoted her son, with whom she talked by phone from Tokyo last Friday night. "He just went down the line and did what he could."

After five days on leave in Tokyo, where he visited with an uncle, Capt. Val Barett, a pilot for Japan Air Lines, Hospitalman Fredette is back in Chu Lai with Echo Company. Capt. Barett, formerly of Hayward, flew the Silver Star to the United States, presenting it to Fredette's parents Sunday. He also brought a tape recording and slides of the ceremony.

As a youngster, Brad Fredette attended Assumption School in San Leandro. His father is a baker at Oak Knoll Naval Hospital, and a married brother Paul, lives in Hayward.

The six-foot 180 pound corpsman joined the Naval Reserves a year before his graduation from St. Elizabeth's. He graduated with honors from Naval hospital training courses in San Diego, Tennessee and North Carolina.

The Fredette home was really humming last year when Brad brought eight of his fellow North Carolina graduates for a week's visit with his family before their overseas departure.

The parents of the boys have all become fast friends, corresponding regularly with one another, and mailing the servicemen letters and packages which they share with their fellow servicemen, many of whom receive no mail at all, Joanna Fredette said.

So many people have written to Brad and sent him packages that his mother asked The Morning News to publicly express his thanks to everyone.

The thanks should go the other way. But how do you really thank a man for laying his life on the line, as Bradford Fredette did at Chu Lai?

Institute for Retired Professionals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD my remarks before the Institute for Retired Professionals of the New School for Social Research in New York, at their annual dinner on Friday, May 12, 1966. My remarks follow:

Thank you for the honor you are paying me. The annual award of the Institute for Retired Professionals is a particularly coveted prize, coming, as it does, from men and women whose distinguished pursuit of learning and the arts is matched only by their serene determination that their later years shall also be fruitful years of fulfillment.

Four years ago, speaking to the Congregation Ohav Sholom in New York, I had occasion to deplore what seemed to me to be a national neglect of the aged. I spoke of the increasing proportion of elderly people in our population and the relative absence of any "accent of age" in our social thinking and planning. I stressed the conditions adversely affecting older people, the discrimination they encounter in employment, the cruel impact of compulsory retirement merely because of age, often at the very height of productivity. I dwelled on the economic stringency of the elderly and their dependence on old age insurance. Finally, I deplored what I conceived to be the prevailing attitude toward people over 65, describing it as one of mere tolerance and condescension, calculated to make even the aged think ill of themselves—sapping their self-respect. Too often, they were thrust aside like broken tools.

I urged a reversal of our national negativism toward the elderly. I pleaded for a restoration of their prestige.

Although much of what I said in 1962 could still be said today, there is one marked exception. And that exception calls for an apology from me to you. I make it to you now. In my earnest advocacy of the right of older people to live rewarding lives, in my plea for consideration of their plight, I overlooked a central factor in the entire problem. I overlooked the will and wisdom of the elderly themselves. Little did I know that at the very time at which I spoke—the spring of 1962—your Institute was being given life under the aegis of the New School for Social Research. The Institute came into being as a center for members of the professions who had retired and who wished to continue their education in their chosen intellectual and cultural pursuits. Wisely, the programming was made to include both study and volunteer work, affarding the participants the opportunity both of receiving and of giving—a tried and tested formula for successful living.

Your Institute's growth has been phenomenal, opening its doors in 1962 to 185 members and now finding its membership trebled, with a substantial waiting list. The key to IRP's success appears to be twofold: First, the very nature of its membership, intellectual equals of similar age groups in varying professional backgrounds, meeting regularly for the purpose of self-development and the cultivation of a new life. Second, the pursuit of these objectives under their own leadership within the walls of an established educational institution.

Through your Institute you have realized the teaching that life and learning are a continuous process. Thus, what is called the tragedy of old age is seen as a time of rich fulfillment.

Look at the men and women of ripe age who have been marked by history—Galileo, Spenser, Verdi—who were creative in their ninetieth year. Or you can point to such men as Orlando, who at 91 was a member of the Italian Senate, professor at the University of Rome, head of a very successful law firm, and the last survivor of the prime ministers who concluded the Peace of Versailles. Or Churchill or Bernard Baruch and other aged but nevertheless young in mind and spirit. Some of these people I have personally met and I have been impressed with their vigor and interest in living and in life. The one common fact that characterizes all these men is that they never gave up their interest in living and never doubted their capacity for learning. This is a way of life that all can embrace.

At 77 I refuse to believe that in two, three, five years I shall suddenly forsake by interests and feel abandoned. My being in Congress has nothing to do with this. I have been in Congress since I was 36, and I find that the enthusiasm for new problems, the excitement of learning, the stimulation of plays, of opera and music, and reading, and love of family, continue with the years, and I know that because these are with me I shall never be old.

I like what Dr. Martin Gumpert, author of "You Are Younger Than You Think," said: "It now remains for us to transfer our medical experience, our scientific knowledge, into social attitudes. If we accept the older citizen as an asset to our community instead of a burden, if we restore his dignity and independence, if we listen to his judgment and experience, if we respect his rights and challenge his responsibilities, we may be on our way to fulfill mankind's most ardent hope: a mature society governed by wisdom."

Hundreds of bills are introduced in every session of Congress dealing with the many phases of aged and retirement living. The Older Americans Act of 1965 passed by Congress last year marked a major step forward in the Nation's recognition of the need for the full participation in our social and economic life of American older citizens.

The Act emphasized the importance of a strong, central concern for the interests of older people within the Federal Government by establishing an Administration on Aging as a separate and independent operating agency of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Also, the Older American Act places a premium on State and community action and responsibility, citizen interest, and developing opportunities and services for and with older people in their home communities.

The declaration of the 10 objectives in the Older Americans Act of 1965 affirms the Nation's concern for maintaining individual and family self-reliance and independence, for preserving self-respect, and for preventing dependency wherever possible.

"Self-reliance" and "independence"—these are the key words; for the responsibility for the aged does not rest solely on the Government; it is a responsibility within each home and for each individual. While the state can provide such machinery as low-cost housing, to enable old people to live away from the families, and municipalities can provide social centers, and states can provide institutions, and the nation can provide old-age monetary assistance, and employers can do away entirely with compulsory retirement and can employ more people in the older age brackets—all this will be incomplete unless and until the attitude of the people toward old people will change with the changing times and more importantly, unless and until the attitude of the old people will change toward themselves.

What is so superb about your Institute is that it marks a change of attitude that can only result, in Gumpert's words, in "a mature society governed by wisdom." Your leadership in this endeavor should and I believe it will, be widely followed. You know and I know that there is really no such thing as a "retired professional." We will never be really old as long as we maintain and nourish our ceaseless curiosity. It has been cogently pointed out that the only persons who escape the hardening of the arteries of the spirit are those who remain young, naive, innocent, while maturing physically and mentally. They are the people whose middle and late careers continue to reflect the sunrise.

And as a finale to these remarks, permit the following quotation from Longfellow:

"Ah, nothing is too late,
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.
Cato learned Greek at eighty; Sophocles
Wrote his grand Oedipus, and Simonides
Bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,
When each had numbered more than fourscore years.

"Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales,
At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales;
Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last.
Completed Faust when eighty years were past.

"For age is opportunity no less
Than youth itself, through in another dress,
And as the evening twilight fades away
The sky in filled with stars, invisible by day."

Remarks of Mayor McKeldin at 49th Anniversary Banquet Talmudical Academy of Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, for almost one-half a century, the Talmudical Academy of Baltimore has played a leading role among parochial schools in our city, in educating our youth in both religion and in secular subjects.

On May 15, 1966, this justly renowed academy held its 49th anniversary banquet and presented to Associate Justice Abe Fortas of the U.S. Supreme Court its "National Leadership" award. The principal address was delivered by Ambassador James Roosevelt, the U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council and a member of the U.S. mission to the United Nations.

Among the distinguished guests and public officials present was the silver-tongued mayor of the city of Baltimore, the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin. Because his words are always inspiring and also due to the importance of the occasion, I deem them of sufficient significance to have them inserted in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; they are as follows:

REMARKS OF THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, MAYOR OF BALTIMORE, TALMUDICAL ACADEMY OF BALTIMORE, 49TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET AT THE CIVIC CENTER, MAY 15,1966

Everyone agrees that the mere physical survival of Jewry is not enough.

Everyone expects more than mere continuity of existence from the people whose ideals of peace, justice, freedom and equality—the four pillars of ancient prophetic Judaism—are the major goals of our entire American society.

But how can the great Jewish culture survive, how can these cherished Jewish values, institutions and traditions be perpetuated without basic, thorough Jewish education?

The answer is that the Jewish concepts that have lived for thousands of years through devotion to learning, must be handed down to future generations also through devotion to learning.

Never more than today has it been so urgent to heed the Biblical injunction to "teach them diligently unto your children."

You have endured persecutions through the ages. You have outlived the pogroms. You have even survived the horror of 6 million of your people slaughtered by the Nazi butchers.

But, today, you face your greatest threat. Here, in the land of liberty and freedom, lulled by tolerance and kindness, there is danger that you will let slip through your fingers the Jewish learning to which you have clung when there was nothing else to cling to.

That is why it is so vitally important that such institutions of learning as your Talmudical Academy grow and prosper through the years to come.

The Gap Between Words and Deeds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial on May 13 the New York Post discussed the gap between words and deeds in the conduct of our foreign policy.

"It is toward this conflict between words and deeds that thoughtful criticism of the President's Vietnam policy is directed," the editorial explained with considerable insight.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Post, May 13, 1966]

THE GAP BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS

"While men may talk of the search for peace and the pursuit of peace, we really know that peace is not something to be discovered suddenly; it's not a thing to be caught and contained. Because peace must be built step by patient step . . ."
—*President Johnson at Princeton, May 11.*

These and many other earnest expressions can be found in the President's Princeton speech. His remarks were basically addressed to "men of the intellectual world" who have been among his sternest critics on Viet Nam policy. His measured words were a heartfelt invitation to discussion, not an angry polemic; they deserve a reply couched in the same spirit.

There can be no disputing the President's view that this country has both the power and the duty to assume a major role in man's quest for freedom and peace, to help realize the prophet Micah's vision of the day when "they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid." The debate now stirring the United States is not about the ends. It is about the means. The President has voiced again our best national intentions; he has voiced what, at heart, most Americans beyond the Birchite fringe and the Communist sects deeply feel.

The criticism to which the President has responded is based on the alarming accumulation of evidence that we do not mean what we say, and that our deeds too often contradict our words. The President says the use of military force "must be for limited purposes and must be tightly controlled." Yet we ran wild in Santo Domingo and the escalation of the war in Viet Nam continues. The President speaks of true self-determination for the Vietnamese. Yet Premier Ky, in whom Mr. Johnson has invested so heavily, threatens to intercede if the forthcoming elections go against him.

The latest example of this tragic contradiction is the State Dept.'s confirmation of Chou En-lai's disclosure that the U.S. rejected a proposal a year ago to join Communist China in a pledge not to use nuclear weapons against each other.

This extraordinary overture from Peking should have been given the most searching scrutiny, not only for its immediate merits but also for its potential long-range diplomatic significance. But it was turned down because the U.S. did not want to compromise its nuclear deterrent power. The possibilities for a more meaningful diplomatic deterrent, which might have flowed from reasoned response to this feeler, did not divert the State Dept. from its stereotyped attitudes toward Communist China. And now the fallout from the latest Chinese nuclear test is filtering down over Japan and there is dangerous trouble in the skies over China.

In other words, as the President was speaking of building peace "step by patient step," the State Dept. was furnishing new evidence that we have stubbornly clung to frozen positions rather than risk the wrath of the China Lobby.

How many other overtures from Peking may have been dismissed this way? We have no way of knowing now. One thing is plain: every flat rejection from here undermines whatever remaining will toward new initiatives exists in Peking.

If we cannot or will not respond creatively to such an overture, there is doubt we can conduct more complex diplomatic maneuvers, such as exploiting the current friction between Hanoi and Peking.

It is toward this conflict between words and deeds that thoughtful criticism of the President's Vietnam policy is directed. He can be assured of the most willing and faithful support from most of the same critics in every effort he makes to end the conflict. But as long as tired, heavy hands inhibit our diplomacy, the noblest expressions of our national purpose will echo as hollow generalities; we will be vulnerable to charges of cynical dissembling, and we will indeed suffer the "agony" of power.

Dear Uncle Sam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, several of my constituents have called my attention to a very interesting letter to Uncle Sam by Mr. Bill Dawn, president of Dawn & Co., Knoxville, Tenn.

I would like to place this in the Record for it is very true that we have many inconsistencies in regard to taxation and welfare programs:

> Dear Uncle Sam: Why do you allow me only $600 income deduction to raise my child for one year? When you allow: $1,200 per year for a Cuban refugeee, and if the Cuban boy or girl is going to school an extra $1,000 per year; $2,300 to keep a man in the federal pen, and he doesn't use the family car; $168 per month for social security for retired persons but say I need only $50 for my child's monthly costs.
>
> The Vista Training Program costs 3.1 million to train only 202 young people, this costs more than $15,000 per year per trainee.
>
> The Job Corps so far has spent approximately $18,000 per year each to high school drop outs.
>
> To feed, clothe, train a boy in the armed forces costs $1,076.14, but you expect me to do the same for my youngster on $600.
>
> But this one takes the cake . . . you allow me only $600 to take care of my child, but will give thru A. D. C. $800 to care for an illegitimtae child * * * this seems to say you think he is more important than mine.
>
> I am yelling Uncle, because I think it is time someone pointed out these inconsistencies.
>
> Dawn & Co.,
> Bill Dawn,
> *President.*

Dedication of New Veterans' Hospital at Charleston, S.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, a majestic new center of healing was dedicated May 13 at Charleston, S.C., for the care and treatment of our veterans.

The Honorable William Jennings Bryan Dorn, ranking Democratic member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, delivered an eloquent address as the principal speaker. His remarks speak for themselves. Under unanimous consent, I am including the text of his address so that those of you who were not fortunate enough to be present at the ceremony may read and enjoy his remarks:

Remarks by the Honorable William Jennings Bryan Dorn, Member of Congress at the *Dedication Ceremony* of the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Charleston, S.C., May 13, 1966

Thank you, Chairman Olin Teague, for your very kind and warm introduction. I am grateful for our association together in the Congress and on our great Veterans' Affairs Committee.

Governor McNair, Majority Leader Albert, Mr. Rivers, distinguished visitors, and friends. I know of no one I would rather have present me to an American audience than Tiger Teague, a great combat soldier, a dedicated colleague, and friend.

Olin Teague has fought admirably for the veteran, his widow and orphan since he first came to the *Congress* in 1947. *All of us* can be grateful to Mr. Teague not only for his leadership in the field of Veterans Affairs, but also in the fields of space and astronautics which will mean so much to the preservation of our country and freedom throughout the world.

Mr. Teague, I welcome you and Mrs. Teague to South Carolina. You have our admiration and appreciation always.

It is always an honor and a pleasure to visit in the Congressional district of my distinguished and illustrious colleague, the Honorable Mendel Rivers. Mr. Rivers, we are grateful to you and proud of you. This entire nation, and indeed the free world, is stronger and more optimistic about the cause of freedom because of your chairmanship of the powerful Armed Services Committee. We are grateful for your leadership and we appreciate your hospitality and your kindnesses.

I particularly welcome the Majority Leader of the United States House of Representatives, the Honorable Carl Albert, of Oklahoma, a man whose leadership, courage, and statesmanship are inspirational to his colleagues. I welcome ihs lovely wife, a native South Carolinian and a very gracious and charming lady of whom all South Carolina and America can be proud.

I welcome to South Carolina and to the great City of Charleston this fine delegation of outstanding Members of the Congress of the United States. We are deeply grateful for your coming to Charleston with us for the dedication of this, one of the world's most modern and finest hospitals.

Somehow it seems more than fitting that this majestic new center of healing should be located in Charleston—a city that is known far and wide for its charm, its warmth, and its noble traditions. Charleston is famous for she-crab soup, that classic musical play "Porgy and Bess," for its lovely gardens, for historic Fort Sumpter, and most of all, for its gracious people. This new hospital, with its ultramodern resources for healing, will complement the very spirit of Charleston.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud of my colleagues in the Congress; I am proud of the Congress as an institution—one of the greatest institutions preserved over the years by the American people and by our fighting men. I have been associated over the years with many organizations and legislative bodies, but I have never known a more dedicated, courageous, and patriotic group of men and women than those with whom I serve in the Congress. I have every confidence in the distinguished committee chairmen and the individual members of Congress. I can assure you that they will keep that sacred convenant with the American people and uphold the Constitution of the United States.

The Congress has a long and illustrious history. May I remind you that the Continental Congress created these United States. It selected George Washington as Commander in Chief. It was the Continental Congress which conducted the Revolutionary War and the functions of Government before there was a Constitution and before there were any agencies of the United States Government. The Continental Congress created the Army of the United States—the Navy and the Marine Corps. The First Article in the Constitution and the first words following the Preamble deal with the creation of a Congress with a House and a Senate.

I want to welcome the Honorable and Mrs. William J. Driver to South Carolina. As administrator of Veterans Affairs, Bill Driver is recognized by the President and the Congress for his tremendous talent and great ability. He is considered one of the finest and most outstanding public servants in this Nation.

The Veterans Administration, under his leadership, is one of the most efficiently operating agencies in the government. It is one of the largest agencies, with over 170,000 employees and an annual expenditure of approximately 6.5 billion dollars.

The Veterans' Administration has a single aim—to serve those who have so faithfully served their country. The VA takes many roads to that single goal. One of the broadest paths is exemplified by this hospital we dedicate here today, one of the most modern hospitals in all of the United States, indeed, in all the world. Medical care for the veteran is a prime effort of the VA, and in that field it is doing a magnificent job.

The VA has many other important functions. It is the agency that administers such veterans benefits as pensions and compensation for the fighting men wounded in wars, aid to the orphans and widows of those who gave their lives, and one of the finest programs ever passed by a Congress of these United States—the GI education program.

That education program, helping veterans get a better education and better jobs, has proved to be one which has not only been good for fighting men, but also a great financial boon to our country. It was a superb investment by our Government.

Since World War II, this country has spent $19 billion in education benefits, paid to over 10 million veterans. That's a lot of money, and big investment. But look at the return on that investment.

The GIs who took advantage of this education under the GI bills have already returned to the Federal Government, in increased income taxes alone, more than three times the total cost of that program, and the investment will keep paying off for years and years to come. That repayment to the public Treasury is in addition to the greater contributions these educated veterans have made to the economy of the country, and to her enlightened citizenship. These contributions are immeasurable, for they can also be considered in terms of better environment and education for the veteran's children.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you don't find many educated veterans parading around with those Peaceniks * * * Our veterans are solid citizens who know what it's like to face an enemy in a foreign land * * * to defend freedom * * * and they don't want their children to have to do it in this country.

These better-trained and better-educated veterans average 30 per cent greater income than the country's nonveteran population. And that bigger income is directly attributable to better education.

The success of previous GI bills is a lesson that hasn't been lost on your Congress. It has passed a new GI Bill, providing assistance to the veterans of the Viet Nam conflict and other crises since 1955.

That new GI Bill is going to mean a better education for thousands and thousands of younger veterans. We expect over half a million to go to colleges and universities and other schools throughout the United States to improve their earning in the first year of the program.

South Carolina veterans, and Georgia veterans—veterans in every state—will get a better education. Already, more than 143,000 World War II and Korean conflict veterans from South Carolina *have gone to college* or received training under GI bills, making them better professionals and better technicians and better farmers and better businessmen.

In South Carolina alone, there are now 47,000 post-Korean conflict veterans eligible for benefits. Almost 7,000 of those eligible are expected *to* enroll in colleges and universities in *South Carolina*, and they will receive cash benefits of almost $6 million dollars the first year. Both the number of South Carolina veterans in schools and total payment will increase every year for four or five years.

In the next five years, South Carolina veterans will be paid over $30 million in direct educational benefits under this new *GI Bill.*

Let's look for a minute at the economic advantages of veterans benefits in South Carolina. At this hospital alone, when it is fully staffed and operational in a few months, there will be 558 employees and a payroll of $5 million annually. That's a pretty good economic shot to any community, and it doesn't include the several millions to be spent in purchase of supplies and services, nor the hundreds of jobs provided during the construction of this $13 million magnificent buildings.

Add to that, the VA Hospital at Columbia which has almost 750 employees and an annual payroll of $6,600,000 and the VA Regional Office at Columbia that employs 220 persons and has a payroll of $1,800,000.

All together, the direct payroll to those working for the Veterans Administration in South Carolina will run almost $13.5 million, providing a good livelihood for more than 1,550 families.

That's just the beginning. The Veterans Administration last year expended more than $74 million in South Carolina, including the figures cited on existing payrolls. So this year, with the big new Charleston Hospital, it will be considerably bigger. That $74 million figure of last year includes the amounts I've already given you, plus $8.5 million in compensation and pensions, over $8.5 million in insurance payments, and $650,000 in direct loans.

There is another benefit that hasn't cost the taxpayers a great amount of money but which has been another great stimulus to South Carolina's construction industry and general economy—the GI loan program for homes and business. These are loans made by private banks and savings and loan companies, but guaranteed by the Veterans Administration. Altogether, in South Carolina, 45,800 such loans have been guaranteed, totaling $371 million, up to this year. With the new GI Bill in effect, there has been a new rush for GI loans and almost 700 are expected to be made in this first year.

The Veterans Administration is big business in South Carolina, and these benefits to veterans are benefits which veterans have earned from a grateful nation. That's the reason that the new GI Bill was passed unanimously by both Houses of this Congress.

Overseeing all these millions and billions in expenditures in South Carolina and other States is a very efficient agency, the Veterans Administration. This agency has been a leader in adopting modern management techniques and has saved the Government literally millions of dollars. Just one example: The VA was employing 17,000 clerks and accountants and other people in keeping track of insurance and in making insurance payments, just five years ago. Today, only 3,000 people do the same job, and do it better because of a data system and modern methods. In this field, other government agencies are copying the VA because of its efficiency. The Postmaster General, in a speech the other day, pointed out how efficiently the VA had been operating and said he wanted to adopt some of the practices. I commend the Honorable Larry O'brien who, I predict, will rank with Benjamin Franklin and Jim Farley as one of the greatest Postmaster Generals in the history of our Country.

There's still another area of operation in the Veterans Administration that few people hear about and that is their research in medicine.

You have heard of the pacemaker, a little electronic device which is implanted in a patient's body to send signals to keep weak hearts beating. It has meant life itself to literally thousands of Americans. That, my friends, is one of the accomplishments of medical research in VA.

There are many others, and the benefits of the results of this research has spread throughout all of medicine, all over the world. This research has been accomplished by the VA, and in affiliation with the nation's leading medical schools. Another item is the immediate post-surgery prosthesis of attachment of artificial limbs right in the operating room. The VA is the country's leader in this research, advancing techniques and methods. The work promises to be the greatest single advancement in prosthesis since the French Revolution, when man made the first real efforts to rehabilitate those who lost limbs.

You have heard about the advances in treatment of tuberculosis, the great achievements which have moved the tuberculosis patient from a lingering lifetime in an asylum back to the mainstream of a useful life. VA research played a leading role in making this possible. The VA, as late as 1955, operated 21 TB hospitals, and treated 17,000 patients. Now, it operates two—for 6,000 patients, many of whom stay only short periods. All the rest of those hospitals have been converted into general or neuropsychiatric hospitals to offer treatment to additional veterans who need care.

The VA has also been a leader in research in heart operations and coronary artery surgery. You know of Dr. Michael E. DeBakey, the famed Houston heart surgeon. The VA researchers, working in collaboration with that great surgeon, did much of the early work in developing replacement parts for diseased blood vessels. This work has resulted in the savings of thousands of lives due to techniques developed to remove and replace damaged sections of blood vessels.

Much of the research on the artificial kidney, another advance which saves lives, was done by Dr. Bedding Scribner, a pioneer in the field—when Dr. Scribner was a VA physician.

Organ transplants, still another medical advance with great promise, has been pioneered by a VA team in Denver.

Laser surgery, cryosurgery (a technique of using extreme cold in the operating room), the use of psychotropic drugs in mental disorders, stroke research, group therapy for older patients and the use of drugs taken internally for control of diabetes—are projects that VA researchers have been engaged in.

The VA has also been a leader in use of computers and new machines in diagnosis and analysis. It operates, for instance, a computer adapted to modern techniques which has made analysis and diagnosis of heart disease far more accurate. I could go on and on.

The Veterans Administration hospitals are not just treatment centers.

Their own doctors and psychiatrists, in collaborations with the world's leading medical scientists at medical schools with which VA is affiliated, have been leaders in dozens of fields of medical advancement.

The affiliation with medical schools is another wonderful thing, for both the VA and the medical schools. Right here, in Charleston, the Veterans Administration hospital is fully affiliated with the South Carolina Medical College, located just a few block away. That great college with a dedicated President and faculty is one of the finest and one of the proudest medical institutions in the United States, with a tradition that has made our Medical College of South Carolina known everywhere.

The contributions of the South Carolina Medical College to medicine in this country are too numerous to recount here, but now, with this wonderful new facility and this affiliation, we can all expect our great medical college to reach new heights in research, in education, and in medical achievements. It will mean better medicine for veterans, and better medicine for South Carolina. It will mean research that will seek the way for relief of human suffering and the savings of more and more lives.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the fairest judges of the quality of treatment in veterans hospitals are the veterans themselves. I know, because as a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee, I think we hear every complaint any veteran has ever made about hospital care.

What do the veterans themselves, those who use the 125,000 beds in 165 VA hospitals, think about their hospitals? I'll tell you what they think. They think they're superb. Our Committee—the Veterans Affairs Committee—recently sent out thousands of questionnaires to veterans in all general VA hospitals, asking them what they thought of the doctors, the nurses, their care, the hospitals—everything about the hospital operation. The response was overwhelmingly favorable. Over 95 per cent of those who replied said they thought their care and treatment was good, and some of the comments reflected their feeling.

Said one South Carolina veteran at the Columbia Hospital, and I quote:

"I have had to be in this hospital several times in the past two years. I would like to say that I feel that I have had the best care and the best possible doctors. I cannot say enough about the good medical and personal attention I have received."

And another: "I have had the best care and best possible doctors."

Lest you think they were all high in praise, one had this to say: "The coffee was cold." Now there's a veteran who remembers his GI days. But that was about the worst they had to say about our hospitals. Bill Driver's people are doing a magnificent job.

Abraham Lincoln, speaking at Gettysburg, said, "We cannot dedicate, we cannot hallow this ground." My Friends, in the truest sense, those of us gathered here today cannot really dedicate this building. It has already been dedicated by those who fought on a thousand battlefields, and by those who gave their lives that men shall be free.

The men who dedicated this splendid building were the men who were "over there" during World War I—the men at St. Mihiel, Chateau Thierry, and the Meuse-Argonne who wrote an indelible chapter in the annals of military history.

This building has been dedicated by those men in the Ardennes, North Africa, Italy, and Normandy Beach who destroyed the fascist "isms" that would enslave mankind.

It has been dedicated by those who on the land, on the sea, under the sea, and in the air defeated the raving Hitler, Tojo, and the dictator Mussolini who referred to the American Congress "as a bunch of parliamentary charlatans."

This hospital has been dedicated by the flower of our manhood who fought in a far-away distant land—Korea where they were truly tested in that "fiery crucible of combat."

This building is being dedicated today in South Vietnam, Santo Domingo, at the Berlin Wall and in those areas throughout the world where freedom is being challenged by the bigotry, hatred, greed and intolerance.

This building has been dedicated by our professional soldiers in four world wars and, yes, by those civilian soldiers called from the farm, the factory, and the corner drugstore to stand guard on the ramparts of freedom to hurl back the tide of dictatorship, atheism and communist aggression. We can dedicate this building today to our men fighting in South Vietnam to prevent the spread of war, men fighting to prevent World War III, men fighting to prevent bombs and the tide of war from coming to the shores of this country, men fighting to protect our civilian population. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, men fighting in South Vietnam to protect western Europe and General DeGaulle's France from encirclement, conquest, and enslavement. Vietnam and Southeast Asia is truly the road to Paris and the road to the conquest of western civilization and the enslavement of free peoples.

This hospital is dedicated, in gratitude, to those who were maimed and injured in the cause of freedom, and who suffer from disease. It is dedicated to the veterans of our country and it is a manifestation of the deep gratitude of the American people.

Old Glory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE SKUBITZ
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a resolution passed by the Lyon County Barracks of the Veterans of World War I.

It is with some concern that I have noted the growing disrespect toward the flag that has been demonstrated by certain segments of our population. In addition to disrespect there seems to be mounting apathy toward the flag and the traditions which it represents by many unconcerned citizens.

The Veterans of World War I, the schools and patriotic groups who are working hard to teach the proper respect for the flag deserve our wholehearted support. On the other hand, those who manifest their disrespect for our Nation by desecrating the flag should be punished to the fulest extent of the law. I support legislation designed to improve respect for the flag and increase penalties for improper treatment of this symbol of our Nation.

In this connection Barracks No. 1111 of Emporia, Kans., has passed a notable resolution which I hope will be read by many of my colleagues. It deserves your attention and support.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF VETERANS OF WORLD WAR 1, LYON COUNTY BARRACKS NO. 1111

Whereas there is a growing display of disrespect for our Flag, especially on the College Campus of our Nation, and when the Flag is carried in Parades, and by dissident groups and individuals;

Whereas this is both repugnant and disheartening to us as Veterans who have fought under that Flag;

Whereas the memory of our Buddies who fell on the field of honor in defense of that flag has remained undimmed through the years;

Whereas we believe this disrespect is motivated in many instances by those who seek to destroy our system of Government.

Whereas we believe that this cannot be allowed to continue without jeopardizing our National Honor.

Therefore we, the Veterans of World War One, working with the American Legion, the VFW, and other patriotic organizations urge our Government to institute a program of education in our schools and that Congress pass appropriate legislation, as ably stated in H.R. 13492, for punishment of those who would desecrate "Old Glory."

SETH HUMPHREYS,
Commander.
LLOYD D. MILLARD,
Adjutant.

The Wrong Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I have supported, from the very beginning, efforts to rescind the Supreme Court's decision so that voluntary prayers can be permitted in our schools, and I will continue to do all that I can to see that this is brought about.

Last week an editorial in the Kingsport Times commented on recent actions taken by some schools to comply with the ruling by the Supreme Court, and I am inserting this article for the benefit of all:

[From the Kingsport (Tenn.) Times, May 3, 1966]

THE WRONG ANSWER

The public school system of an eastern city thinks it has the answer to the prayer in school problem that has resulted from the decision of the Supreme Court.

The answer is that instead of opening each day's classes with a reading of verses from the Bible as was done formerly, the teacher now reads selections and quotations from the writings of historical personages and well known names, calculated to impress the young. These readings are inspirational, and as one person put it "may prove meaningful to the children."

The superintendent of schools of the city, who it may be assumed found this "answer" is quoted as saying, "When all is said and done, our opening exercises are concerned with values. We can teach the brotherhood of man without actual use of the Scriptures; and teach integrity without ritual."

If this plan is quite satisfactory to the people whose children attend public school in that city—and they are the only ones concerned—no one can object.

But we wonder how many people in this country will take the reading of secular statements as a satisfactory substitute for Bible reading and prayer?

We have a feeling that many will be quick to say that teaching the Fatherhood of God is of more importance than teaching the brotherhood of man, valuable as the latter undoubtedly is.

Indeed it seems that the two statements "the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are indivisible in the Judaic-Christian philosophy by which most of the American people live.

Surely no one will question the value of readings from great words of the sages. Such readings are helpful to children. They do emphasize the real values in life. Yet how many normal Americans regard this as the be-all and end-all of spiritual education?

To think that this is a complete substitute for prayer and Bible reading is to miss the heart of the problem. One has to understand that to the average Christian who adheres to a church, the fine ethical statements in the Bible are good because they are in the Bible; the Bible is not merely good because it contains these statements.

To most Christians the Bible is the unique method of communication between each individual and God Almighty. This spiritual religious relationship is more important to understand than teaching moral conduct, in the view of most Christians.

Therefore, there is a vast difference between reading the Bible and reading Ralph Waldo Emerson or Epictetus or any other philosopher.

We know that many people will agree with the school superintendent that moral standards can be taught and the brotherhood of man can be inculcated without the Scriptures and without ritual; but we must doubt if many of those who have been loud in their outcry against the Supreme Court decision will agree with this idea.

To them that decision meant "taking God out of the schools" and they would say there is no substitute for God.

That is why we have to say that this answer to the problem is not likely to be a satisfactory answer to many people in this country.

The 50th Anniversary of Pomona Products Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, 1966 marks the 50th anniversary of the Pomona Products Co. of Griffin, Ga., famous for pioneering the cultivation packing and marketing pimientos in America. Pimiento growing and processing is of considerable importance to southern agriculture.

The story of pimientos in Georgia, and probably in America, begins in 1911, when a young man, George Riegel, saw a can of Spanish pimientos on a grocery shelf in Griffin. He and his brother and father were commercial vegetable growers on a farm near Griffin and together they had worked on improving the quality of vegetable crops, particularly peppers. Through the American consul in Spain the Riegels secured 6 ounces of pimiento seed and in 1912 grew enough plants to set out 1½ acres of pimiento plants on the Riegel farm. From this planting a single plant was selected which bore fruit so perfect in shape, size, and color that it was given the name "Perfection." Subsequent plantings were made from the seeds of this plant.

Attempts to sell pimientos on the fresh market met with no success because of the extreme toughtness of the pimiento skins. George Riegel recalled that his interest in pimientos had stemmed from the canned Spanish product, so he decided to attempt canning himself. Skins were removed by immersing the pimientos in a lye solution. After cleaning they were canned with salt and vinegar.

The use of lye proved so tedious that the help of the Spanish consul was again sought, and he reported that the skins in Spain were removed by roasting the pimientos for several minutes in a hot oven and wiping off the charred skins with clean cloths.

The roasting operation proved far more satisfactory, and by 1913 Mark Riegel perfected a mechanical roaster. It consisted of a coke-burning tunnel of fire brick, through which the cored pimientos passed, each placed over a steel spike fastened to an endless chain. The charred skins were then removed by sprinkler washers and brushes, with the final cleaning done by hand.

Finding the new roaster satisfactory, the Riegels continued their research on canning pimientos in a small shed on a farm near Pomona, Ga., a few miles from Griffin. During the summer of 1914 they put up a small pack of pimientos in this little plant, and the H. V. Kell Wholesale Grocery Co. of Griffin marketed the entire pack.

Frank Patterson, who was associated with the H. V. Kell Wholesale Grocery Co. in Griffin, became interested in the new pimiento cannery after his success in selling the first canned pimientos. He offered to provide financing for two additional roasters and a plant, to be built on his farm. Plans were made, and Mark Riegel, Frank and Bob Patterson, and Frank Cook, Sr., built and equipped the Pomona Products Co. This plant was an extremely large food processing facility according to the standards of that day and probably the largest in Georgia. It was located 3 miles west of Pomona and about 6 miles north of Griffin.

Pimientos were first canned in the new plant in 1916 and sold under the Sunshine brand name. The total crop that year came from 75 acres, all located in Spalding County, of which Griffin is the county seat. Frank Patterson served as president of the young organization. By 1918 the plant was processing the pimiento crop from 100 acres in the area.

It was in 1920 that Pomona Products Co. began to assume the character and the personality that have made it an outstanding member of the American food industry. In that year Walter L. Graefe purchased a controlling interest in the business and became president of the pioneering company. He served as president until 1955, when he became chairman of the board and was succeeded in the presidency by W. Ennis Parker.

Walter L. Graefe was a native of Maryland and attended school at Western Maryland College and Johns Hopkins University. After serving as first lieutenant in the Army during World War I, he was discharged on March 4, 1919, at Camp Gordon near Atlanta. Liking Georgia, he looked for a business connection in that area. One night at a party a prominent Atlanta business man suggested to Graefe that the young Pomona operation near Griffin might offer an opportunity. Mr. Graefe visited the company and was offered a job which he accepted.

During 1920 he decided that the business offered a substantial future, so he purchased control of the business and became its president. His first major action was to move the plant to Griffin where gas was available to provide fuel for the huge roasting ovens which charred the skins so that they could be removed from the pimientos.

In spite of the problems faced by a new company processing a new product, Pomona Products Co. grew and prospered. There were bleak years—when all the pimientos on contract could not be processed because of lack of labor and facilities, but they still had to be paid for. There were years when the pimiento crop was too short to produce a profitable pack. But the bad years were outnumbered by the good years and pimiento volume climed steadily. Pomona's success led to the entry of other canners into the Pimiento field and over the years as many as eighteen or twenty firms were in the business at one time. Growing of pimientos by farmers, once limited entirely to Georgia, now extends into several adjoining States and California.

Pimiento growing added a new crop to Georgia and southern agriculture. It provided millions of dollars for farmers and off-farm workers, but perhaps its greatest economic contribution was the growth it sparked for food processing in Georgia and other Southern States. Plants built and expanded to process pimientos found themselves with sufficient facilities to handle many other products, thus providing further employment for southern workers and additional income for the areas in which they were located.

During the period of peak production Pomona employs more than 1,000 workers. About 20 different fruits and vegetatbles are processed and canned. All of these are distributed and sold in the Southeastern States and some carry the Sunshine label throughout the United States and parts of Canada.

The past 50 years have been full years for Pomona Products Co. A new American-grown food was introduced to the Nation, the complexities of processing it and packing it were solved. Its growth in acceptance and sales over the years has been consistent. The future is not ours to foretell, but Pomona will always seek new products and constantly research methods to improve them—to the benefit of the American food industry and America's grocers.

Mr. W. Ennis Parker, of Griffin, Ga., is now president of Pomona Products Co., and is currently serving as president of the National Canners Association.

Ky in Translation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as is clear to anyone who reads the daily dispatches from Saigon, Premier Ky needs a new press officer. Either he should not say what he thinks, or he should not think what he says.

Now Clayton Fritchey, whose credentials as a journalist and principal aid to Ambassador Stevenson give him considerable insight into such questions, has suggested that Premier Ky at last has found an interpreter. His name, says Fritchey, is Dean Rusk.

Fritchey's witty, pungent column in the New York Post of Friday, May 13, follows:

KY IN TRANSLATION

(By Clayton Fritchey)

WASHINGTON.—Dr. Johnson certainly owes much to Boswell, as does John F. Kennedy to Schlesinger. And where would Omar Khayyam and Proust be in the English world without the translations of FitzGerald and Scott-Moncrieff? Actually, many heroes of the Anglo-Saxon domain would hardly exist were it not for their eloquent and often unsung interpreters and translators.

But their debt is small indeed compared to what Premier Ky of South Viet Nam owes Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Few diplomats in history have been able to make so much out of so little, or, when necessary, vice versa.

On the basis of deeds and words, the world might think Premier Ky was: (1) a Hitlerite; (2) a militarist; (3) opposed to peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam war; (4) determined to stay in office, constitutionally or not; and (5) willing to accept the results of an election only if his side wins.

Fortunately, with the aid of the State Dept.'s special earphones and the Secretary's instant translation and interpretation of all that Ky says and does, we know that the Premier at heart (1) hates Nazism; (2) is civilian minded; (3) is dedicated to peace; (4) is eager for elections; and (5) will cheerfully abide by the results no matter what his own fate may be.

Houdini himself would be spellbound by this feat of magic, but, as is often the case in this perverse world, the beneficiary shows little evidence of any gratitude. In fact, he gives the impression of being rather annoyed at having his forthright, if untactful, statements constantly sterilized by Rusk.

According to dispatches from Saigon, "Vietnamese in general appeared to be appalled at the bluntness of Ky's remarks, and insulted by what seemed to them a 'clarification' by Secretary Rusk." One Viet Nam official was quoted as saying, "Why should the American Secretary of State have to clarify the remarks of the Vietnamese Prime Minister?"

It's a good question: why indeed? In Saigon, no clarification was needed because the military junta ordered the local press to censor Ky's statements. But in Washington, Rusk simply had to clean them up because they are not acceptable to the American public.

The Administration is in the painful position of either liquidating Ky or whitewashing him. After embracing him so enthusiastically at the Honolulu meeting in February, it now shrinks from disowning him, so the alternative is to try to persuade the U.S. public that he is misunderstood.

It is a thankless and losing task. Poor Rusk has been at it almost since Ky took office last year. The first shock came when Ky in a famous interview suddenly made known his admiration for Hitler. When the State Dept. recovered from its shock, we learned that Ky really meant he only admired Hitler's efficiency.

In November came another shock when Ky contradicted Rusk's repeated statement that peace negotiations were being blocked solely by North Viet Nam's intransigence. Ky said his government would never enter into negotiations with Hanoi. The official spokesman for the State Dept., however, denied any knowledge of this position, and said there was no disagreement between Washington and Saigon over peace talks. Also, within 24 hours the South Viet foreign minister, Tran Van doc, publicly said the Ky government was flatly opposed either to a ceasefire or peace negotiations.

And so it has gone. The embarrasing statements of the last few days are nothing new. When the pro-election demonstrations broke out in Da Nang, Ky said they were Communist inspired, but later retracted this charge, which the U.S. embassy could not support. Then he said he was going to execute the mayor of Da Nang, but he had to back down on this, too.

Since then, the U.S. has pledged itself to abide by the proposed elections no matter what the outcome, but Ky upset the apple cart by frankly speaking his own mind. If the elections result in a neutralist or Communist government, he says, "I and my friends will fight it."

Moreover, he made it equally plain that he intended to prolong the electoral process as long as possible. "I expect," he bluntly told the press, "to stay in power for at least another year."

That is what brought Rusk so swiftly to the microphones to explain that Ky was once more being misunderstood. But in Saigon, Ky was not being very helpful; as of this writing, he had not yet joined Rusk in the Orwellian job of purifying his own remarks.

The fact is that Ky, personally a gay and likely air force officer, is more candid than his U.S. sponsors. He apparently has no taste for dissemblind, and simply blurts out what is on his mind. This is a terrible failing in a puppet, but where is the U.S. to get a better one?

Cheers for U.S.S. "George Washington Carver"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

U.S.S. GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER
(SSBN-656),
At Sea, North Atlantic, May 8, 1966.

Hon. JAMES G. FULTON,
U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. FULTON: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of our 37th Polaris nuclear submarine. The U.S.S. *George Washington Carver* was built by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, Newport News, Virginia. We also have in operation 22 attack type nuclear submarines, making a total of 59.

This ship is named for George W. Carver, a botanist and chemurgist renowned in the annals of American scientific agriculture. The child of slaves, he did not know the day of his birth. Even the year is not certain, but he thought it was 1860. Where he was born, however, is not in doubt. In 1943, shortly after he died at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, both houses of Congress passed, without a dissenting vote, a bill authorizing erection of a national monument at his birthplace in Diamond Grove, Missouri. In fourscore years, George W. Carver had come a long way and accomplished a great deal.

None of it had come easy. His start in life was most inauspicious. A sickly infant, orphaned before he was a year old, it seemed unlikely he would survive. He lost his father in an accident and was soon after kidnaped, together with his mother and sister, by marauding nightriders. Those were lawless times. Stealing slaves for sale to plantations in the Deep South was not uncommon. But George Carver was such a puny baby that the kidnapers had no use for him, and so his master was able to get him released in return for a race horse valued at $300. Of mother and sister nothing was ever heard.

Hard as it was to be a slave child without kith or kin, by great good fortune his master Moses Carver (from whom he took his surname) was not a typical planter but a plain farmer, one of the so-called "Black Republican abolitionist Germans," or "lop-eared Dutch," as they were contemptuously called, who had migrated to Missouri in the 1830's. He was opposed to slavery, but he and his wife were childless and middle-aged; they needed help and servants were not to be had. So Moses bought a slave girl from a neighbor for $700. After she had been abducted, he took it upon himself to raise her small son. Slavery ended when the boy was four years old but he remained with the Carvers and was treated much as any other farm boy. There was a lot of work to be done and George was expected to do his share. He was an especially apt pupil in all the domestic chores around the house and showed early that he had a way with growing things. People called him "plant doctor" for he could cure any ailing plant; he seemed to know instinctively what it needed in order to grow.

The boy was born with a keen mind, fantastically clever hands and so great a thirst for knowledge that no obstacle could bar him from obtaining an education. Of rebuffs he suffered many, but he was also often given a helping hand. The free school nearby was barred to him, whereupon Mrs. Carver gave him an old blue-back Speller and with her help he taught himself to read and write. Thereafter he was hardly ever without a book in his hand. He would prop it up while he washed and ironed, these being some of the chores that earned him a living while he gradually accumulated school credits.

At 10 he decided he must find a school and so he left the Carvers, all his possessions in a small bundle over his shoulder. Thus began an Odyssey that was to take him in short stages northward geographically and upward educationally. At several critical times during his 30-year quest for an education, luck or his pleasing personality, or perhaps a combination of both, brought him into contact with warmhearted childless couples who gave him the concern and care usually found only in one's own family. With a few he stayed but he was never a burden. He earned his keep for he was a prodigious worker, determined never to accept charity.

George Carver literally inched himself up the educational ladder, working his way not just through college but through grade and high school as well, working all the time to support himself. He was 20 before he got to high school, 25 when he graduated. Highland University accepted his credentials but when he presented himself, he was told negroes were not admitted. He was 30 when he finally entered Simpson College in Iowa. A year later, he entered Iowa State University, graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1894. Invited to become a member of the staff in charge of systematic botany, the bacteriological laboratories and the greenhouse, he continued his studies and received a Master of Science degree in 1896. That year, he was invited by Booker T. Washington to organize and direct a new agriculture department at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. There he remained the rest of his life.

From earliest childhood, Carver had the habit of rising at four and walking about the countryside for an hour or two. Soil, plants and trees interested him intensely; he wanted to know how they were put together, what made them fruitful. Nature was both a consolation and a challenge. In Tuskegee, he found the land exhausted from one-crop cotton culture, robbed of its mineral content, eroded from lack of plant cover, treeless and sun parched. The campus was bare earth, dusty in dry weather, a sea of mud when it rained. He went about looking for ways to restore the overworked earth and found it in green manure and the growing of nitrogen-producing legumes—pod bearers such as vetch, peas, clover, peanuts—plants which enriched the soil. Crop rotation which European peasants had practiced for a thousand years had to be relearned by Southern tenant farmers who knew no other crop but cotton. Carver went among them preaching diversification. He urged them to grow peanuts and sweet potatoes; those who heeded his advice rode out the disastrous invasion of the boll weevil.

On the experimental farm he developed at Tuskegee, he evolved a cross between the short-stalk and tall-stalk cotton known as "Carver Hybrid," besides three other new strains. With green manuring, he grew enormous potatoes, cabbages, onions, watermelons and cantaloupes. He instituted a visiting day each month for neighboring farmers to show what could be grown with scientific methods. They were most impressed with his new cotton strain which carried 275 huge bolls on a single bush, and yielded nearly a bale and a quarter per acre, in contrast to the usual one third of a bale most tenant farmers produced.

To bring the message of scientific agriculture to those who could not come to Tuskegee, Carver loaded a wagon with tools, boxes, jars and packages of seed and set out every Friday evening after class to give demonstrations to meetings of farmers. In 1906, with money donated by Morris K. Jesup, a member of the Slater Foundation, he designed the so-called Jesup Wagon which served as a movable farmers school and was adopted in other countries.

Carver's skill as soil scientist and plant breeder was to him but a means to help raise the standards of the Southern farmer, not just in productivity, but in his whole way of life. It was obvious to Carver that the prevalent diet of pork, meal and molasses lacked the vitamins and minerals necessary for good health and stamina. So he urged the farmers to grow more vegetables and fruits, showed them that many common weeds, properly cooked, were edible and nutritious, taught their women how to prepare them. His own boyhood had been spent on a multipurpose farm where everything the family needed was grown and processed, only sugar and coffee being bought. He called this "living at home" and preached it throughout the land. By avoiding store purchases, a little could be saved each week and eventually a piece of land bought. This, he said, was the way out of poverty. Tenant farmers lived in drab cabins. Noticing the beautifully colored clay in which Alabama abounded, Carver developed a simple method for making color wash and demonstrated how much even the shabbiest cottage could be improved by a paint that cost not a penny.

Carver is best known as a pioneer "chemurgist"—a word, coined by Dr. William J. Hale in 1934, which means chemistry at work. In his book "Pioneers of Plenty," Christy Borth called Carver "the first and greatest chemurgist." Carver made paper from Southern pine "at least a quarter of a century before Dr. Charles H. Herty tackled the problem," and synthetic marble from wood shavings "years before a rocklike plastic made from wood waste became a chemurgic promise." He saw promise in the peanut when it was still a lowly weed growing along fences and tolerated by farmers only because their children liked its taste. From the peanut and the sweet potato, Carver developed more than a hundred different products, including plastics, lubricants, dyes, medicines, ink, wood stains, face creams, tapioca and molasses. He developed these in his laboratory at Tuskegee which he had put together out of odds and ends salvaged from scrap heaps.

When he first arrived to take up his post, he discovered there was no money to equip a laboratory. In the course of his life, necessity had made him a genius at making do out of nothing. He and his students made the rounds of the rubbish heaps on campus and in town. They collected bottles, cut their necks off evenly and turned them into beakers. A thick, chipped teacup became a mortar, a piece of pipe the pestle. An old ink bottle with a wick made of string stuck through a cork became a became a Bunsen burner. Pieces of tin were punched and became sifters. Reeds served as tubes to transfer liquids. Carver had brought with him the one indispensable and costly thing not to be found on scrap heaps: a microscope. It was a parting gift from colleagues at Iowa State.

The products of his laboratory made his name known and brought him tempting offers of positions in industry, and checks for advice that had been sought from him. He politely declined the positions and returned the checks. He had no interest whatsoever in money and could not be bothered with the problem of marketing his inventions. His head was too full of ideas for new products. Advice, he thought, should always be free. He hoped it would reflect favorably on people's attitude toward his race, if he helped others with their problems. His own needs were minimal. Indeed, out of a salary of $1,500 a year at Tuskegee, he saved $33,000 which he donated to the Carver Foundation for creative research in chemistry.

Many people from all over the world sought out this shy and retiring man, wanting to talk to him and to observe his work. Edison, Henry Ford, Theodore Roosevelt, and other important men became his friends. Honors and honorary degrees came his way. One was the Roosevelt Medal for distinguished service in the field of science (1939). He was introduced to the dinner guests in Theodore Roosevelt's New York home with these words which are a summing up: "I have the honor to present not a man only, but a life, transfused with passion for the enlarging and enriching of the living of his fellowman."

Respectfully,

H. G. Rickover.

United States Should Face Facts About War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I insert the following column by Robert Jones:

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, Dec. 18, 1965]

UNITED STATES SHOULD FACE FACTS ABOUT WAR IN VIETNAM

(By Robert Jones)

New York.—"What price victory?" was the editorial lament of The New York Times regarding the recent bloody clashes in South Vietnam. In Hanoi, at the same time, a North Vietnamese staff officer confidently predicted eventual American withdrawal.

"I may not live to see the end myself," he told a British newsman, "but I expect my children will."

The two reactions are directly related. They sum up the fundamental problem in Vietnam—and wherever else we may face this type of aggression: Are we going to be able to out-bleed and out-wait the Communists?

It is already obvious that many Americans are not willing to go the length. Indications are that the Communists will. Militarily, we can hold off the Communists indefinitely in Vietnam. But the Communists are openly banking on the conviction that we will lose the war right here in the United States.

UNITED STATES HAS ROLE OF ROME

This is a war we have to fight. It is not, however, a war we have to win. This is no contradiction. Our war in Vietnam is the type of war waged successfully by the legions of Rome for some four centuries—the Pax Romana during which the legionnaires manned the ramparts of civilization against the constant encroachments of the Barbarians.

Rome decayed, her will weakened, the Barbarians overran the ramparts and a thousand years of darkness descended. Today, we are faced with the same prospect.

For 20 years we have been trying to man the walls against the new barbarians. Until now, we have been protecting civilization at remarkably little cost in human life. Now, as in Korea, we must pay for our values in blood. And loss of this war could be infinitely more disastrous than would have been defeat in Korea.

In Vietnam, there is no final victory remotely in sight. There rarely is in guerrilla warfare. Once a guerrilla movement has eaten to the core of a country it seems almost impossible to eradicate. In our own hemisphere, guerrilla warfare has ravaged the Colombian backlands since 1948, taking some 300,000 lives. Algeria, Malaya, the Philippines, and Vietnam itself are examples of guerrilla insurrections which dragged on year after bloody year.

ONE GUERRILLA VERSUS 10 GI'S

Nor is our technological supremacy likely to bring the present struggle to a quick conclusion. Manpower as well as machines is vital in guerrilla warfare. Statistics of a score of such wars show that a ratio of 10 regulars to one guerrilla is needed to smother a guerrilla movement.

North Viet Nam's military strategists say the proportion could have been halved to five regulars to one guerrilla and they would still win. They point out that both sides place Communist strength in South Viet Nam at about 200,000 men—meaning that at least a million regulars would be needed to cope with them effectively.

Here is the great weakness of our present effort. Such a vast army means sending hundreds of thousands of citizen soldiers, the draftees and Reservists. And it is precisely the citizen soldier who is least suitable for anti-guerrilla war. Military professionals are needed—highly trained specialists like the Marines, Special Forces, the paratroops.

There is even a more fundamental weakness to fielding a mass army. For the professional soldier, death is an occupational hazard, but combat is not the chosen occupation of the citizen soldier. Anti-war pressures will inevitably mount with the soaring casualty lists of citizen soldiers until the wail of "what price victory?" becomes deafening.

FUMBLING IN POLICY

Is there a solution to the dilemma? Perhaps not. However, the White House and Pentagon should realize that the real struggle for South Viet Nam is being fought right here in the United States. Public opinion in a democracy is as vitally important as any strategic military consideration. Unfortunately, the present heavy-handed policy of managed news, manipulated casualty lists and official optimism simply isn't effective in an otherwise open society.

The government should emphasize and re-emphasize that this is going to be a long war. There should be no sudden elation over victories, no clumsy efforts to conceal defeats. Instead government spokesmen should settle down to a calm and even stolid systematic dissemination of the facts.

We should resist the temptation to pour a million men into Viet Nam and seek a quick, decisive solution—which has always been an American characteristic as well as a military tradition. Instead, our manpower commitment there should be held to a bare minimum, mainly professionals. Let them dig in, set up a military meat-grinder to chew up guerrillas for as long as necessary.

This may not bring peace to Viet Nam in our time. But perhaps our children will see it. At least, that should be our attitude.

The Blind Man and the Elephant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, during my 22 years in the U.S. Congress, I have had the honor and privilege of serving a portion of that time with the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. This term of service gave me a great appreciation for our Nation's merchant marine, its abilities and its potential.

At the present time, the endeavors of our merchant marine to compete with the other nations of the world in their respective maritime efforts is a subject of current discussion. An article entitled "The Blind Men and the Elephant" appears in the May issue of Pilot, the official organ of the National Maritime Union of America, AFL–CIO. This article gives some cogent reasons why we are slipping in our efforts to compete in this international undertaking to provide the free world with proper maritime service.

I am pleased to insert this article in the Congressional Record as an exposition of what is facing our Nation in meeting the challenges of the future.

THE BLIND MEN AND THE ELEPHANT

"It was six men of Indostan
To learning much inclined
Who went to see the elephant
(Though all of them were blind)
That each by observation
Might satisfy his mind."

That old Hindu tale by John Godfrey Saxe about the blind men and the elephant has a very modern application. It epitomizes the effort of six government agencies to "understand" the American merchant marine, an effort which resulted in the notorious Interagency Task Force Report.

The Task Force group had representatives of nine agencies but three of them can be excluded from this fable: the Council of Economic Advisors is not an administrative agency, but purely advisory; the Federal Maritime Commission is solely regulatory; and the Department of Labor made clear it was not a party to the report which the Task Force produced.

The remaining six administrative agencies in the Task Force group were: the Bureau of the Budget; the Department of State; the Department of Defense; the Department of Agriculture; the Department of Commerce (Office of the Undersecretary) the Maritime Administration.

These agencies, then, were the chief progenitors of the Task Force Report and are the ones pushing for its acceptance. And, in their approach to the U.S. merchant marine they are like the six blind men of Indostan.

Each of these agencies has groped around the merchant marine, failing to perceive it in its entirety; failing to understand what it means as a whole. Each has been able to perceive only what it means in relation to its own specific narrow departmental needs, problems and concepts.

"The first approached the elephant
And happening to fall
Against his broad and sturdy side
At once began to bawl:
'God bless me! But the elephant
Is very like a wall!' "

The first blind man was the Department of State. Its big concern is to keep foreign governments happy. Any little thing done for the American merchant marine is going to make some of our foreign friends unhappy. Other nations would like all American foreign commerce (not just 50 percent) for their ships. But when the State Department tries to oblige them—for example, by weakening our cargo preference laws—it has run up against the wall of public opinion and the strongest wall of opposition from Congress. So the American merchant marine gets in the way of the international policy practiced by the State Department and, to this blind man, it is a wall.

"The second feeling at the tusk,
Cried 'Ho: What have we here
So very round and smooth and sharp?
To me 'tis mighty clear
This wonder of an elephant
Is very like a spear!' "

The second blind man was the Defense Department. He was right as far as he could perceive. This sharp cutting spearhead of auxiliary seapower, which in World War I helped save this nation from disaster, was also equal to the task in World War II. Its performance caused General Dwight D. Eisenhower to proclaim "when victory is ours, there is no organization that will share its credit more deservedly than the merchant marine." This same valiant war service brought forth from General Douglas McArthur the broad assertion, "I hold no branch in higher esteem than the merchant marine service."

The armed conflicts in Korea, the Suez emergency, the Cuban crisis and Vietnam, where only 90% of supplies and 80% of military personnel have been transported by ship, all attest to the sharp cutting edge of the U.S. merchant fleet as a part of the total seapower of the nation.

Yes, to the Defense Department, the merchant marine is one of the spearheads of our power in international crises. But the Defense Department cannot see that the spear is part of a body and the body must be kept strong if the spear is to be available when it is needed. This blind man thinks the tusks will always be there for us even though most of the food is given to somebody else's elephant.

"The third approached the animal
And happening to take
The squirming trunk within its hands
Thus boldly up and spake:
'I see' quoth he. 'The elephant
Is very like a snake!' "

That was the Bureau of the Budget. Its only concern is costs and costs are always like a snake, something to be chopped in two with the budgetary ax. Invariably each year, when the program for merchant ship replacement is presented, the Bureaus ax men go busily to work on this snake.

When Congress authorized funds to replace the SS *America*, the Bureau—seeing only the money required, not what the ship would mean to the country—chopped it into oblivion. This year when the wholly inadequate and miserly number of seventeen ships was recommended to the Bureau, they chopped it back to thirteen and it may prove to be only eleven. So the Budget Bureau blindily hacks away at a "snake" in every annual budget for the merchant marine and the whole powerful beast withers away.

"The fourth reached out an eager hand
And felt about the knee
'What most this wondrous beast is like
Is mighty plain,' quoth he;
'Tis clear enough the elephant
Is very like a tree!' "

That was the Department of Agriculture. Its sole concern is the grain in the fields, not the means of carrying it to market. All it can see is that the American merchant marine casts a shadow on some of its chances to sell overseas. Anything, like a tree, that shades out a little corn whether in the field or in the fence must go. The agricultural community and the bureaucrats who serve them have forgotten the lessons of World War I and II when all foreign ships returned to their homelands to serve their own national interests while grain rotted on the piers of American cities.

Now the Department of Agriculture, unable to see beyond its own immediate corn row, gropes around the "knee" of the merchant marine problem, and because whatever-it-is shades a little corn, decides it should be uprooted.

"The fifth who chanced to touch the ear,
Said: 'E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most;
Deny the fact who can,
This marvel of an elephant
Is very like a fan!' "

This was the office of the Undersecretary of Commerce. Its top leadership came fresh from the Civil Aeronautics Board, possessing no experience in maritime affairs, and it conceives the future of all transportation in terms of the fan-jet. The massive carrying job that ships alone can perform; the many advantages to the country that derive from a strong merchant marine, this is too much for them to conceive.

"The sixth no sooner had begun
About the beast to grope,
Then, seizing on the swinging tail
That fell within its scope,
'I see,' quoth he 'the elephant
Is very like a rope!' "

The youthful and inexperienced leadership in the Maritime Administration seems to have an elephant by the tail ahd does not appear to know quite what to do with it. Through a most academic approach it has come upon the elephant from the wrong end. Yet the Maritime Administration was apparently the "leading light" in drawing up the Interagency Maritime Task Force Report and the report appears equal only to the partial view which it has seletced. Its top leadership has groped and found a rope—a rope on which perhaps to climb, but not to understand the great and powerful servant they are dealing with.

And so the Task Force Report came to be. Here and there, a glimmer of truth; but all in all, a crazy patchwork quilt. Limited areas of value are more than offset by completely erroneous concepts of what the whole thing is all about. As the old Hindu tale concludes:

"And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion,
Exceeding loud and strong,
Though each was partly in the right
And all were in the wrong."

Moral:

"So oft in Theologic wars,
The disputants, I ween,
Rail on in utter ignorance
Of what the others mean,
And prate about an elephant
Not one of them has seen!"

Sheriff Ferber on Today's Teenagers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I have had the privilege for many years of representing the home county served by one of our Nation's most respected law enforcement officials, Sheriff Martin Ferber, of Bergen County, N.J. Sheriff Ferber, an old and valued friend and associate in government, is presently serving as the president of the National Sheriffs' Association.

In the March–April 1966 issue of the National Sheriff, the association publication, President Ferber has written a thoughful and thought-provoking column on today's teenager and the question of when a child becomes an adult, as well as the process by which, hopefully, the child does become a responsible, mature member of society. Sheriff Ferber suggests no pat answers to the problem of encouraging the right choice between juvenile delinquency and juvenile responsibility. Instead, he calls attention to the many factors involved, particularly the fact that each case is different because each deals with an individual.

Nor does he overlook the role that adults can play, teaching by word and example, for as Sheriff Ferber puts it, "the process of growing and maturing is truly the prime example of on-the-job training."

In the belief that Sheriff Ferber's remarks will be of interest and assistance to others concerned with juvenile problems, I include at this point the article from the National Sheriff:

PRESIDENT FERBER SAYS

Those of us who are in law enforcement are frequently asked our beliefs concerning juveniles. When does a child become an adult? What proceeses are involved? How does a teen-ager prove his or her readiness for the privileges and responsibilities of adulthood? These are some of the questions which we hear almost daily. Let us consider some of the questions and some thoughts behind some probable answers. "Probable" is used here to show that when we discuss human beings, the best we can do is to posit the probabilities. If ever we think that there is an absolute answer to every question, we should re-evaluate what we thing we know about the sociological and physiological complexities of homo sapiens, mankind. Conversely, because definitive answers seemingly elude us, and also are not within the grasp of parents, educators, and the youths themselves, we must beware of ignoring the questions involved in maturation.

In certain primitive tribes, it was a common practice for the youths to be forced to prove themselves before being considered adults. At an age of time determined by the elders of the tribe, the young person was given certain tests, certain feats to perform, certain obstacles to overcome, to determine his readiness to face the world as an adult rather than as a child.

These ceremonies varied from the simple to the more elaborate. They generally had in common the goal of ascertaining how well the young man or woman taking the test had learned the lessons of staying alive.

One of the more common tests was to send the candidate for manhood outside the protective circle of the tribal campfire. There he would have to protect himself from the dangers of nature, the quicksand, the falling boulders, the wild beasts, the rains or snows, floods or drought, any danger that might be faced in life . . . without any aid from his elders or his friends. He also had to feed himself and find drinking water if he were to remain alive.

This was truly the acid test of whether he had learned the rules of survival which he had been taught since childhood. If he passed the final examination, returned to the camp at the end of his ordeal, and showed his ability to function as a self-sufficient person, he was welcome to rejoin the tribe as a full member or citizen thereof.

TEEN-AGERS OF TODAY

While strictly speaking, the teen-ager of today doesn't face the problem of killing or being killed, of living on wild berries or fish scooped from a stream with his bare hands, there are some very real dangers in today's civilized society. The young person of today goes into the world and must make choices . . . choices which involve relations with the opposite sex, alcohol, speeding, or parked automobiles, narcotics, prostitution, and the lure of "easy money" procured through crime.

The young person must choose between right and wrong, between two or more different courses of action, and the choice can bring either success or failure. Today's lessons involve high-speed automobile crashes, teenage pregnancies, school drop-outism, and the prison sentence which almost invariably follows criminal conduct.

Are these dangers any less real than the threat of the wild animal, the poisonous snake, or capture by an enemy tribe? Are not both situations relatively equal in the necessity to choose a course of action or inaction, then take the consequences?

What then and how do we teach our children so that they may be prepared to make the best choice? How much control should we exercise over our children? At what age does a child become an adult? Should we establish a curfew for our young adults? How much censorship should we exert over our teen-agers' friends and the social events to which they want to go?

A teen-aged boy or girl asks to go "out" for an evening. We immediately wonder and ask several questions. Where and what is the affair to which our youngster wants to go? Who else will be there? What is supposed to happen there, e.g., picnic, dance, pajama party, etc.? How is he or she to get there and get back? At what hour is he or she to be back home? Is there a telephone that can be used in event of emergency?

Even if we can obtain satisfactory answers to all these questions and any others which may come to mind, there is still a great deal which is uncertain and dependent upon other factors. What is the past record of conduct of the young person involved? Has he or she shown by past experiences that he or she does act or react in a socially responsible manner?

The individual element varies among persons to such a degree that there are no absolute answers to any of these questions. A philosophic concept says that a person is not what he is at any given moment because he is also what he has been which he no longer is and is also what he will become which he is not yet. We therefore can only posit the probabilities. These may be divided into probable probabilities, possible probabilities, and improbable probabilities. In other words, if a youngster has always obeyed and acted responsibly, it is probable that he will continue to do so. It is entirely possible however that he will reverse and become a killer as has happened numerous times. Conversely, the opposite can happen. We've all seen cases of genuine rehabilitation. Each case is different because each deals with an individual.

At this point we may give consideration to the questions asked of adults by teens. Why do my parents say "yes" or "no?" What gives them the right to dictate where I go or with whom I should associate? Are they really any better qualified to judge than I am? It is a natural reaction to defend oneself when one's judgment is questioned. We can no more answer these questions absolutely than we could the questions considered before. We must closely examine answers which include the words "always" or "never."

Parents are not always more intelligent nor are they always better educated than their children. Many times the child is smarter than his parents if we are to consider only his I.Q. It is becoming ever more common for a teen ager to have more education than his parents or grandparents. It might be well here to remember that neither pure intelligence nor raw education can be used as the sole criterion for determining whether or not a particular person will develop into a Tom Dooley or a Willie Sutton. Genius or very average: either may become useful members of society or outlaws.

There is one factor to be considered though in which parents almost always excel. This is a factor called "experience." We learn by living. We learn from making the right choices and from making some wrong ones. We live and as we do we are faced with alternative courses of action, or at times inaction. Based on past experience, we posit the probabilities of success or failure, then act, react, or refrain from action. We are not always right but we learn from mistakes as we do from correct choices. We may well consider that the very words "success" and "failure" are not absolutes but carry different shades of meaning to different persons.

How can the young person gain this experience? Let us first consider the extremes. A child can be allowed to burn his hands to teach him that fire burns. This experience will work to be sure but the child may be crippled or hideously mutilated as a result. Diametrically opposed to this alternative is the other extreme, the parent who never allows his child to come near fire. The child doesn't burn itself, to be sure, but not knowing what fire is, it may later incinerate itself because of the lack of the experience.

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

What then is the answer? If neither extreme seems the wise choice, the answer must be found somewhere between. But just where should this Golden Mean be found? Perhaps a small burn should be allowed as an innoculation or vaccination against a larger or more damaging burn. Here again, we have as many opinions as we have parents * * * probably more.

The lot of the parent or adult who must decide is not an easy one but neither is it easy to grow up in an adult world. So far, no one has thought of a way to be born an adult; so, we must face the problem to the best of our capabilities. The obligations of a parent are obviously far greater than the mere biological ability to procreate. This faculty we share with just about all other animate objects. If we attempt to give up the reproduction of the species, we'd be violating one of the strongest laws of Mother Nature. If we recreate but don't train our young, we revert to the primeval swamp.

We must try to teach our children and grandchildren and all young people with whom we come into contact to respect and obey the laws or our nation and its several parts. We may teach the altruistic concept of doing "good" for the sake of acting in the best interests of humanity, of civilization. We may teach the more pragmatic concept of right living because it's the best way to stay out of trouble and to "get ahead" in the world.

We must try to teach by word and by example. The process of growing and maturing is truly the prime example of "on-the-job" training. We must at times be firm. At others, permissive. If children are imbued with the respect for the rights of others within the home, we may safely say that it is probable that this respect will also be carried out into the world at large. We must remember that children are human beings with feelings, likes, dislikes, and ambitions too.

From the viewpoint of sociology, one of the most important determining factors in a person's behavior is his own opinion of himself * * * how he answers the self-asked question, "Who Am I?" The concept the individual has of himself can make the difference whether that person is a useful and productive member of society or whether he is not. It is we who help form the opinions of the young people around us * * * their opinions of themselves.

How we do this depends on many variables within the family and within the larger framework of a community, a county, a nation. There is no simple answer . . . no easy formula . . . for growing "prize-winning" children as there is with raising roses or geraniums.

A boy and a girl are in a parked car, away from prying eyes . . . perhaps with a six pack of beer or even something stronger. How will they react? Will they react differently than they would have in the neighborhood ice-cream parlor of fifty years ago? If they do go "all the way," does this necessarily mean that they are any more promiscuous than their parents or grandparents would have been if they had had the freedoms the 1960's give today's young people? Who knows? Who can say absolutely one way or the other?

We know that there are forces which at times may overpower reason. The biological urge for reproduction is one of these. We can teach and preach and try to convince our young people not to allow themselves to get into such a predicament. We can hope that past teachings and experience will tell them the wiser course to follow if and when temptation is thrust upon them. But, there are no absolute answers to the myriad of questions which confront parents, educators, clergymen, and law enforcement officials daily.

BOWS, ARROWS, PRACTICE AND TOMORROW

The Lebanese philosopher, Kahlil Gibran, wrote of children in *The Prophet* saying, "You may give them your love but not your thoughts, For they have their own thoughts, You may house their bodies but not their souls, For their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow, Which you cannot visit, Not even in your dreams. You may strive to be like them, But seek not to make them like you. For life goes not backward nor travels with yesterday. You are the bows from which your children as living arrows are sent forth."

Not all archers shoot with the same techniques. Not all archers hit their targets. An archer doesn't *know* that any particular shot will hit the bullseye. But the archer continues to practice, to try to improve his skill. We as law enforcement officials try to improve our marksmanship. We don't just pull the trigger aimlessly and hope we hit the target. Very few of us will ever hit the center of the bullseye everytime we shoot. But with practice, concentration, a sincere attempt to improve our marksmanship, we will do better than if we trusted only to luck.

Whether we're shooting, playing golf, or baseball, or hunting, or fishing, or any other activity we may undertake, constant practice is necessary to improve our skills. Doesn't the same hold true for parenthood? Shouldn't we all work diligently and earnestly to improve our skills in preparing our children for the choices they must eventually make?

No matter how hard we try, no matter how much we practice, sometimes the arrow will miss the target . . . the golf ball will fail to go into the cup . . . the ball we hit won't go over the center-field fence . . . and our child may not grow up to be president or be a solid citizen, a contributor to his community. No, practice won't always make perfect. But isn't it worth the extra effort to try? Don't we as parents owe it not only to our children but also to future generations to practice constantly the skill of raising children to the useful adults, happy adults, free adults, and good and productive citizens?

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Code of Laws of the United States

Title 44, Section 181. Congressional Record; arrangement, style, contents, and indexes.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

Title 44, Section 182b. Same; illustrations, maps, diagrams.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided*, That the makeup of the Record shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the Record shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the Record style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the Congressional Record shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the Congressional Record, nor to Records printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Boggs, J. Caleb, *Del*	
Brewster, Daniel B., *Md*	1327 33d St.
Burdick, Quentin N., *N. Dak.*	
Byrd, Harry F., Jr., *Va*	
Byrd, Robert C., *W. Va*	
Cannon, Howard W., *Nev*	
Carlson, Frank, *Kans*	Sheraton-Park
Case, Clifford P., *N.J*	
Church, Frank, *Idaho*	
Clark, Joseph S., *Pa*	
Cooper, John Sherman, *Ky*	
Cotton, Norris, *N.H*	
Curtis, Carl T., *Nebr*	
Dirksen, Everett M., *Ill*	
Dodd, Thomas J., *Conn*	
Dominick, Peter H., *Colo*	
Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*	
Eastland, James O., *Miss*	5101 Macomb St.
Ellender, Allen J., *La*	
Ervin, Sam J., Jr., *N.C*	
Fannin, Paul J., *Ariz*	
Fong, Hiram L., *Hawaii*	5519 Uppingham St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Fulbright, J. W., *Ark*	
Griffin, Robert P., *Mich*	
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*	
Gruening, Ernest, *Alaska*	
Harris, Fred R., *Okla*	
Hart, Philip A., *Mich*	
Hartke, Vance, *Ind*	
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*	
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa.*	5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*	
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla*	Sheraton-Park
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*	
Inouye, Daniel K., *Hawaii*	
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*	
Javits, Jacob K., *N.Y*	
Jordan, B. Everett, *N.C*	
Jordan, Len B., *Idaho*	
Kennedy, Edward M., *Mass*	
Kennedy, Robert F., *N.Y*	
Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*	
Lausche, Frank J., *Ohio*	
Long, Edward V., *Mo*	
Long, Russell B., *La*	
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.*	5916 Bradley Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
McClellan, John L., *Ark*	
McGee, Gale W., *Wyo*	
McGovern, George, *S. Dak*	
McIntyre, Thomas J., *N.H*	
Magnuson, Warren G., *Wash.*	The Shoreham
Mansfield, Mike, *Mont*	
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont*	453 First St. SE.
Miller, Jack R., *Iowa*	5417 Kirkwood Dr., Bethesda, Md.
Mondale, Walter F., *Minn*	
Monroney, A. S. Mike, *Okla.*	
Montoya, Joseph M., *N. Mex.*	
Morse, Wayne, *Oreg*	
Morton, Thruston B., *Ky*	
Moss, Frank E., *Utah*	
Mundt, Karl E., *S. Dak*	122 Schotts Court NE.
Murphy, George, *Calif*	
Muskie, Edmund S., *Maine*	
Nelson, Gaylord, *Wis*	
Neuberger, Maurine B., *Oreg.*	
Pastore, John O., *R.I*	
Pearson, James B., *Kans*	
Pell, Claiborne, *R.I*	3425 Prospect St.
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*	
Proxmire, William, *Wis*	
Randolph, Jennings, *W. Va*	4608 Reservoir Rd.
Ribicoff, Abraham A., *Conn*	
Robertson, A. Willis, *Va*	
Russell, Donald S., *S.C*	
Russell, Richard B., *Ga*	
Saltonstall, Leverett, *Mass*	2320 Tracy Pl.
Scott, Hugh, *Pa*	
Simpson, Milward L., *Wyo*	
Smathers, George A., *Fla*	
Smith, Margaret Chase (Mrs.), *Maine.*	
Sparkman, John, *Ala*	4928 Indian Lane
Stennis, John, *Miss*	
Symington, Stuart, *Mo*	
Talmadge, Herman E., *Ga*	
Thurmond, Strom, *S.C*	
Tower, John G., *Tex*	
Tydings, Joseph D., *Md*	
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N.J.*	
Williams, John J., *Del*	
Yarborough, Ralph, *Tex*	
Young, Milton R., *N. Dak*	Quebec House So.
Young, Stephen M., *Ohio*	

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Sergeant at Arms—Robert G. Dunphy.
Chief Clerk—Darrell St. Claire.
Secretary for the Majority—Francis R. Valeo.
Secretary for the Minority—J. Mark Trice.
Chaplain—Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D.

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Mr. Chief Justice Warren, of California, Hotel Sheraton-Park, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 4852 Hutchins Pl.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Harlan, of New York, 1677 31st St.
Mr. Justice Brennan, of New Jersey, 3037 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Stewart, of Ohio, 5136 Palisade Lane.
Mr. Justice White, of Colorado, 2209 Hampshire Rd., McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Fortas, of Tennessee, 3210 R St.

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Clerk—John F. Davis, 4704 River Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Edmund P. Cullinan, 4823 Reservoir Rd.
Deputy Clerk—Michael Rodak, 6311 Joslyn Pl., Cheverly, Md.
Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Rd.
Reporter—Henry Putzel, Jr., 3703 33d St.
Librarian—H. C. Hallam, Jr., 113 Normandy Dr., Silver Spring, Md.

UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS
JUSTICES ASSIGNED
TERRITORY EMBRACED

District of Columbia judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. District of Columbia.

First judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Fortas. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Puerto Rico, Rhode Island.

Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Harlan. Connecticut, New York, Vermont.

Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Brennan. Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virgin Islands.

Fourth judicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Stewart. Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee.

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark. Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas. Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice White. Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, Wyoming.

Appendix

Representative Harley O. Staggers, of West Virginia, Receives Public Service Award of the Air Freight Forwarders Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS has been honored by the Air Freight Forwarders Association as "Legislative Man-of-the-Year" and has received the 1966 Public Service Award of that organization. The award was announced at the association's ninth annual dinner in New York City, April 29, 1966, an event Representative STAGGERS regrettably could not attend due to illness.

In an address prepared for this occasion and read in his absence, the chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce commented on the significance of aviation in building our national economy. He said in part:

> My interest in aviation springs from both personal experience and from my concern for general industrial growth. As a Member of Congress, I have consistently taken the position that good transportation and rapid communication are the two factors which have contributed most to the phenomenal growth of this powerful nation.

Mr. President, I have known HARLEY STAGGERS for more than 30 years, both as a personal friend and as a legislator of conviction and courage. The citizens of West Virginia are fortunate to be represented in the Congress by this able gentleman; the Nation is fortunate to command the energies and abilities of this resourceful individual. I am confident that he will continue to exhibit the highest traits of leadership and clear thinking as he discharges the responsibilities of his important office.

It is a privilege to commend my colleague and coworker, Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS, of West Virginia, for the significant recognition accorded him by the Air Freight Forwarders Association. He is deserving of the honor.

I request unanimous consent that the statement by Hon. HARLEY O. STAGGERS, prepared for delivery at the ninth annual dinner of the Air Freight Forwarders Association, April 29, 1966, be printed in the Appendix.

There being no objection the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN HARLEY O. STAGGERS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT THE NINTH ANNUAL DINNER OF THE AIR FREIGHT FORWARDERS ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK, N.Y., APRIL 29, 1966

The speed of technological development in our time is the distinguishing mark of an age in the world's history when swift change is the rule rather than the exception. Whole industries hitherto undreamed of spring to life and grow like Jonah's gourd overnight. Unlike the gourd, however, many of them seem destined to expand and prosper through the foreseeable future. The airplane industry, or perhaps more correctly, all the industries associated with the production and use of the airplane, furnished a conspicuous example of this rapid development.

Many of the pioneers of the air age are still with us, and add their skill and experience to the further development of that instrument of transportation which they loved dearly enough to pledge their lives for. After all, it is only some sixty years since the day when the first plane managed to stay in the air for a few seconds. Many people believed that it was only a trick of the imagination that the thing would work, and men would really fly. They saw it at the circus and the county fair, but it was only a stunt, and would go away if one shut his eyes.

Then World War I came along, and the airplane became both a missile and a weapon. Daring heroes carried a few miscellaneous bombs against the enemy, but the total results may have been more spectacular than effective. Less than forty years ago Lindbergh spanned the Atlantic in solo flight, and the airplane may be considered to have passed through the period of childhood. During the Second World War it reached its maturity. But it still was far from a practical transportation medium for anything except passengers. For years after the war, a passenger was lucky if he could carry a pocket handkerchief with him.

Suddenly, here within the last decade, we wake up to find the airplane formidable competitors to freight trains, freight steamboats and barges, and independent of existing water courses or expensive rail lines and highways. They can be landed in comparatively inexpensive fields, even if they need to be improvised. They are ready answers to the needs of isolated communities for access to markets without the vast expenditure of time and money to construct the older forms of transportation. As for the matter of economic feasibility, the flying boxcar has answered that. Except perhaps for the extremely bulky and ponderous freight, they can offer rates that are competitive with respect to other agencies.

As a result of all these developments, the airplane industry has proliferated, as the college boys say, into a whole flock of subsidiary and contributory industries. And among these is the industry which I have the honor to address tonight. It is not always possible for a layman to understand exactly how and why an industry that provides a specific service, such as transportation, does split into component parts. But from experience we are convinced that these developments are dictated by convenience, efficiency, and economy. If a contributing industry brings about these benefits, it will grow and prosper.

The industry which you represent has already, in a few short years, proved its usefulness. This is attested by the volume of freight you handle, by the large number and worldwide distribution of the offices you operate, and by the number of people to whom you offer employment. You are recognized as a typical American institution, rendering valuable service and eager to enlarge your value to the public. The natural outcome of prestige such as this practically insures success and the rewards that go with success.

I feel that I have the right to claim some strong affection for the whole idea of aviation. During the war I spent some four years in the air as an officer in the naval air force. My own State of West Virginia is one of those States in which air transportation is likely to play in increasingly larger role, both for passenger travel and for freight. Today a plane can get into and out of the hollows of West Virginia with ease and dispatch. We are building numerous airfields, some of them small but serviceable and some of them more pretentious. We are building up small industries whose products could use air freight to reach markets. Unquestionably West Virginia will find further development of air transport peculiarly profitable.

It follows then, that my interest in aviation springs from both personal experience and from my concern for general industrial growth. As a Member of Congress, I have consistently taken the position that good transportation and rapid communication are the two factors which have contributed most to the phenomenal growth of this powerful Nation. The Constitution sets up "promotion of the general welfare" as one of the specific duties of the Government. I take this seriously, and I endeavor to act in accordance with my conivction.

The congressional committee of which I am presently a member has as one of its functions the general oversight of transportation. Today the transportation industry, as a whole, is beset with many problems. The Nation looks to the Congress, and particularly to the Commerce Committee to provide appropriate answers. The task of promoting the general welfare, as far as transportation is concerned, passes over into the task of adjusting inequities among competing systems, and of providing such regulations as well assure the preservation of the rights and interests of the general public.

In the present age, transportation systems are designated as public utilities, which means that while they are owned and operated, for the most part, by private capital, their methods and modes of operation are of vital public concern. They are given special privileges, and in return they must concede the public interest as paramount. I trust that as a congressman I shall always be able to meet my obligations to all the agencies and industries that have done so much for this country, and at the same time see that the average citizen is adequately protected.

It is truly a great honor to be asked to come to New York to receive an award from an organization for which I have so much respect and esteem. I do not have the pleasure of knowing many of you well, but I feel that a closer acquaintance would strengthen our cordial relations.

I feel that it is necessary to ask you to accept my abject apologies for not participating more fully in your proceedings tonight. Frankly, I spent all of last week in the hospital, and my doctor has insisted that I take things on the quiet and easy for a time. Only my high appreciation of your unexpected—and I fear undeserved—courtesy and thoughtfulness could have induced me to leave home tonight and come all the way to New York.

Please believe that I am grateful from the bottom of my heart. And please believe also that it will be a pleasure and honor to be of service to your organization, and to your members as individuals, in all ways consonant with my duties as a public official.

New York State Lottery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, this November the people of the State of New York are going to go to the polls and express their overwhelming support of a measure on the ballot to establish a New York State lottery. The New York State Legislature has already passed the lottery resolution in two subsequent sessions, as necessary to get it on the ballot for a referendum.

The New York Daily News of Sunday, May 8, had an interesting article in its magazine section giving New Yorkers the background of the soon-to-be-adopted lottery device. It shows how the lottery is very much a part of American history.

DRAWING ON LOTS OF HISTORY

(By John Patrick)

"A lottery is the most painless tax of all, because it is fun."

Written in 1934, those words are from a News editorial which advocated the adoption of a city lottery to raise $12 million for New Yorkers then on relief. A hundred years earlier, New York State had passed legislation barring lotteries from its borders. The Depression-spurred revival proposal, which met defeat, was the last serious effort to bring back the lottery prior to the 1960s.

Down through the years, the News has consistently plugged for local, state and federal lotteries as a voluntary form of taxation. Last February, Albany finally approved for the second time an amendment to the state constitution to permit a legal lottery. An affirmative vote by the electorate in a referendum next November seems almost as sure as rising taxes.

In the light of the current wave of sentiment overwhelmingly in favor of the lottery, it seems strange that we have had to wait so long for one to be reinstituted. As far back as colonial times, lotteries were highly regarded as a popular source of entertainment and public finance in New York as well as her sister settlements.

In 1965, when our town was known as New Amsterdam, thrift-minded Dutch burghers conducted a lottery to raise funds for the poor. As an indication of its moral acceptance, it was held in conjunction with a sale of Bibles. Going back even further to 1612, King James I authorized a public drawing "for the present plantation of English colonies in Virginia."

The founding fathers were solidly in favor of lotteries as a means of setting the young nation on strong financial footing. In 1768, a surveyor named George Washington ran one to pay for a road through the Cumberland Mountains. During the Revolution, the father of his country hoped to finance his ragged army with a $10 million national lottery. Unfortunately, it proved to be too ambitious a scheme for an era when millions weren't merely small change to the government. In 1793, President Washington bought the first ticket in a drawing to start construction of the capital city named for him.

In 1748, Benjamin Franklin proposed a lottery to buy a battery of cannon for the banks of the Delaware. John Hancock's famous signature, in addition to being on the Declaration of Independence, appears on lottery tickets sold in 1765 to finance the rebuilding of Boston's Faneuil Hall. An artist named Paul Revere did the engraving for Hancock's tickets. Among many others, Thomas Jefferson and John Jay are also on record as being sympathetic towards lotteries.

In New York, lotteries have financed everything from buckets for volunteer firemen to the erection of the lighthouse at Sandy Hook, the oldest (more than 200 years) tower of its sort still operating in the Western Hemisphere. A winner in one of two drawings in behalf of the lighthouse was the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop in America, the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, great-grandfather of the reformer of the 1930s. In his diary, the Rev. Seabury noted:

"The ticket No. 5866 in the Light House and Public Lottery of New York drew in my favor, by the blessing of God Almighty, 500 (pounds), of which I received 425 (pounds), there being a deduction of 15 per cent, for which I now record to posterity my thanks and praise to Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts."

In common with the current lottery proposal, lotteries of the past had aid to education as a prime objective. Such staid Ivy League institutions as Harvard, Yale and Dartmouth owe their early beginnings to the stimulus of gambling instincts. New Jersey's Rutgers and Princeton were similarly aided and in 1754, ticket proceeds helped found Kings College, now Columbia University.

Prizes in early lotteries ranged from relatively modest to fantastically enormous, considering the value of the dollar in those taxlight days. A drawing held around the turn of the 19th Century to defray expenses incurred by the German Lutheran Church of Lancaster, Pa., offered a top award of $500 with 20 percent of that going to the church.

At the other extreme, the Kentucky State Legislature authorized a "Grand Gift Concert" offering 12,000 cash "gifts" worth a total of $1,500,000. First prize was a whopping $250,000. This lottery, by the way, was one of several which aided the Public Library of Kentucky. Opened in Louisville on April 27, 1872, the Library served as an oasis of culture in the rough and ready West for many years.

By far, the most popular lottery of the 19th Century was that operated by the Louisiana Lottery Co., a private organization. In 1868, the state legislature, rumored to have been heavily bribed, granted the firms an exclusive 25-year lottery franchise. The company agreed to pay the state a bargain $40,000 annually. In return, it reaped uncounted millions of dollars in profits after prizes were dispensed.

While the Louisiana lottery prospered, those in Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland and elsewhere fell into disrepute and were outlawed one by one. This, of course, increased the demand for Louisiana's tickets and eventually, more than 90 percent of those issued were bought outside the state. In 1890, when the U.S. Post Office Department barred lottery matter from the mails, the New Orleans Post Office was deriving 45 percent of its business from this source.

When the Louisiana Lottery Company's franchise expired, a motion to renew it was defeated in a referendum. In 1894, the state attempted to conduct a lottery on its own but, after a few months, charges of corruption resulted in an absolute prohibition. That ended legal lotteries in the United States until two years ago when New Hampshire started its state sweepstakes.

Even so, New Yorkers have had no lack of opportunities to exercise their propensity for gambling. In 1939, a referendum approved pari-mutuel betting at race tracks by a 2–1 margin. In 1957, bingo for charitable purposes was legalized by a slightly smaller majority.

Every year, hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent here on illegal Irish Sweepstakes tickets. Millions more are poured into a variety of other gambling enterprises ranging from the numbers racket to charitable chance drawings. Judging just by the number of different raffle tickets peddled every Friday (payday) in Manhattan office buildings, the proposed state lottery is assured of a rich market.

U.S. Policy in the Middle East—Address by Representative Seymour Halpern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the spotlight of world attention has shifted to a perennial trouble spot, the Middle East, as Soviet Premier Kosygin visits with United Arab Republic President Nasser and tours Egypt. The evidence continues to accumulate that the Arab-Israeli rivalry is not the only threat to peace in that area as the United Arab Republic—Egypt, Syria, and the Yemeni Republicans, bolstered by Soviet arms and economic support, threaten the pro-Western Arab States and hurl anti-imperialist propaganda barbs against the United States and our allies.

In this connection, the recent address of Representative SEYMOUR HALPERN, of New York, before the biennial convention of the American Jewish Congress is of interest. I ask unanimous consent that Representative HALPERN's remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(Address by Representative SEYMOUR HALPERN at the American Jewish Congress Biennial Convention, April 29, 1966)

I am deeply honored by your invitation. The American Jewish Congress is known in Washington as distinct from other Jewish organizations because of its independence of thought and action, its courage, and its broad philosophy which sees the wide panorama of issues involved in perfecting our democracy.

Washington has not forgotten the stirring address of your President, Dr. Joachim Prinz, before the momentous "March on Washington" by advocates of equality for our Negro citizens. Nor has Washington forgotten the role the American Jewish Congress played in making the March a historic success. You earned a proud page in the annals of both American history and Jewish history.

I need not recall to this sophisticated and well-informed audience your effective intervention on many recent issues. Your expose of the collaboration by the State Department with Arab discrimination against assignment of United States personnel of Jewish faith to Arab countries set the groundwork for a coming fight in Congress to correct this situation.

As a Congressman who closely followed post-war developments in West Germany, I was moved by the recent confrontation of Dr. Prinz with the German Ambassador. Dr. Prinz said more eloquently and more perfectly what I would like to have stated to the Ambassador.

We are gathered here this afternoon to discuss United States Policy in the Middle East. Frankly, I would really like to know what the policy of our Government is in that area. I have followed every action and expression of our State Department and cannot accurately define the mish-mash of confusion and contradictions that is served up as a meaningful response to the emergent and complex problems of the Middle East.

Since I share your deep conviction that the security of Israel is inextricably linked with the preservation of freedom in the Middle East, I am concerned. I would like to share with you the facts behind my concern. I do not believe in a philosophy of helpless "gevald" or ineffectual hand-wringing. Neither does the American Jewish Congress.

So let us look at the facts and view the situation as it stands today, April 29. Let us then consider what positive steps our Government can take to bring greater clarity and meaning to our policy in the national security interest of the United States and our integrity as a nation committed to the causes of freedom and justice.

In the next few weeks, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia will be welcomed to Washington as the official White House guest of President Johnson. One of the topics on the agenda, no doubt, is the expanding infrastructure of American military support of the Jordanian-Saudi Arabian airpower build-up which includes jets , a radar network, and Hawk ground-to-air missiles.

Also, in the very near future, Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union will visit Cairo as the official guest of President Nasser. One of the topics on the agenda in Egypt, no doubt, is the sale of new, supersonic jets and other arms to Egyot to balance the United States arms shipped to Saudi Arabia and Jordan. We are also aware that Russia recently increased shipments of ultramodern jets to Syria and Iraq.

The Administration is obviously morally obligated to maintain a modicum of stability by supplying some balancing arms to Israel. But where is all this leading?

The United States virtually underwrites the Jordanian economy. Jordan, in order to persuade the rest of the Arab world that she hasn't forgotten her anti-Israel vendetta, has been the source of a number of shooting and infiltration attacks into Israel within the last two weeks. A number of Israelis have been killed and wounded, in attacks from Jordan, within the last year.

I would like to know whether Jordan has made an iron-clad commitment not to use American jets against Israel.

Earlier this week, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Rodger Davies told a conference in Washington that "there has been no change in the basic approach of the United States to the Middle East." He went on to say that American policy was motivated, among other things, by—and I quote directly—"continued flow of Middle East oil."

I would like to know if the United States is obtaining a commitment from Saudi Arabia that would guarantee her use of American-supplied airpower only against Communism and Nasserism.

We can never forget that arms shipped to Jordan and Saudi Arabia are not necessarily addressed to the present rulers of those countries in the turbulent Middle East. A few pistol shots could quickly change the nature of the regimes. We could wake up one morning and find pro-Nasser regimes that have emerged from some coup. So the arms are sent virtually "to whom it may concern". However, since we cannot stop our Government's decision to fill what it considers a vacuum and what it views as a buffer against Communism and Nasserism, let us at least get some kind of assurance that the arms will not be employed aggressively.

Let us not forget that Saudi Arabia and Jordan are members of the Unified Arab Command, pledged to Israel's destruction, that pledge reiterated at the most recent Arab summit meeting. Let us not forget that Egypt controls the Unified Arab Command and is author of the longterm anti-Israel war in Yemen will one day be free for other adventures.

We have reached the stage in escalation of sophisticated weapons in the Middle East where we must seek a clearer definition of American commitments to peace in that region and to the integrity and security of America's true friend, the State of Israel.

We have vague assurances. We have vague reiterations of various statements by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. I would like to hear a clear-cut 1966 definition of American policy on Israeli security by our President. The President is certainly aware of C.I.A. reports on the Communist shipments of vast weapons supplies—billions of dollars worth—to Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen.

Egypt and Yemen, which is Egypt's stooge, are allied in a war against the majority of Yemen's population who do not desire Nasser's so-called "Arab socialism" which is really naked totalitarianism. Nasser has ignored American efforts to end the small but brutal war. Syria is equally irresponsible and virulently anti-American. Syria recently invited and honored a Viet Cong delegation and Red Chinese who urged that the Arabs initiate what Peking calls "a war of national liberation" against Israel.

Syria is the main base of the fanatical "Palestine Liberation Organization" and other terrorist extremists. Iraq is so unstable that some new colonel might have seized power since we read this morning's newspaper.

What is the State Department's answer to all this? I regret to report that the State Department is drafting new proposals for expanded aid to Egypt. The Department knows very well that Egypt has devoted more land to growth of cotton than is economically sound in a nation faced with food shortages and starvation. The Department also knows that Egypt barters cotton to Russia for jets. And the United States General Accounting Office has exposed the flagrant misrepresentations of the Egyptian Government when it obtained American surplus food by lying about Egyptian patterns of cultivation.

The same State Department that is now subtly trying to tie all kinds of strings to the nuclear desalination plant once promised to Israel is seriously considering a loan of between $100 million and $150 million to Egypt for a similar desalting plant. Other aid for Egypt is in the works—electrical generators, surplus commodities, and perhaps other projects not yet published.

I simply do not understand why the American taxpayer should subsidize the Egyptian economy so that Nasser can divert money from his domestic budget to help pay for additional Soviet weapons. It does not make sense. I have opposed such aid to Egypt in the past and I will offer an amendment this year when the aid bill is before the House.

This year I will strive to obtain a mandatory provision that would require the Executive Department to withhold aid from nations that use their own assets to purchase Soviet weapons.

We have read and heard this week of battles in the skies over North Viet Nam between American fliers and Communists in Soviet-built MIG–21's. Why should our men give their lives to battle MIG–21's in the Far East while our taxpayers help Egypt purchase MIG–21's in the Middle East?

These questions underscore the absolute necessity for organizations like the American Jewish Congress which is made up of fighters for peace. Conformity in considering vital issues is not always a virtue. I have some doubts about the age of consensus.

You have every right to question the credibility gap, the disparity between practice and preachment in our present policies pertaining to the Middle East. While we are preoccupied with Vietnam, the situation in the Middle East bears consistent observation and demands creative solutions. Otherwise we may find ourselves confronted suddenly with another dilemma, one that could prove even more dangerous in its ramifications than Vietnam.

The possibility of a joint American-Soviet moratorium on arms shipments to the Middle East should be pursued with diligence. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union reportedly insisted at the recent CENTO conference in Turkey that any arms limitations be applied not only to the Arab states and Israel but also to Greece, Turkey, and Iran—nations allied with the United States. While we await the facts let us recall that CENTO arms shipped to Pakistan for use against Communism were actually employed against India. Let us also recall that the CENTO line is breached by Soviet penetration of Egypt. Witness the recent news of Egyptian—Soviet naval collaboration in which trawlers and submarines equipped with electronic devices are based in Egypt and observe United States Sixth Fleet movements in the Mediterranean as well as in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean—not to mention the simultaneous surveillance of Israeli shipping.

To what extent are we financing this Egyptian-Soviet collaboration if we approve the pending $250 million in various forms of aid the State Department is considering for Egypt? Does this not undermine the efforts at the CENTO meeting?

Lacking a joint American-Soviet agreement to limit introduction of arms into the region, let us consider the next best step. The continuing Arab threat to destroy Israel and the present arms escalation menaces regional stability and world security. Let us renew our efforts to persuade our Government to exert all its influence to bring Arab states to the peace table with Israel. If we do grant arms and aid, we should at least get a little leverage and influence in return that could be used to promote peace.

In view of the facts of life, we must insist that Israel be fortified by a renewed American defense commitment and whatever the burden thereby placed on Israel's economy in view of the high price of sophisticated arms must be considered when Israel applies for surplus commodity purchases and development loans.

What ever happened to the nuclear desalting plant that the White House described so glowingly as the fruit of Israel-American technical cooperation? If it is held up by strings that the State Department would attach to control Israeli policies, by demands for unilateral inspection of nuclear installations, by exorbitant interest rates on loans, then let us know the facts.

Let there be some steps toward a realistic solution of the Arab refugee problem. The Arabs first must recognize the legal existence of the State of Israel. Then there would be a basis for negotiation. These unfortunate people have been cruelly exploited by Arab demagogues and used as political footballs. Absorption in Arab countries is today more realistic than continuation of an artificial nation-in-exile. The Arab State responsible for displacement of the refugees through their war of aggression in 1948 must begin to assume some responsibility in their rehabilitation and resettlement in Arab lands where there is room and opportunity for them.

Let us remind the State Department, when they praise the alleged moderations of the Nasser regime, that the Suez Canal remains closed to Israeli commerce despite the expressions of the United Nations.

Recently we heard a lot of jokes about Coca-Cola and the "Pause that depresses" and Israel "joining the Pepsi generation." There were hard words over soft drinks when the Coca-Cola Export Corporation initially refused a franchise to Israel. Some suggested that Israel should refuse Coca-Cola the francihse for "Gazoz" (GA-ZOX)—Israel's popular orange drink) and Borscht.

But let us now pause to refresh our consideration of the anti-boycott provisions of the Export Control Act. As ranking Republican member of the House Subcommittee on International Trade, I fought for stronger provisions than those that emerged. A mandatory clause was deleted that would have declared the Arab boycott illegal. Had the clause been retained, any American corporation troubled by the Arabs could have simply said, "Sorry, but the law prevents us from complying with your anti-Israel demands."

The Commerce Department initially opposed any anti-boycott legislation at all. The Secretaries of Commerce and State, you will recall, testified ominously that a move against the Arab boycott would jeopardize the American boycotts of Cuba and Red China—thus inferentially and unfairly linking Israel with those two nations which are not overly popular in Washington. Also, there was innuendo voiced that Israel discriminates against the Arabs, that American business would be controlled by Israeli interests, and so forth.

But we fought and brought out an anti-boycott bill with some teeth in it. Unfortunately, a compromise was cooked up because there was fear of what would happen in the Senate. The Commerce Department agreed to the compromise because it realized the final draft would give the impression of fighting the boycott without actually antagonizing the Arabs.

When the Commerce Department drafted regulations to implement the anti-boycott law as finally adopted last year, companies were asked to report on boycott incidents but were pointedly told that they were not even required to reveal whether they decided to comply with Arab demands.

The Commerce Department's last quarterly report on the law was a meaningless hodgepodge. It confused the Arab boycott issue with the Indian-Pakistani differences over cargo seizures. The Department of Commerce also carefully tabulated each case in which Israel asked shippers to avoid Arab ports when carrying Israel-bound cargo. These were listed as 64 instances of Israeli discrimination against the Arabs. Israel was forced, of course, to issue such shipping orders to prevent seizure of her goods in transit by Arab port authorities. When the Commerce Department finally got around to the deeds by the Arabs, the Department decided that information was inadequate "to permit a clear judgment".

I submit that we have a watered-down anti-boycott law. It has loopholes that make it virtually meaningless. I intend to institute action in my Committee to revive the deleted language by amendment and provide teeth to the law.

Inadequacy in the wording of the law causes companies like Coca-Cola to tend to comply with the Arab boycott pressures and to camouflage such submission. I warned last year, I might add, that just such a situation would ensue unless we had a specific prohibition against compliance with the boycott. The Commerce Department, the State Department, and, unfortunately, some of my colleagues, felt such mandatory wording was unnecessary and undesirable.

At a time when our Nation is facing the outflow of the dollar, it baffles me that the Commerce Department permits American businessmen to be blackmailed by the Arabs from doing dollar-earning business abroad.

I can reveal today that I have asked the Commerce Department for a detailed and comprehensive report on why gaps and loopholes in the antiboycott law have emerged despite assurances given Congress by the Executive Department when the Congress reluctantly agreed to accept the weakened version in the compromise that I opposed.

Let us for a moment look at the brighter side of events. This is the 18th anniversary of Israel. The Hebrew word is "Chai," which means life. It was 23 years ago this month when the Germans were brutally destroying the Warsaw ghetto, murdering the inmates, burning the gallant martyrs. Today the children of Israel, a new generation born in freedom in the Promised Land, sing "Am Yisrael Chai"—the people of Israel live!

We take pride that Israel has grown in size and stature. Israel initiated the Peace Corps concept that we have emulated. Israel gave technical aid and guidance to more than 60 nations of Asia, Africa, and now, Latin America. Israel has become a tried and true friend of the United States, an outpost of freedom in the Middle East.

We cannot solve all the problems confronting Israel. But neither, as the sages say, are we free to desist from them.

It is my fervent conviction that the American Jewish Congress, its leaders, and its members may justifiably share in the proud knowledge that they have served our people. You have fought injustices at home; you have forced the Soviet Union to ameliorate to some extent the restrictions on Jews; you have promoted Jewish education and the struggle for separation of church from state in Federal education; and you have done many other positive things including your faithful, creative, and effective work for peace in the Middle East and Israel-American friendship. I thank you.

Sentinels of Safety Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND F. CLEVENGER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. CLEVENGER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report that the Calcite Quarry in Rogers City, Mich., operated by the Michigan Limestone Operations of United States Steel Corp., has won its 11th Sentinels of Safety Trophy in the 41st annual National Safety Competition sponsored by the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Mines and the American Mining Congress.

The 455 men mining this huge quarry accumulated 1,083,852 hours last year without a single lost-time injury—at least 400,000 hours more than the winner in any of the 5 other divisions in the competition. And these 6 winners were chosen from 845 entries.

Our Presque Isle County operation, one of the largest limestone quarries in the United States, has been a regular contestant since 1928. In those 38 years, its consistently outstanding performance has earned the prized Sentinels of Safety statuette 11 times.

I commend the employees and management of the quarry for this remarkable achievement, and for the diligent concern for human life that it represents. With all the residents of Upper Michigan, I congratulate the Calcite Quarry for a record that reflects so honorably on all our mining operations in northern Michigan.

Needed: Brains, Not Bricks, for Mental Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, it has become increasingly apparent that our U.S. supply of trained manpower for the tasks of improving the mental health of our American citizenry is not adequate to the needs.

Specialists in the field within my own State of West Virginia have taken a long look at the problems involved, and in the Sunday Gazette-Mail State Magazine—Charleston, W. Va.—of May 8, 1966, an article, "Needed: Brains, Not Bricks, for Mental Health," reported on some of the findings and recommendations which have resulted from the efforts to formulate long-range programs to best meet the spiraling requirements.

I ask unanimous consent that this newspaper article be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Needed: Brains, Not Bricks, for Mental Health

(Editor's Note.—New ideas are being tried to improve the mental hygiene program in West Virginia. Central to many of these ideas is an emphasis on state and college cooperation in training and education. The following article focuses on this cooperation, as experts at West Virginia University and the State Department of Mental Health view it.)

Brains, not bricks, are the building blocks of an adequate mental health program.

That is the opinion of experts in West Virginia who seek to guide current moves to upgrade the state's mental health program into channels that stress personnel and not buildings.

Solid, long-range encouragement for the mentally ill in this state, they saw, may have found a base in new cooperation between state agencies and institutions of higher learning.

A move that pointed this out was the joint appointment last fall of Dr. Cornelia Wilbur as superintendent of Weston State Hospital and associate clinical professor of psychiatry at WVU.

Dr. Wilbur, who commutes at least once a week between Weston and Morgantown to attend to her dual duties, said:

"I have from the time of my appointment been working toward the development of a number of programs for training medical students, general physicians and psychiatrists."

Dr. Wilbur's efforts so far have been partly successful. Students from WVU, Fairmont State College and West Virginia Wesleyan receive training at the Weston hospital. They study to become psychologists, nurses, vocational rehabilitation counselors and social workers.

The need for this kind of help is great.

"West Virginia is losing population and in so doing is probably losing some of the capable personnel in the mental health field," Dr. Wilbur theorized.

And Dr. Charles E. Goshen, a psychiatrist at the WVU Medical School who formerly was research director of the American Psychiatric Assn., has almost identical views.

"Throughout the entire United States since the 1930's," Dr. Goshen said, "there has been a drastic shortage of professional manpower in state mental hospitals. Even those hospitals which are in the best position to recruit professional people because of their locations or salaries * * * are still beset with a shortage of qualified manpower."

Those hospitals—such as West Virginia's—with unfavorable geographical locations and salary scales face "an almost unsurmountable obstacle in recruiting these people."

Dr. Wilbur noted that, "In all manpower studies relating to mental health—including one at Harvard University—it has been shown that only those states that have exclusive training facilities in their own state have reasonably adequate manpower in mental health areas."

STATE BELOW AVERAGE

Dr. Mildred Mitchell Bateman, director of the state department of mental health, supports these views.

"If you train these people, you're likely to keep them," Dr. Bateman said. "A lot of times, if you send persons to school at your own expense, they're obligated to come back to work for you. Of course, you may lose some persons, but it's the kind of percentage that pays."

A recent survey for the country as a whole shows that the ratio of trained psychiatrists to mental hospital patient population is lower now than it has been since 1928.

West Virginia is below the national average in almost every area of mental health care and service.

These deficiencies, both in West Virginia and nationwide, occur in spite of the fact that there has been considerable increase in the number of professional people trained in the fields that are of interest to mental health in the past 20 years.

The reason for the shortage, particularly in state institutions, is that other more attractive, more interesting and better-paying jobs have become available.

Basically, seven different kinds of employees work in mental health programs.

Psychiatrists. These are physicians who have served their internships and have had at least three years of resident training in an approved psychiatric training center.

General practitioners. These are physicians without specialty training who are often employed by state hospitals because the institutions cannot recruit psychiatrists. Most who work in state hospitals are general practitioners.

Clinical psychologists. These are psychologists who have attained at least master's degrees and who have been specifically trained in the diagnosis of, and, to some degree, the treatment of psychiatric patients.

Social workers. These are people who have master's degrees from schools of social work. Their work consists largely in working with the family of the patient. They assist in adjusting the family to the problem and in encouraging it to find a home for the patient when he leaves the hospital.

Vocational rehabilitation counselors. They usually work with a state agency and assist persons who have handicaps to obtain training in new occupations.

Nurses. Good, registered nurses are rare in state hospitals, compared to general hospitals. Those employed in state hospitals are usually used as administrators, because of the smaller number of qualified persons for these duties.

Non-professional workers. These usually are unskilled persons, in plentiful supply, who work in kitchens and perform maintenance duties, and are attendants on the wards.

"It is inevitable," said Dr. Goshen of this last group, "that they exercise the major responsibility for day-to-day management of the patient in West Virginia. They're the ones the patients are primarily in contact with."

Encouragement in this matter was noted by Dr. Bateman who said that "a training program for psychiatric aides is in its second year in the state. Federal grants finance this in-service training. Many persons who were untrained and unskilled when they began their duties now have attained a higher degree of these qualifications."

Is West Virginia headed in a direction that will lead it out of its dilemma? Some background may explain what forces are pointing the needle on the compass.

FUNDS APPROPRIATED

In 1955, Congress appropriated $1.5 million to a group known as the Joint Commission on Mental Health and Illness. This was made up of representatives of 45 different professional organizations interested in mental health. It made a three-year survey of the mental health needs and resources of the nation.

In 1959, the commission brought out its final report, called "Action for Mental Health."

This was a fairly long book, which outlined a 10-year program for upgrading psychiatric treatment resources throughout the country.

The report placed great emphasis upon the need to expand community mental health resources, which include such facilities as local mental health clinics, small psychiatric services in local general hospitals, school counseling services, and local social service agencies.

"The promise implicit in this recommendation is that it will prevent people from being admitted to the mental hospitals and thus eventually help solve the state's hospital problem by simply making the hospitals less necessary—at least in much less demand," Dr. Goshen said.

Authorities are in universal agreement that early recognition and treatment can often prevent hospitalization.

MISSING OPPORTUNITIES

Congress has studiously followed the recommendations made by the commission. One of the things it has done is to appropriate money to assist local communities in building and staffing community health centers. For West Virginia, this money is available on a basis of 61 per cent federal financing to 39 per cent state.

For example, in April of this year, West Virginia had available $380,000 to spend for this purpose. Right now only Princeton has made an official application. Other communities must do so by July or the remaining money will be returned to the federal government and the state will lose it.

The State Department of Mental Health has been working with all eligible state communities to help them to make such applications.

"Thirty of the 56 counties now have approved comprehensive mental health plans," Dr. Bateman pointed out. "These plans enable the counties to utilize on a local basis money that ordinarily would be made available only for state use."

What is more, Dr. Bateman said, a movement is now underway in Congress to extend the July deadline to give the states a chance to come up with plans and funds needed to qualify for the federal aid.

To help supply the answers, WVU and other state institutions of higher learning can be invaluable. Here's why:

"The whole problem is related to inadequate professional staffing," Dr. Goshen explains, "and fundamental to this problem is the question of opportunities for training in these professions."

As communities obtain clinics, the need for proper personnel promptly grows. And Dr. Goshen pointed out, "The only way to get people to staff these clinics is to train them here at WVU or at other colleges."

Also, under another government act, federal funds are available to the state's mental hospitals. But to get this aid, the hospitals must be nationally accredited. To do this, the hospitals must meet certain standards.

Staffing both community clinics and hospitals seem contradictory movements.

"We hope to develop clinic services across the state," Dr. Goshen said. "But we also hope to try to upgrade the mental hospitals we have."

"The Department of Mental Health is making a determined thrust to improve the staff-patient ratio in the state's mental hospitals," Dr. Bateman said. "This would be a big step forward."

Leading the fight for this accreditation is Dr. Wilbur, who declared when she assumed her position at Weston that this would be one of her primary goals.

To improve this vital ratio of help supplied to help needed, the proper personnel must be obtained. This is where WVU comes into the picture.

The department of psychiatry of the Medical Center expects to have a resident training program in operation soon and the schools of social work and clinical psychology already have begun turning out much-needed personnel.

The department of vocational rehabilitation has been noted for its vigor and energy and stands in a good position to become a major ally in the total mental hygiene program.

Many state hospitals have their own local-rehabilitation units to assist the patients in job training before they leave the hospital. One of the big obstacles to a patient getting out of the hospital and making his way on the outside is the difficulty in finding employment.

West Virginia, fortunately, is a leader in this field.

REHABILITATE EARLY

In recent years, this state in particular has developed and planned a rehabilitation unit in each of the state mental hospitals.

"Their primary purpose is to work with a mentally ill client as soon as possible after he's admitted to the hospital," said George Brown, coordinator of the rehabilitation counseling program at WVU.

"These centers provide vocational, social, psychological and medical evaluation and their primary purpose is to return the patient to the world of work."

Brown emphasized that "the earlier mentally ill persons are referred to help, the better their chances of returning to society."

At WVU the program offers a master of science degree in counseling and requires a semester off campus working under actual field conditions. A student interested in working with the mentally ill can spend this semester at one of the state's mental hospitals.

Federal money is available for training these persons, Brown said.

Dr. Wilbur concurred that, "This federal money can be obtained for both teachers and students," and she further recommended that, "The state should seriously consider including in its budget funds for training these individuals for in-state service."

PREPARING PROSPECTUS

The federal help can be obtained for many kinds of training programs, particularly those under the jurisdiction of a college or university. Stipends are available in various fields.

The State Department of Mental Health is preparing a prospectus for a federal grant which would be funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity to help with in-service training.

"We would like to train people with a bachelor's degree to do certain case work services," Dr. Bateman said. "WVU would be involved because the trainees would receive intensive tarining there, along with work under the guidance of profesisonal workers in the mental institutions."

Right now, the department is steering its first such efforts toward training persons to become auxiliary social workers, trained by the WVU School of Social Work. But this program could form a pattern for other, more expansive moves to follow.

Recent publicity about conditions at Lakin State Hospital served to point out a need for improvement in the state's mental health program.

This kind of problem is not unique. Nearly every state has been subject to similar campaigns of unpleasant publicity concerning its mental hospitals.

One after another of these states has gone through tremendous exposes of the bad conditions. For instance, the book "Snake Pit" came out after World War II and told of the terrible situation in New York State.

Later the book was made into a movie which further dramatized the issue.

The expose aroused legislative and taxpayer interest in improving conditions.

After this, in New York—and invariably in other states with a similar reaction—a flurry of increased appropriations resulted in new buildings or in the renovation of old buildings.

Though costly, these moves always served to increase rather than solve the problem—by adding to the total number of beds in these hospitals and therefore to the number of patients.

What is really needed is a more active, energetic modern treatment program. Accomplishing this requires "brains, not bricks."

The 40th Anniversary of the Passaic County Historical Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, in every section of the United States, groups of dedicated individuals are banded together to preserve the history, traditions, and memorabilia of their local areas for the use and enlightenment of future generations. Such an organization is the Passaic County Historical Society in New Jersey. First organized in 1926, the Passaic County Historical Society is presently celebrating the 40th year of its existence.

These 40 years have been fruitful years—years during which the story of Passaic County and of its inhabitants throughout the centuries has been researched and studied by many workers. The results of their labors have been collected and are now carefully preserved in the museum operated by the society and located in one of our Nation's historic landmarks, Lambert Castle in Paterson, N.J. This museum is visited annually by more than 35,000 persons interested in learning more about their ancestors, and the ways in which they lived. This story, unfolded in the exhibits of the museum, is a thrilling one which parallels in many respects the history of our Nation.

Following the settlement of New Netherlands—now New York City—in 1624, Dutch traders and trappers crossed the Hudson River and pushed into what is now Passaic County. On their return to New Netherlands, they told of the fertile valleys, the rolling hills, and of the scenic beauty of the Great Falls of the Passaic River. Their stories induced settlers to purchase the land from the Indians, establish their farms, and build their homes throughout the area. One of these homes, built by Arent Schuyler in 1697, still stands in Pompton Lakes and is still occupied by his descendants, one of whom married Gen. William Colfax, commander of Washington's bodyguard during the Revolution.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Passaic County has been completely settled by thrifty Dutch farmers, whose fertile acres in the southern half of the county made this region one of the wealthiest in the colonies. Iron had been discovered in the hills of the northern half of the county, and from the Ringwood mines came the ore used to manufacture the guns and cannonballs used by Washington's armies. The great chain which stretched across the Hudson River to protect that fort against the British Navy was a product of these Ringwood forges. Parts of this chain may still be seen at West Point and at Ringwood Manor.

Washington and his army came through the county on several occasions first in 1776, during the terrible retreat through New Jersey which finally ended in a victory at Trenton on Christmas Day. The defense of the Ringwood mines played an important role in his strategy, and patriot soldiers were always in the area, guarding the mines against the British in New York City. Washington was so impressed by the manager of the mines, Robert Erskine, that he appointed Erskine to be Surveyor General of the Continental Army.

With Washington came many of the men who aided him to defeat the British. There was the young Frenchman, the Marquis de Lafayette. His headquarters, still stand in Wayne, a thriving municipality named after another of Washington's generals, Anthony Wayne. In the same community is Washington's own headquarters, the Dey Mansion which he occupied in 1780, and which is now preserved by the Passaic County Park Commission. Col. Alexander Hamilton was an aide of the General and with him visited the Great Falls. Hamilton was so impressed by the falls that years later when he was serving as the first Secretary of the Treasury under President Washington, he recommended the founding of a Federal city at the spot, a city that would utilize the water power of the falls and become the industrial center of the new Nation.

That city, named Paterson after New Jersey's Governor, William Paterson was established in 1792, and, as Hamilton had foreseen, developed into a busy industrial center, becoming famous for its cotton and silk cloth, its locomotives, and its airplane motors. It was in Paterson that Samuel Colt invented the revolver which conquered the West. It was in Paterson that the locomotives were built which helped to settle the great plains of the West. It was in Paterson that John Holland developed he first practical submarine. It was Paterson labor which built the airplane motors which carried Lindbergh across the Atlantic Ocean, and powered the B-17's that bombed Germany into defeat.

Sons of Passaic County left their homes to fight in America's armies in all of her wars. Others left to build the Nation in more peaceful pursuits. One, Daniel Force, was three times elected mayor of Washington, and his library formed the basis of our National Archives now resting in the Library of Congress. Another, Nicholas Murray Butler, more than any other one person, built Columbia University into the great educational institution it now is, and won the Nobel Peace Prize for his services to mankind following World War I. Still another, Garret A. Hobart became Vice President of the United States under McKinley.

It was John W. Griggs, another Passaic County resident, who, as Attorney General of the United States, drafted the declaration of war against Spain, and later became our country's representative at Hague Peace Tribunal.

It is the story of these men, and of thousands of other residents of the county which the Passaic County Historical Society is preserving and telling at its museum located in Lambert Castle. The castle was built in 1892 by Catholina Lambert, a Paterson silk manufacturer, as his home. It is a beautiful sandstone structure patterned after Warwick Castle in England. In it, Mr. Lambert entertained the great and famous people of his day, and in it, he housed the largest privately owned art collection in the United States.

Following the death of Mr. Lambert, the Passaic County Park Commission acquired the castle and the surrounding property on Garret Mountain. The land was developed into a beautiful park, and part of the castle was turned over to the Passaic County Historical Society for its use. Since its founding, the society had slowly acquired many relics and much memorabilia pertaining to Passaic County. The collection was moved into the castle and made available to the public. A few years later, Mrs. Garret A. Hobart, widow of the late Vice President, presented the society with her collection of relics of the Spanish-American War and of the McKinley administration. This gift, now housed in the Hobart room of the museum has grown into one of the best collections of Spanish-American War materials in the Nation.

As the documents and objects acquired by the society over the years increased, it became necessary that they be safely housed. Four years ago, the Board of Chosen Freeholders built a modern fireproof vault in which these precious relics of our past are now stored. New additions are being constantly added to the society's collection, and bit by bit, the story of Passaic County and its residents is being uncovered and preserved for the historians of the future. New workers have joined the society to replace those who have passed on, and these are the men and women who are now carrying on the work started 40 years ago.

I believe that it is fitting for us here today to salute the society on its 40th anniversary, to pay tribute to the work which has been accomplished in the past, and to wish the society and its president, Alfred P. Cappio, success in the years ahead. In this way, we honor, not only the Passaic County Historical Society but also all those other groups and individuals who are performing similar tasks in their own communities. The professional historians who have related the history of our Nation, and of its great men and women, have been remembered on many occasions. Let us honor these volunteers who, in their own localities, are telling the stories of the small towns and villages, and of the ordinary men and women who together developed our great Nation.

Orioles' Batboy Gives Lesson in Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, the great Roman orator, Cicero, said that there is nothing, absolutely nothing fairer, more beautiful, more to be loved than courage.

There recently came to hand a column from the sports pages of the Washington Evening Star of April 21, 1966, written by Merrell Whittlesey, that is heartwarming. It tells of the indomitable spirit of a 12-year-old Maryland youth who is batboy for the visiting teams at Baltimore's Memorial Stadium. It recalls the old Indian proverb: "I complained that I had no shoes until I met a man who had no feet."

Mr. Speaker, I believe this account of the spirit of this lad will inspire and uplift all who read it and under consent of the House I insert it in today's RECORD:

ORIOLES' BAT BOY GIVES LESSON IN COURAGE

(By Merrell Whittlesey)

Visiting ball players in Baltimore Memorial Stadium have a gentle, sober reminder this season that base hits, errors, and earnest runs are not the most important things in life.

The bat boy for the visiting clubs is Jay Mazzone, 12-year-old son of a Maryland State trooper who was burned close to death when he was 2½ years old. Jay has hooks for hands—his were burned off above the wrists in a fire in his back yard—and has skin grafted over much of his body.

But this spry youngster carries his cross with distinction. The ball players eye him with sympathetic interest when they first spot him, but both Yankees and Senators took him to their hearts. They flip his cap, pat him on the back, and watch him with admiration.

Jay is not looking for sympathy. He cares for the bats with the hooks he uses for hands in a professional manner. He doesn't need any reminders. Jay is on top of every play, in batting practice and during the ball game.

He takes off his school clothes and dons his baseball uniform, with the No. 1 on the back, without any help. For the first two games of the Yankee series last week, his dad was there to tie his shoes. But his father was on duty during the third game and Bobby Richardson, the Yankee second baseman, observed the youngster tying his shoes with the hooks and offered to help.

But Jay said no thank you, sir, and tied them himself. But he said last night before the Senators' game that Mr. Richardson and Bobby Murcer, the young Yankee shortstop, were extra nice to him, and he remembered them and Mr. Crosetti, the coach.

Frank gave Jay a half-dozen new balls and a ball autographed with all the Yankee names. The youngster was very appreciative.

The players appear reluctant to ask Jay about his accident, but he is not backward to those who overcome their hesitance.

He and his brother were playing in the back yard of their home in Pleasantville, N.J., where their father at the time was a city policeman. They were near a trash pile which had kerosene cans on it, played with the cans, and the kerosene spilled over Jay's snowsuit.

Then he was too close to the fire. A spark ignited the suit and he went up in flames. For a month it was touch and go as to whether he would live. Skin was grafted from the few unburned parts of his body, his dad gave skin from his legs, back and stomach, and Jay pulled through.

Jay's family moved to Baltimore four years ago when his father was named to the Maryland State Police force and last year a friend of his father wrote to the Orioles and Jay was invited to try out for bat boy. He served one series for the Tigers and one for the Orioles. This year he was told the visiting clubs were his own.

Jay is a sixth grade student at Sinclair Lane school, where he asks no favors.

He plays on an organized football team and uses foam rubber padding for his hands. He is a right fielder on a baseball team and uses a special glove with a hook apparatus. He swims, plays table tennis and knows how to use a rifle.

In the basketball season he is a ball boy for the Baltimore Bullets.

Jay said that Coach George Susce and Bobby Saverine were particularly attentive to him among the Senators, but all of the players seemed nice, although he had them on two losing nights.

"He hustles every minute," Gil Hodges said last night, with admiration. "Look at the bats, every one in place. If there is a loose ball, he grabs it in his hook and tosses it to somebody.

"I was watching him during our first game and in an idle moment he grabbed a bat and was pounding on a resin bag, handling the bat just as though he had hands."

Jay has a locker in a corner of the visiting clubhouse. He changes clothes without help. Earlier he brought a candy bar from the clubhouse to the bench, peeled off the paper with his hooks, and held it in the cold steel frames as he ate it.

The ball players watch him quietly and his courage makes baseball seem awfully unimportant.

Hawaii Hotelman Holtzman Accepts Challenging New Assignment With Laurance Rockefeller's Resorts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, not a few persons say that one of the best ways to motivate a child to ambition is to expose him to biographies of great and successful men. They believe that the child will find inspiration by reading such biographies and achive success by patterning his own actions after those of the men about whom he reads. I read an article recently in the Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser which was not a biography as such, but appeared to be a feature story about one of Hawaii's most successful hotel managers. The manager's childhood, his boyhood, and his adulthood, and his views on hotel management, on tourism, on excellence, on culture, on ethics, and on marketing, impressed me as the sort of reading that could be recommended to inspire young people who are seeking success in our modern business world, and especially for those who are interested in hotel management.

The person who was the subject of the feature story by Editor George Chaplin of the Honolulu Advertiser is Mr. Richard Edward Holtzman, outgoing manager of the Sheraton Hotels in Hawaii. He will soon leave for New York to manage Laurence Rockefeller's worldwide resorts.

Already a successful and respected hotel manager, Dick Holtzman came to Hawaii in 1960 to manage Sheraton's newly acquired Royal Hawaiian Hotel on Waikiki Beach. Time has since shown that it was not only the Royal and the Sheraton Corp. that profited from his arrival. As an active and community-minded citizen whose love for Hawaii was deep and genuine, he was instrumental in initiating the guidelines for the further development of Hawaii's third major industry. As chairman of Hawaii Visitor Bureau's long-range planning committee, member-at-large of the State board of planning and economic development, and as first vice president of the Hawaii Visitor Bureau, he made invaluable contributions toward the future of tourism in the islands.

Mr. Holtzman is a man who speaks of the "pursuit of excellence" in tourism, who emphasizes the qualitative rather than the quantitative goals, who discusses success in tourism in terms of visitor satisfaction, who stresses the preservation of Hawaii's ethnic cultures as well as subcultures, who strives for higher standards on ethical codes for tourist establishments, who believes in the preservation of beauty, and who envisions a gardenlike Waikiki.

Thus, Hawaii bids a fond and grateful aloha to a man whose philosophy on tourism and whose record of achievements are truly inspirational.

Editor George Chaplin's interesting biographical sketch of hotelman Richard

E. Holtzman appeared in the April 24, 1966, issue of the Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser. I am pleased to submit it for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

A CHAT ABOUT HAWAII, HOTELS, HOLTZMAN

(By George Chaplin)

It wasn't much of a trip—35 miles. And they didn't do much more than walk around a bit and eat a sandwich in a hotel coffee shop.

But for Dick Holtzman, whose grandfather had just taken him to Harrisburg, Pa., it was a wondrous day. He was already 15. But it was the first time since he was a baby that he'd got to a town of any size—and had been in a building as awesome and dazzling as the Penn-Harris Hotel.

By the time he'd finish his sandwich, he was sure of one thing: he had to be a hotel man.

And so began a career that in September, 1960 brought Richard Edward Holtzman to Hawaii to head the Sheraton hotels and in a few weeks will take him to New York to manage Laurance Rockefeller's farflung resorts.

What thoughts on Hawaii will he be leaving, based on his demonstrated affection for the Islands and his experience in directing four of the major hotels? I went by the other day to ask him. But first, I asked him to tell me more about himself, why he's done what he's done and been where he's been.

He was an only child, born 46 years ago in Millersburg, Pa., a town of 2,000. His father, Lester, was the son of a German immigrant and had been born on a little farm 10 miles from the town. His mother came from the Pennsylvania Dutch country, of an Amish family, with grandparents from Rotterdam.

Dick's father had a farm and a small motion picture theater in Millersburg, in the '20s he served two terms in the the Pennslyvania Legislature. He was a gregarious man and he liked to help, but the '20s were a precarious time to be endorsing notes for a lot of people. On top of that he got into the stock market—and lost heavily. The world crowded him too much, and he took his life.

STRENGTH FROM TRAGEDY

Dick was 10 then and, looking back, he believes that it was that tragedy which determined him to be strong, to try to be a leader, to try to achieve.

The farm was lost, but his mother—sweet, but strong-willed—saved the theater and after school Dick took tickets and, at the end of the evening, swept out.

The summer after his memorable Harrisburg visit, Dick got a kitchen job at the Penn-Harris, through a family friend, the late Pennsylvania Attorney General Edward Beidelman. (Holtzman's middle name cames from Beidelman's first.)

He earned $38 that summer. When he finish high school in 1937, he went to the Cornell University School of Hotel Administration. It cost $800 a year, which he didn't have. He got "a little piece of a football scholarship and a little bigger piece of a hotel scholarship" and once he got to Ithaca he took on four jobs.

He sold in a clothing store on weekends. During the week he bought food for a fraternity house and helped cook and serve it. From 10 p.m. to midnight he worked in the student laundry. And he "bought in—without cash" on privately published football programs, which in season "were good for $20 a month." He also made the frosh football squad, but not the team. With that schedule, his grades were "bad."

"I was a frightened hayseed when I got to Cornell," Holtzman remembers. "But I had that complex about getting ahead. I got into campus politics, was sophomore class president, and president of the student council my senior year."

ON-THE JOB TRAINING

Summers he worked in hotels—the Broadmoor in Colorado Springs, the Brown Palace in Denver.

In those days Cornell hotel students ran a practice inn for three days a year. They elected a management team and invited all the top hotel people in the U.S. each May.

"The idea was to have the kids show what they could do in every phase of hotel operations," said Holtzman.

His freshman year he had the job of waiting on the head table—and promptly spilled hot soup down the bosom of Mrs. Ellsworth Statler, wife of the founder of the Statler chain.

Dean Howard Meek, now retired, told Holtzman after the episode that he wasn't sure he was suited for the business."

"And I'm sure you're not likely to be working for the Statler organization," said Meek. Holtzman smiled in recalling the story and added, "I never have."

In May of 1941—a month before graduation—he went to the Ithaca airport and took flying lessons "in return for a grease monkey job." About that time, an Army Air Corps examining board, which was recruiting cadets in the Ivy League, showed up.

"A friend bet me a dollar I couldn't pass the physical," said Holtzman. "I took him up, but without meaning to get in. So in June I went to work as sales manager of the Carter Hotel in Cleveland. In August I was called up for flight training."

He was commissioned in March, 1942 at Kelly Field, San Antonio, spent two years as a flight instructor at Kelly and at San Angelo, where he met and married Janet Akin. (They have three children, Sandra, 16; Richard A., 12, Cynthia, 9.)

NOT-SO ROYAL VIEW

He went into B-29 bombers, got his first look at Hawaii as a squadron commander (rank of captain) in late '44.

"I walked up the beach to see the famous Royal Hawaiian and was keenly disappointed to see skivvies hanging out on the lanais. It was serving as a submariner's rest home and I couldn't even get in."

He soon took his 14-plane squadron to Tinian, from which he flew 28 missions. On one, leading the squadron on a Tokyo raid, his plane was badly hit, but managed to limp into Iwo Jima, which had been secured only two days before. Had it not been, he would have had to ditch.

On Tinian at that time there was an "observation squadron" which seemed to have little to do. Holtzman recalled he used to kid a friend about it.

"They had no identifying marks on those planes. Then one day, returning from a mission to Yawata, a steel mill in Kyushu, I saw my friend's plane had been lettered with a name—Enola Gay. He was the co-pilot for the Hiroshima bomb."

Holtzman was separated from service as a major in December, 1945 (with the Distinguished Flying Cross and an Air Medal with two clusters), spent Christmas with his mother (who has since died) and went back to work at the Carter in Cleveland as resident manager.

"I was still flack-happy, really nervous," he recalled. "The lobby was jammed and I was trying to help the assistant manager. One guy kept raising hell because he couldn't get a room. I was sitting out in the open, behind a desk. He put his finger under my nose and started yelling, 'While I've been out fighting for my country, guys like you have been taking it easy, getting rich with all kinds of deals.'

"I hit him, knocked him into an adjacent flower shop, broke a window. It was awful. I was still fighting a war. I went to my boss, who explained things to this fellow—he'd never been out of drydock—and apologized to him.

OFT-REPEATED STORY

"I've used that story many times with young people, to show how a career could have been ruined if I hadn't had an understanding boss."

The Pick chain, the country's fourth largest, moved Holtzman, then 27, from the Carter to the Germyn in Scranton as manager. After a year and a half, he was sent to South Bend, the home of Notre Dame—"the first Protestant to ever manage the Oliver Hotel."

After two more years, in 1952, Pick moved him to its headquarters in Chicago as director of sales nationally.

"What I wanted," said Holtzman, "was to get the hard knocks of the commercial side, to learn them well, then get into resorts. So I went to Greenbrier—that was in 1954—as resident manager."

Greenbrier, at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., is one of the world's top resorts. It began as a spa many decades ago. Robert E. Lee used to go there for the summers and the cottage he lived in still stands.

It was there that Holtzman "really became dedicated to the pursuit of excellence in the resort field."

Two years after arrival he was promoted to manager. Four years lated, in 1960, he got a phone call from Bob Brush, senior vice president of Sheraton Corp. of America, who asked him to come to Boston for a talk.

HAWAII WAS HIS GOAL

"The thing that appealed to me," Holtzman told me, "was not any interest in a big chain, but Hawaii. That and the Royal were magic words."

(Although Holtzman preferred not to get into it, it's no secret that the manner of the transition of the Royal and her sister hotels from Matson to Sheraton had created not a few irritations in the community. Holtzman came about a year after the sale.)

"I knew only one person here—Howard Donnelly. He'd been at the Greenbrier when I was there, as catering manager.

"Well, I couldn't have been more pleasantly surprised from the first day. I'd never experienced anything like it. People's graciousness, the desire to help, the willingness of the staff to take on a new boss and help him—these were great.

"There was immediate indication of the community's real pride in the Royal, despite what irritations existed. They wanted things to work.

"I decided that what I'd been taught to be true was true. Seventy-five percent of success in management centers around the handling of people, the motivation of people.

"I felt that here was a land with the sort of people with whom I'd been working, with whom I could work."

Almost as an aside, he said: "There's an unaffectedness here, a simplicity, a lack of ostentation. Because of the kind of community I grew up in, I felt an instant affinity."

In the hotel staff, he found "a basic warmth and a desire to do the job well if motivated."

UPHOLDING TRADITIONS

How, I asked, did he try to provide that motivation?

"Through daily, almost hourly, attempting to prove that Sheraton was sincere in wanting to operate the Royal under proper and previous traditions.

"A hotel like this has to first be a community's hotel, then a visitor's hotel. If the community won't recommend your product by using it, what hope have you got of establishing and maintaining patronage of the visitors you want?"

I asked him to philosophize about the future of tourism. He leaned back in his chair, lit another cigaret, and began:

"Perhaps there are four facets that ought to go into our long-range planning for tourism. I'm a believer in long-range planning. As you may know, I've been chairman of the HVB's long-range planning committee. Jack

Hall is with me on that. It's healthy and progressive to see labor playing that active a part in this.

"I'd like to say this, too. Those who criticize the Legislature should know that it was Speaker (Elmer) Cravalho and others under his leadership who admonished the HVB to set some guidelines and do some thinking about what we want tourism to look like, what we want these Islands to be."

GARDENLIKE WAIKIKI

"Now the four facets: physical, cultural, ethical, marketing.

"About the physical plant—the hotels, the restaurants, the streets and highways, the airports, everything that physically serves the visitors—are we going to get serious about it?

"For example, on Oahu, are we going to make Kalakaua into a flowered esplanade, a pedestrian mall?"

Is he unequivocally for this?

"Absolutely. I think it's important that we don't become guilty of being a concrete jungle, a metropolis of traffic. Access to hotels and stores would have to be worked out. I think it could be.

"Most cars transiting and parking in Waikiki are local. A survey several years ago showed 80 per cent of the parking was employe parking.

"We need a Waikiki that is garden-like, to the extent it's practically warranted.

"Take signs. It's terrible to look up and down this avenue, especially beyond the Princess Kaiulani, toward Diamond Head, and see the clutter. There's some voluntary sign control in portions of Waikiki. If we don't do something, we'll get terribly junked up with bad signs and use of windows. It'll have us looking like a Broadway.

"We can certainly do some of these things in Waikiki. On the Neighbor Islands, we can do the job with master planning and zoning. It's not at the critical point there yet. Height limits are needed, architectual controls.

"The pursuit of excellence doesn't mean necessarily building a luxury hotel interested in only the carriage trade. Excellence is critical for Hawaii in everything it does—if we are to remain superior to other resort areas of the world."

PRESERVATION OF CULTURE

"Culturally, I think there should be preservation of our ethnic cultures and sub-cultures, both for their own worth and because people are coming to experience them.

"Right now, more haoles use the word 'aloha' than Hawaiians. I say 'aloha' to Hawaiian friends. A lot of them come back with 'hi'. Through the schools, we should encourage Hawaiian culture.

"How many tours try to get people into the Bishop Museum? Too often the route is through perfume factories and roadside stands where they have a deal.

"The ethical and marketing—they can be discussed together. Aren't we taking too much of the quantitative approach, not enough qualitative, to the marketing of Hawaii?

"If we say we want a million visitors by 1970, what do we mean? Are we really interested in visitor satisfaction or in just having as many new faces as we can bring in?

"Are charter tours good if the only result is to dump in a couple of hundred people? I'm asking. Are we concerned enough about our ability to make a million visitors happy?

"Isn't this the crux—if, say, we do a top-flight job for three-quarters of a million, isn't that better than a mediocre job for a million? A day of reckoning will come on visitor satisfaction."

"I think there should be higher standards. I favor a tougher licensing of hotels, restaurants, taxis. There should be adequate legal protection for our visitors, too. Hawaii increasingly is becoming the prey of deadbeats, bums, even hoods.

"The HVB is principally the marketing agent, to bring people here. The salesman can't be the policeman.

HIGHER STANDARDS

"I think the hotel association, restaurant association, tour and travel people should set up their own commission and agree on standards, on an ethical code, which if violated would result in failure to be officially recognized.

"Such a voluntary commission should be headed by a top administrator, highly empowered. He would be in the nature of a 'tourism czar.'

"If it can't be done that way, as much as I oppose further government control, let's police the setup from the government level."

He got back to the "numbers game."

"There's increasing concern for numbers, decreasing concern for their comfort, satisfaction, protection.

"We shouldn't think of tourism as separate from agriculture and industry, but of how it fits in to Hawaii's totality. Also, it should be stressed that the role of tourism goes beyond the beautiful beach and the sweet song. It is related to Asia, our East-West role, the quest for understanding.

"Shouldn't we say how we fit into that picture, both because of geography and our multi-ethnic composition, and promote Hawaii on that basis, as an exchange point in human relations?"

Dick Hotzman and his family leave June 1 on the Lurline. They'll go to Greenbrier for a rest, then he goes to the Cornell graduation to give the 25th class reunion address June 16.

In July he checks into the Rockefeller office in New York and takes off on a month's swing of the Caribbean properties: Dorado Beach outside of San Juan, Puerto Rico; Caneel Bay Plantation on St. John and Estate Good Hope on St. Croix, both in the U.S. Virgin Islands; Little Dix Bay in the British Virgin Islands; and Grand Teton Lodge in Yellowstone Park in Wyoming. Additionally, of course, there's the Mauna Kea on the Big Island.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Holtzman foresees a rewarding experience with Rockefeller.

"His hotels are the epitome of excellence in resort operations. They're the finest. And their character and philosophy appeal to me—for instance, the emphasis on conservation and preservation of beauty."

He will be leaving Hawaii with reluctance. He was an Islander in spirit even before he arrived—and in action during his time here.

He immersed himself in community work, not only because it is good business but because of the way he's built. He is a member-at-large of the State Board of Planning and Economic Development, first vice president of the HVB, a past or present director of organizations ranging from Symphony to Rotary, a deacon of Central Union Church—the list is long.

On his office wall hang inscribed pictures of some of the notables he knows, whether as innkeeper or friend or both. The President is there and the Vice President and generals and top entertainers and many others.

But Holtzman is probably proudest of a scroll which scores of Honolulu and State leaders signed and gave him at a dinner three years ago. It reads:

"The people of Hawaii with admiration, affection and aloha express their deep regard for Richard E. Holtzman, whose untiring efforts to preserve and nurture the finest traditions of Hawaiian hospitality and whose unswerving devotion to the true meaning of the Aloha Spirit have brought great credit to himself, to his company and to these islands."

Ball Bros. Built World Famous Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, a success story paralleling anything in American business history is that of Ball Bros. of Muncie, Ind.

The impact of this company on the city of Muncie and the State of Indiana has been immeasurable.

Mr. Wayne Guthrie of the Indianapolis News has traced the humble origins of this manufacturing concern to its present dimensions which literally cover the entire world.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, in order that Members of Congress have the opportunity to become further acquainted with Ball Bros., I insert the article by Mr. Guthrie to be reprinted in the RECORD.

The article follows:

BALL BROS. BUILT WORLD FAMOUS BUSINESS

(By Wayne Guthrie)

Ball Bros. and Muncie are synonymous. You can't mention one without thinking of the other.

The story of the birth and growth of the world-famous company and other interests bearing the name of those five brothers is one of the most fascinating sagas of American industry.

From a humble beginning, the operations have grown until today they embrace many lines of endeavor through subsidiaries and affiliates in several countries.

The present president, son of one of the original five, expressed how diversified and far-flung the Ball Bros. operations and interests are today. He said the story might be called "From Oil Cans Through Fruit Jars to Lunar Landings."

It would be impossible to overestimate the impact—industrially, socially, financially and otherwise Ball Bros. has had on Muncie.

The memory of those brothers and their company is perpetuated by the countless gifts, grants, donations and other contributions they have made to many organizations, institutions and movements not only in that city but throughout Indiana.

This tale harks back to when the Ball family lived in Canandaigue, N.Y. By 1880 the brothers, Edmund B. and Frank C. Ball, then young men, had had several false starts in ventures, including the manufacture of egg crates and fish kits and the cleaning of carpets.

But they did not quit. They tried again. Borrowing $200 from a preacher uncle they began in a loft the manufacture of wood-jacketed cans for shipping varnishes, oil and paints in Buffalo.

After their resources had been converted into inventory Frank would hit the road to sell their products.

An order Frank received from a St. Louis company once swamped them. They were obliged to stop taking orders until they could get more equipment and enlarge the work force.

Not long afterward fire destroyed the building and they moved to another loft.

Then the three other brothers, Lucius L., William C. and George A. Ball, joined forces with them and the Wood Jacket Can Company became Ball Brothers.

Frank guided the company from its formation until his death in 1943 at 86—63 years as founder and president.

Edmund B., father of the present head, was a dynamic force in the organization until his death in 1925.

William C., a tremendous salesman, died in 1921.

Lucius C., the oldest of the five, realized an ambition to become a physician but remained actively associated with the concern as a director until death in 1932.

George A., youngest of the group, remained active in the company the rest of his life. He died in 1955 at 94.

Thus, their mother's last request that the five brothers stay together became a reality.

The original company was only two years old when it added an item necessary in all homes of that era, a kerosene container from which stoves and lamps could be refilled easily.

In its manufacture the firm bought one-gallon hand-blown glass containers to which it added the spouts and caps. In 1885 some Belgian glass blowers from Canada talked them into building their own furnace to make their own containers. Soon they sought other glass products to make, in that city.

They decided to make for home-canning purposes a glass jar for which John Mason's 1858 patent had expired. Hence, the familiar household term—Mason jar.

Fire in 1886 destroyed the plant and the brothers sought some other location. Their eyes turned to Indiana's natural gas region. Frank, only 30, did this footwork.

Muncie, then containing some 6,000 residents, won the company by giving $5,000 to defray the expense of moving it there and donating seven acres for a factory site.

The new plant began production of glass jars in 1888. Soon the Ball Mason jar became the principal output.

The company's operations continued to grow, keep pace with the times and expand into various fields. Through subsidiaries and affiliates in many states and foreign countries Ball Bros. today is engaged in various lines of manufacture, including zinc products, glass containers, plastic vials, commercial closures, tin plate products, zinc photoengraving plates and chemicals, micro-metal photoengraving plates, molded and extruded rubber and plastic products, rubber goods, neoprene pipe and window gaskets.

In the Ball Brothers Research Corporations, a subsidiary, more than 500 scientists and technicians create new products and improve old products from the manufacturing divisions. At one facility, more than 500 skilled men are busy assembling magnetic memory core planes for computers.

The research corporation also is busy in scientific communications, instrumentation and aerospace technology. That includes the work done for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the development and construction of the orbiting solar observatory satellites.

Collectively and individually the Ball brothers made to their city, state and other localities, and institutions gifts totaling several million dollars among them were:

Purchase and gift to the state of the old Muncie normal school, now the present Ball State University.

The Muncie YMCA and YWCA.

Ball Memorial Hospital, Muncie.

Substantial financial contributions to I.U. medical school.

Important buildings at the Riley Hospital, Indianapolis.

Ball residence for nurses at the I.U. medical center.

Camp Crosley Camp in northern Indiana.

School facilities for training nurses.

Buildings at Keuka College, New York.

Buildings at Hillsdale College, Michigan.

Liberal endowment to what are now Ball State and Indiana State Universities.

Gift to Ball State of its art galeries, Frank Elliott Ball dormitory for men, Lucius Ball Hall, Burris school, Ball Health Foundation for Children.

Tribute to their lives and works for public good was paid in 1939 when the Daniel Chester French statue, "Beneficence," was dedicated on the Ball State campus. It was made possible by contributions by more than 11,000 donors, including school children.

In 1935 George Ball and George A. Tomlinson, Cleveland financier and long-time friend of the family bought the Van Sweringen railroad empire. Ball later acquired most of Tomlinson's holdings. He eventually sold out and turned money therefrom into charitable avenues.

The Balls also had other financial interests in various enterprises.

George was for some time a trustee of Indiana University and for several years was Republican national committeeman from Indiana. In 1952 a visiting professorship in surgery was established in his honor in the Indiana University medical school. The governors of the James Whitcomb Riley Memorial Association of which he was a charter member made a grant to the university for these classes.

Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to an excellent letter which appeared in the letter to the editor section of the Ventura County Star-Free Press from a young constituent stationed in Korea:

EDITOR, THE STAR-FREE PRESS:

The following is a copy of a letter from my 18-year-old son, Pvt. Harley E. Burd, United States Army, Korea.

"Mom,

"This is the time that all good men should come to the aid of their country. But it seems that Americans just don't care any more what happens to their homeland; as you must know, we are on the verge of a war that could change the way of life on this planet, or even wipe out all life.

"In the past, when the call for freedom was sounded, every man and every boy that could carry a rifle, went to arms with the cry, 'Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"This is not so any more. Now it's 'Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but let the other guy fight.'

"Sometimes, I wonder what our forefathers would say if they could see us now, in our hour of trouble; yes I do say in our hour of trouble. For as in the many years of our past, we, too, must go to arms—that is, if we want to live in the land of the free and our children and children's children.

"You say, 'I know, I know.' But what have you done about it? Well, let me tell you. Not a thing. If you had, maybe we, who are in this war up to our eyeballs, wouldn't be here!

"Go stand on the corner and tell the people this is the time everyone must work together as one, in order to come to the end we have in the past. I warn you now. Mark my words! The end is near, if you continue as you have. Every time you stand back and watch a card burner and say nothing, you are weakening our wall of freedom. You say, 'What is a little crack?' A little crack, unfixed, will come to crush, into small bit, the wall that once was so strong. The hope of the world. Without it, there will be nothing, and all our hopes will have been crushed with it!

"Why are you so afraid? Yes there must be some to die, but when man is hunting for a free way of life, it must be so.

"I would gladly die, knowing that my life was not wasted in vain. No man is an island, so no man can die alone. He must know that there will be good end for all.

"Your loving son,

"HARLEY.

"P.S.—I just sat down at the typewriter and started writing."

This from my son—a boy who grew up without a father—a boy who has known trouble, heartache, and poverty.

RUTH MCDONALD.

CAMARILLO.

Fino Introduces Two Bills To Keep Poverty Agencies From Picking Rent Supplement Tenants and To Kill Planned Private Poverty Rent Supplement Program for Dregs of Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing two bills to prevent the Office of Economic Opportunity from funding local proverty agency rent supplement programs and from serving in any way as a selection agency for HUD's rent supplement program.

The first bill amends the rent supplement statute to prevent the Department of Housing and Urban Development from subcontracting the selection of rent supplement tenants to agencies aided by poverty funds. This bill is aimed at programs like the Washington, D.C., Housing Development Corporation which wants to procure tenants for Federal rent supplement programs.

The second bill amends the community action program section of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to prohibit the OEO Director from giving Federal assistance to any program involving the use of Federal funds for the construction of new housing, the rehabilitation or leasing of existing housing, or for the performance of any real estate brokerage function. The bill also prohibits the OEO from giving funds to any organization or program which in any way processes or recommends applicants or applications for any housing program administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It would block attempts like that of the Housing Development Corporation to set up local rent supplement programs and serve as a real estate agency for the dregs of society.

I have for some months been following the progress of the so-called Washington, D.C., Housing Development Corporation which is trying to get a poverty grant to serve as a real estate agency for the deprived and which wants to venture into using Government funds to build new houses, lease existing housing, and in other ways move the deprived into new housing. Now I understand that 15 or 20 other cities have submitted similar applications to the OEO. The time has come for action.

The OEO is not this Nation's housing agency. That is the responsibility of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. When that agency runs housing programs, they do so in accord—or they should do so in accord—with the statutes on the books. When an OEO organization runs a housing program, they do so in accord with their own social revolutionary desires. The OEO statute has no technical guidelines. Any money the OEO spends for housing via community action programs is subject to the most flagrant type of abuses. My bills would flush OEO out of the housing field and leave it to HUD which has to act in conformity with housing statutes.

I am dead against the proposed poverty housing agencies. They would be instrumentalities of the poverty agencies like Washington's UPO and New York's HARYOU-Act. Both of these organizations are so irresponsible that they subsidize people like LeRoi Jones, the white-hating black nationalist who advocate a national bloodbath. If we allow the poverty program to set up a string of local poverty housing programs across the country, we will get a wild-eyed string of local multimillion dollar rent supplement programs operating under no restrictions at all.

The proposed Washington housing agency, the "Housing Development Corporation" has bragged of the people it is going to push into every nook and cranny of the suburbs—welfare spongers, criminals, alcoholic, and people living together without being married. I can just imagine the type of local rent supplement program this agency would like to set up. Inasmuch as 15 or 20 cities have requested this type of agency, the poverty housing program could, turn into a social monster program that would make the HUD rent supplement program look like kindergarten.

The poverty housing agencies have all kinds of ambition. They want to be unlicensed real estate boards for the dregs of society: criminals, junkies and the like. My bills block this. They would keep the OEO Director from giving Federal funds to community action programs which include this type of housing and real estate activity.

My second bill makes sure that HUD cannot subcontract, as it looks like it presently can, the selection of rent supplement tenants to agencies and organizations getting poverty program money. I don't want agencies like the UPO or HARYOU-ACT handpicking rent supplement recipients.

I hope the House will act favorably on these two bills. The poverty people don't care about housing. All they care about is social revolution and troublemaking—and coming up with fat payrolls for otherwise unemployable social worker types. The proposed Washington poverty housing agency wants $625,000 for salaries and expenses the first year. They want to employ 15 persons at salaries between $15,000 and $27,000 a year. This is typical. All the poverty housing agency will do is cause trouble and subsidize a lot of good-for-nothings who will get on the payroll.

New Business Organization Offers Self-Employment for Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, on April 27 there was unveiled in Washington an extraordinary cooperative program between a business organization and handicapped individuals which would provide self-employment opportunities to the disabled.

There follows a short account of the promising program which help the individual to become productive and self-sufficient members of their communities:

NEW BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OFFERS SELF-EMPLOYMENT FOR HANDICAPPED

A unique business organization promising self-employment to thousands of handicapped individuals was announced in Washington on April 27 at the opening sessions of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

Called Community Business Services Associates (CBSA), the program is based on cooperation of the U.S. Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, state agencies for vocational rehabilitation and a major manufacturing company in establishing handicapped individuals in their own business offering copying, short-run duplication, mailing and other business services, many of which are not presently available in most communities. The program was originated by 3M Company, St. Paul, Minnesota, in developing new markets for its graphic and visual communications products.

The program is currently under development in 20 States—with some CBSA centers functioning and training manpower already assigned. Plans call for expansion into most other states by the end of the year.

"This is a dramatic and imaginative plan to make full use of the abilities of men and women who ask nothing more than a chance to become productive members of their communities," Harold Russell, chairman of the President's Committee, said in announcing the program.

"The continued growth of our economy demands that we make full use of all our social and economic resources. The Community Business Services Associates program is dramatic testimony to the role private business can play in providing opportunity for the capabilities of handicapped citizens," he said.

A local CBSA center is set up by counselors of the state divisions of vocational rehabilitation and a 3M representative working together in a community. Candidates for owner-operators are recommended by the DVR counselors. Judged largely on the basis of desire to achieve self-employment, candidates should have enough finger and arm dexterity to operate office equipment—although some act only as managers and contact men, relying on family members or employees for production work. The community under consideration is also studied to make sure it offers adequate business potential. Some of the operations are thriving in communities of less than four thousand in population.

The state agency for vocational rehabilitation establishes the owner-operator in his new business. Preparations include an intensive business training program conducted by the 3M representative, along with bookkeeping and accounting systems, promotional materials and followup services. The representative also organizes the community behind the new owner-operator and provides additional instruction as required. The state, in most cases, also arms the new business with equipment, including an infrared copying machine, dry photocopier, overhead projector, illuminated display boxes and an initial inventory of supplies.

The owner-operator offers a wide variety of services to businessmen, organizations and individuals in the community. These include copying documents or laminating them in plastic film, monthly billing services for merchants and professional men, short run duplication, mailing services, point of purchase promotion and overhead projector rental, along with aid in preparing projection transparencies.

As an independent businessman, the CBSA owner-operator can expand to offer any additional services needed by his customers.

As the handicapped individual becomes self-sufficient in his business, rehabilitation officials realize their goal; that of successfully closing the books on the case.

"There is no doubt that this venture will make it possible for thousands of disabled citizens to realize their greatest dreams: to support their families and to be a vital and productive part of their communities," Commissioner Mary E. Switzer of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration commented on the program.

Owner-operators of CBSA enterprises show the same enthusiasm for the program. All of them have experienced the same difficulty in fitting into the competitive employment picture.

The link between the CBSA owner-operator and 3M Company is a business relationship of customer to supplier.

"Community Business Services Associates has been established to serve a distinct market demand," explains Hugh J. MacLeod, 3M's manager for the CBSA program.

"The U.S. Department of Commerce studies disclose that 42 per cent of all American businesses do not keep adequate records. These are typically the smaller businesses that cannot justify modern office copying equipment, record handling and other necessary business services," MacLeod points out. "Often these businesses are located in suburbs and small to medium sized communities. Experience proves that these businesses need services and are willing to pay for them, if provided on a scale tailored to their needs."

While small business in small communities is the primary market for CBSA services, experience is proving that larger businesses are equally good customers. This is especially true of the field personnel and remote locations of large companies, MacLeod points out.

The Right To Vote on Federal Land in Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. EVANS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, this is a time when the right to vote is very much in the public mind. Many organizations have worked hard to extend the right to vote to all citizens and this Congress, and the Congress preceeding it, have at great length discussed legislation designed to secure and protect this most valuable and precious democratic right.

Some people might think that the denial of the right to vote is limited to single groups of individuals or to single areas of our Nation. This, I know, is not the case.

In my own Colorado congressional district more than 125 individual voters have been effectively deprived of this civil right at Fort Lyon Veterans Hospital near Las Animas, Colo.

In 1885, Colorado ceded the land now comprising Fort Lyon Hospital to the United States and failed to retain State jurisdiction, except for the serving of a summons. Thus, residents living on the Federal grounds are subject to Federal jurisdiction, and under Colorado law, are not eligible to vote in local, State, or national elections.

In later similar cases, such as Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado, the civil rights of persons living on Federal installations have been retained by the State.

A Colorado citizen's committee led by Mr. Michael Halladay, of Las Animas, helped provide the necessary background information on the voting situation at Fort Lyon, and State Senator James Thomas of Rocky Ford, Colo., worked in the Colorado State Legislature and with State officials to determine the best course of action. It appeared from these researches and from the opinion of the Colorado State Attorney General that Federal legislation would be the most expeditious way in which to return the necessary jurisdiction to the State of Colorado.

Accordingly, I introduced the necessary legislation to the Congress on February 8 and the Veterans' Affairs Committee has acted favorably on this bill.

The action of the House of Representatives yesterday in passing this bill on the consent calendar is important not only to the affected voters of Fort Lyon Hospital, but also as a continuing recognition of the vital importance of civil rights to our citizens.

Norwegian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, today I want to pay tribute to our country's proud free friend, Norway, who is celebrating the 152d anniversary of its independence.

On the morning of May 17, every school boy and girl in Norway hops out of bed at the crack of dawn to look at the sky, hoping for a sunny day. But, even if the winds are chill and the rain falls, they will march all morning in the school parade, to tunes played by the boys' brass bands, to celebrate Norway's greatest national holiday—the day in 1814 on which its Constitution was signed. The largest school parade is in Oslo, the capital city. Every year, at the end of their long 3-hour march, Oslo schoolchildren pass under the balcony of the royal palace cheering and spinning their red and blue tasseled caps up in the air on the traditional bamboo canes.

The palace grounds and parade streets are packed with people from the very early hours of the morning. By 7 a.m. the churches open and crowds gather to listen to choirs. Everyone is excited and happy. Freedom and independence mean as much to Norwegians as they do to Americans.

In the afternoon, each neighborhood has a celebration of its own so that the children who are too little to join in the school parades may march near their homes. Everyone joins in the fun—waving the red, white, and blue Norwegian flags—all heading for the place where they will listen to patriotic speeches and play games.

The Eidsvoll mansion near Oslo, where the Constitution was signed, is now a national shrine. The gray house with its rust colored trim is preserved and still stands as it was on that memorable day in 1814. Even the furniture is the same.

Two things are noteworthy concerning this celebration. First, the children of Norway are placed in the spotlight. The Norwegians have very much pride in their youth and believe that active participation by them will help the children appreciate the significance of the principles of the Constitution. Secondly, Norway's celebration is not evidenced by a show of armed power. Rather, it is gay and festive, entirely void of military dominance.

The history of Norway, as a political entity, dates back to the latter part of the 9th century, when King Harold, the Fair Haired, succeeded in consolidating a major part of the country through conquest and persuasion. During his rule, the three regional "Lagthing," quasi-democratic legislative assemblies, became the most important instruments of royal power. A fourth "Lagthing" was formed during the rule of King Olav the Holy, 995–1030. Nearly three centuries later, in 1270, King Magnus Lagaboter, the Law Mender, established a common body of law for the whole country, greatly increasing the judicial authority of royal officials.

Despite the increasing monarchial domination, the regional Lagthing retained their power to legislate and pass final sentence in criminal cases as well as in civil law suits. The democratic principles of legislation and judicial proceedings were maintained.

Toward the end of the 14th century, Norway and Denmark became united under one sovereign. During the next four centuries. Norway was ruled by Danish officials and Denmark became the dominant partner, with the King residing in Copenhagen. Throughout this period, however, the hope of achieving freedom, independence and self-government was kept alive in Norway.

In the early part of the 19th century, Norway became Denmark's reluctant partner on the French side in the Napoleonic wars, with Sweden on the opposite side. As hostilities came to an end, Denmark was forced by the Kiel Treaty of January 14, 1814, to cede Norway to Sweden, without Norway's consent. This aroused the indignation of the patriotic Norwegians. They resented having their country handed from one monarch to another as if it were solely a piece of real estate. As a result, the Danish royal Governor in Norway, Prince Christian Frederik, who was also irritated at these actions, hurriedly called a constitutional assembly, composed of 59 government officials, 37 wealthy farmers, and 16 businessmen—altogether 112 delegates—in hope of proclaiming Norway an independent kingdom, with himself as King.

Meeting April 10, the constitutional assembly drafted and, on May 17, 1814, adopted the Constitution of Norway, one of the most liberal constitutions in existence. When the assembly unanimously elected Prince Christian Frederik to be the new King of Norway, Sweden reacted by launching a military attack. After brief hostilities, a truce was negotiated. Under the Moss Convention, Norway became united with Sweden as a separate kingdom under one monarch. At the same time, King Carl Johan of Sweden agreed to recognize Norway's free Constitution. The union lasted until 1905, when it was peacefully dissolved on the initiative of the Norwegian Parliament.

In drafting the fundamental law, the men who met at Eidsvold were influenced by British political tradition, as well as by the principles of the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the ideas of the French Revolution. The articles rest on four basic principles: national independence, sovereignty of the people, division of power, and the inviolable rights of the individual versus the state. This still provides the basic framework for the country's laws.

Civil rights are laid down in a number of specific rules, each with a definite legal bearing. Thus, if the courts, in trying a case, should find that the constitutional rights of a citizen have been infringed upon by a law enacted by Parliament, they are bound to declare the law inapplicable.

Three important provisions specify that first, no person can be imprisoned without trial; second, freedom of speech, publication, and assembly is to be protected; and third, no law may be given retroactive effect.

In these rules one may trace the political line from the American and French declarations of the inalienable human rights. In the Constitution of 1814, however, the ideas of freedom and democracy have found a national form in keeping with Norwegian traditions.

There have been various changes in the Constitution since 1814. In 1884, the parliamentary system of government, by which the King is bound to appoint a Government that has the confidence of the Parliament, was introduced in Norway. However, the words of the Constitution—that the King himself is to choose his Council—have not been altered.

The most important change since 1884 is extension of the franchise to all men and women above the age of 21. In 1898, the limited franchise was replaced by universal suffrage for all men. Women received the right to vote in 1907—first with limitations—but finally in 1913 on the same basis as men.

The controversial "peasant clause" that allotted 100 of the 150 seats in Parliament to rural areas and 50 to urban election districts was repealed in 1952, reflecting the increasing urbanization of the country. It is ironical that the United States today is faced with a similar situation in reapportionment.

As one of the descendants of almost a million Norwegians who have immigrated to the United States, it is heartwarming to know that the United States and Norway stand together on so many international issues seeking to further peace and prosperity around the globe.

Dr. T. C. Harper, M.D., Receives American Medical Association Award for Meritorious Service in War-Torn South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, the Nevada State Medical Association recently presented one of my constituents, Dr. T. C. Harper, of Reno, a plaque from the American Medical Association for his meritorious service in treating the civilians of war-torn South Vietnam. I wish to join the State and National medical groups in extending my congratulations to Dr. Harper for his humanitarian mission.

Dr. Harper was a member of Project Vietnam, a program run by the American Medical Association under a nonprofit contract with the U.S. Government. Under the program, 20 American physicians volunteering for no less than 2 months, serve on a rotating basis to relieve the sufferings of wounded or ill civilians throughout the country. The doctors serve at considerable personal sacrifice, temporarily abandoning their families and practices as they must, to carry out this patriotic and humane venture. I understand that there is no lack of volunteers among the physicians of this country, and I wish again to commend Dr. Harper and the AMA for this praiseworthy effort that has done so much in extending the hands of friends and succor from the people of the United States to the people of Vietnam.

I submit a statement from the Nevada State Medical Association on the award to Dr. Harper:

T. C. HARPER, M.D., RECEIVES AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION AWARD

A "Certificate of Humanitarian Services" was presented to T. C. Harper, M.D. of Reno, by Wesley W. Hall, M.D., Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Medical Association "In Recognition of Meritorious Service He Performed for the Medical Profession, the United States Government and the People of South Vietnam by Treating the Ill and Injured During His Voluntary Medical Mission in South Vietnam", signed by James Z. Appel, M.D., A.M.A. President.

The award was given to Dr. Harper by Dr. Hall on Sunday, May 1st in a simple but stirring ceremony during the Nevada State Medical Association's Executive Committee Meeting. Dr. Hall said, "In the 75 year history of the Nevada State Medical Association, this is the first award of its kind to be received by a Nevada doctor, one who has dedicated a good portion of his time to helping the sick and injured in foreign countries" and Dr. Hall added, "A prophet is not without honor except in his own back yard; Dr. Harper's work is recognized by all the people in the countries in which he has helped to alleviate pain and misery."

In South Vietnam Dr. Harper worked on reconstruction of limbs and treatment of injuries received by children who had been injured in the conflict. He also aided in instruction of Vietnamese doctors on how to continue his work.

Dr. Harper, a member of a private group of orthopedic surgeons, "Orthopedic Letters", since 1959 has helped to establish orthopedic hospitals in Jordan, Tunisia, Afghanistan and Vietnam. "Orthopedic Letters" was formed in 1946 for the purpose of exchanging information among its membership, but after several years, it was decided to offer their services to the world on a voluntary basis, and this has been done. Members donate their time, provide their own travel costs and pay their own expenses on these missions.

Remarks Honoring Dr. Henry Veld, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has given long overdue recognition to the importance of artistic achievement by passing the Arts and Humanities Act. As we begin to give the arts the support they deserve, it gives me great pleasure to join friends and colleagues of Dr. Henry Veld, conductor of the Augustana College Choir, Rock Island, Ill., in paying tribute to him for the contribution he has made to musical achievement and appreciation during his 37 years with Augustana College.

Under permission I insert in the RECORD an article by Betty Bell of the Davenport Times-Democrat revealing how Dr. Veld has shared his love of music with his students, his college and his community. I know the respect and esteem in which he is held by his students, his associates and his townsmen.

The article follows:

THE GREAT JOY OF SINGING UNDER HENRY VELD

(By Betty Bell)

Joy has two faces for the artist.

There is the inner satisfaction which comes from creating. And there is that which lies in seeing other's pleasure in that creation.

Both, in full measure, have come to Dr. Henry Veld of Augustana College, Rock Island, whose artist's tool, for 37 years, has been a baton.

When Dr. Veld puts down his conductor's wand in retirement this June, he will have "no regrets."

"REQUIEM" THIS AFTERNOON

The man who has conducted more than a thousand concerts and close to 6,000 rehearsals says, "I've enjoyed every minute of it."

Those who know his integrity, those who have watched him on the dais, those who have been part of the magnificent choral groups he has trained, understand, for they have shared his joy.

When the Handel Oratorio Society offers Verdi's "Requiem" at 3 this afternoon in Centennial Hall at the college, there will be many in the audience and on the stage who have followed Dr. Veld's career since he came to the Quad-Cities in 1929 to begin teaching duties at Augustana.

Regina Holmen Fryxell, Rock Island, recalls how surprised and pleased she was at being asked to serve as organist in 1931 when Veld took over directing the Handel Society.

"I had been organist under Prof. A. Cyril Graham and Arvid Samuelson," she says, "and delightedly agreed to continue when the new conductor stopped me on the campus sidewalk and asked me to play."

"Now I have the privilege of listening to others, the joy of hearing it," she adds.

RECALLS SOLO ROLE IN "MESSIAH"

Ethel Baker Waterman, Davenport, was one of the "Messiah" soloists the year that Dr. Veld began directing the then half-century old oratorio chorus.

She filled solo roles a number of years under Dr. Veld's baton and was a performer the first time the Handel Society presented Bach's "St. Matthew Passion."

"It was always a pleasure to sing under him," she declares. "I'll be in Centennial Hall Sunday afternoon. I always feel very close to his work."

Mrs. Waterman is happy that the college has secured 34-year-old Donald E. Morrison, conductor of the Hanover, Ind., College choir, to take up Veld's duties in the autumn.

It will be hard for anyone to follow in Veld's footsteps, Mrs. Waterman believes.

NO SHARP CHANGES PLANNED

Morrison has said he does not anticipate any sharp changes in interpretation or style when he begins rehearsing the Handel Chorus next fall for its December presentation of the "Messiah." "It is too traditional for that," he asserts.

Another of the women soloists for the 1931 oratorio concert was Mrs. Anderson-Hult, now Mrs. Sven Lekberg.

Lekberg is head of the music department of Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, and his wife teaches music there.

David Nordstrom, Moline, who took the tenor role that year, had sung with the chorus as early as 1920.

"I have a great admiration for Dr. Veld," he says.

Nordstrom's three children were graduated from Augustana College in 1950, '52 and '55, and son, Roger, now with Deere & Co., Moline, was a member, for three years, of the Augustana College choir which was brought to flower by Dr. Veld.

David Nordstrom, who continues to do solo work with church choirs, has sung during the High Holy Days at Temple Emanuel, Davenport, the past several years and formerly was a member of a quartet which sang at the Friday evening services there.

Brynolf Lundholm, Rock Island, a member of the Augustana faculty, has been accompanist for the Handel Society since 1929. "I was there when Veld came," he recalls.

ANECDOTES READY

Lundholm had a number of anecdotes ready for telling when the Handel Society gave a surprise party for Dr. Veld after rehearsal for today's concert.

"But the rehearsal took too long (thoroughness is a Veld trademark) and I didn't have time to tell them," he says.

One recollection is of the first "Messiah" performance after Veld came to the college. "I played the piano, and Henry was at the organ," Lundholm says.

The organ switch burned out, and he couldn't finish the concert Prof. Graham was directing.

Mrs. Fryxell also has memories of presentation problems. ("You always remember the difficulties," she remarked.)

When concerts were given in the old gymnasium, it was hard to heat the building, especially for rehearsals, and the organ often responded by being very "out of tune" with the other instruments.

The past three years, Lundholm has provided harpsichord accompaniment for the "Messiah." The "Requiem" has no harpsichord part, so Lundholm will be at the piano today.

Many who are in the chorus or Augie choir are second and third-generation members.

Lundholm noted that Tom Nelson, one of the choristers this season, is the son of Carl Nelson, a soloist when Veld first directed the Handel organization and now a teacher at Ball State College, Muncie, Ind.

IN 53 CONCERTS OF "MESSIAH"

One longtime chorus member, Mrs. Bert Quist, Rock Island, will not be with the group today. She has sung in 53 "Messiah" presentations, but difficulty in attending rehearsals this winter kept her out of the spring performance. Since all tickets were sold several weeks ago, Mrs. Quist will not be hearing the farewell concert unless a ticket is turned in.

Mr. Veld began organ lessons at age 6; took up piano a bit later; studied organ, theory and composition at Chicago Musical College and was recommended for the Augustana post by his voice instructor, Richard DeYoung.

He came to Augustana to teach voice and to direct the girls' glee club. Establishing a male chorus there, he soon combined the two units into Augustana Choir.

Dr. Veld earned a bachelor of arts degree from Augustana in 1937; was awarded an honorary doctor's degree from Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan., in 1948, and studied in New York City while on sabbatical leave.

While bringing the choir and the Handel Oratorio chorus to their present perfection he found time for college classwork, private lessons and directing church choirs, including that of St. John's Methodist Church, Davenport.

He and Mrs. Veld have promised themselves a round-the-world trip in November, going from Japan to India, then Europe.

June 5 they will be going to Michigan, where son, Tom, lives at Royal Oak, and the Velds have a summer home at Shelby.

SUCCESS TECHNIQUE

What is the common denominator which makes each of his choir members say, "It's a joy to sing under Veld."

In a unique way, Dr. Veld has searched for the best possible response from men and women Augustana president, Dr. C. W. Sorensen declares.

He has skill, patience, dedication, imagination.

From Veld comes this reason for success. "Think of the potential if every one of us could be at his inspired best—to sing as though this is the first time we are conveying this message and as though this is the first time the audience is hearing it."

His singers respond. So do the listeners. And great music remains great.

Tom Horton, Pioneer and Rancher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Tom Horton, pioneer and rancher of Quay County, N. Mex., recently celebrated his 84th birthday. As a fellow citizen of Quay County, I am proud to claim the friendship of this hardy westerner. I would like to share this pleasure by inserting the following article entitled "Cowpoke, 84, Knows His Way Around on Birthday," which appeared in the New Mexico edition of the Amarillo Daily News on May 5, 1966:

COWPOKE, 84, KNOWS HIS WAY AROUND ON BIRTHDAY

(By Jack Porter)

TUCUMCARI, N. MEX.—Having trouble going to sleep at nights? Ride a horse.

Want to stay in the best of health? Ride a horse.

Plan to live a long life? Ride a horse.

These maxims were expounded by Tom Horton, salty Quay County rancher, who celebrated his 84th birthday Wednesday by—you guessed it—riding a horse.

No novice to the saddle, having served as foreman of the giant Bell Ranch and also as an early day mail carrier, Horton decided to spend his birthday atop a muscular chestnut sorrel quarter horse retracing his 40-mile-long mail route.

And he did so with the same ease and determination that permitted him to override the objections of his family.

A friend described Horton as "a man of strong will and a mind of his own."

These traits were readily reflected when one of Horton's sons, T. J., of Tucumcari met him at noon at the Chappell Spade Ranch for a lunch break.

T. J. approached his father with the news that he had brought him a pillow to ease any saddle blisters. The elder Horton, none the worse except a bit of dust on his brow, quickly rejected any offers of aid and at the same time dispelled any thoughts his son might have had of transporting the marathon-type rider to Tucumcari by car.

"I'm doing fine and plan to ride on into town this afternoon, I can make it. I work every day. I've been riding horses all through the years. I'm no jelly bean," he told his son.

At that time, he and a riding companion, Bill Frick of Tucumcari, had already covered 27 miles of the old mail route which traverses some of the greatest wilderness and grass expanses in New Mexico.

They started their journey at the Bell Ranch headquarters near Conchas Lake at 7:15 a.m. and upon reaching the Spade Ranch, 26 miles southeast at 1 p.m., had completed three quarters of the trip.

Horton was met at the Spade Ranch by foreman Ralph Bonds who had promised him food and a cold drink after finishing the first lap of his trip.

"I want that Coke," was the greeting Horton extended to Bonds. Horton unsaddled his horse, watered the animal and then lunched at the ranch house where he once lived and reigned over about 446,000 acres of Bell Ranch land.

The Bell Ranch was sub-divided in 1947 with the 40,000 acre Spade Ranch becoming its smallest sub-division.

Horton, a native of Quanah, Tex., moved to the Quay community with his parents in 1903. That same year he started work for the Bell Ranch and three years later bought the Bell Ranch mail route which extended from ranch headquarters, 40 miles southeast, to Tucumcari.

Horton recalls buying the mail contract which included a hack and three teams of horses "on time and on my word, with no notes."

He operated the mail route for 16 years and during that period was also employed by the Red River Valley Co., owners of the Bell Ranch.

Mail was delivered every other day, three days a week and "we didn't have holidays in those days," Horton said. The ride usually took from 8 a.m. until about 5 p.m.

Horton recalls a blizzard in 1918 in which snow stood 18 inches on the level and over a hundred inches in drifts. He could make his deliveries then only by horseback. Because all trails were covered, he recalls charting his way across the white expanse by following telephone wires.

Still active as a rancher of the Quay Community area, Horton noted several changes in the route he traveled more than 50 years ago. He noted that there is mesquite brush now, where there used to be none. He also said the grass is better now and that there is more water in the form of stock tanks and windmills.

LaCinta Creek, one of his early day land marks, has widened over the years. It now has a width of about one-half a mile where you used to "could throw a saddle rope across it," he said.

Horton operated the mail route until 1922 when he was appointed foreman of the Bell Ranch. "Used to brand 15,000 to 20,000 calves a year on that ranch," Horton said.

He served as foreman of the Bell for 11 years, then started his own farm and ranch near the Quay community. While working on the Bell Ranch during the early years he recalls a flood on the Canadian River which washed out all crops on what is now the Spade branch and nearly destroyed the ranch headquarters.

It was also during his employment at the Bell Ranch that he was seriously injured. A steer tripped his horse in 1929 and the animal fell and crushed him. Horton suffered a back injury and a concussion and spent about a month in an Amarillo hospital.

"I've been riding horses all my life except those times when I was crippled up," Horton said.

Although his mother lived to be 102, Horton has no special formula for good health other than horseback riding.

It's a great recipe for combatting sleepless nights, Horton said, and for a long life and good health it can't be beat.

"Every muscle and nerve works when you get out and ride a horse. It's just the best thing a man can do and I'm not just shooting the bull," he said.

After his ride Wednesday, Horton returned to his Quay home where he was happily greeted by his wife, Anna. He recalled early Wednesday morning she was not so happy.

Besides T. J. the couple has another son, Lonnie of Conchas Lake and two daughters, Mrs. Mary Booth of Washington, D.C., and Mrs. Betty Wood of Florida.

Hawaii's 25th Division in Vietnam Pursues Military Objectives Under Extreme Climatic Conditions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, although I am well aware that "adaptability" is a necessary qualification of America's military forces today, I am nevertheless continually impressed by the efficient manner in which our troops are adapting themselves to both the irregular tactics of the Vietcong and to the extreme climatic conditions of South Vietnam. In a recent news dispatch from Cu Chi, Vietnam, Reporter Bob Jones describes how the 25th Infantry Division from Hawaii is successfully accomplishing its military objectives while also making careful preparations for the coming rainy season.

One of the primary military objectives of the Tropic Lightning Division, headquartered at Cu Chi, in the agriculturally rich and strategically situated Hau Nghia Province, is "area denial." But the continued denial to the Vietcong of this 50-mile by 50-mile Province, which is their chief food supply source and the location of some of their main travel routes, is expected to become increasingly difficult with the arrival of the rainy season in mid-May.

It is difficult to imagine that this "dusthole" which has midday temperatures of 103° will during the monsoon season receive an estimated 74 inches of rain. The highways leading into the area are expected to become almost impassable.

But the commander of the 25th Division, Maj. Gen. Fred C. Weyand, and his men know that the military objectives for this important Province must be achieved, for the Province is bordered on the northeast by the well-known patch of jungle called the Iron Triangle, and on the north by the reputed Vietcong command headquarters for the entire country, war zone C. Thus, the men of the 25th are not only pursuing the enemy without respite, but are also racing against time to prepare for the torrential rains. Foxholes are being replaced by raised bunkers and pup tents by wood-and-screen, off-the-ground tent kits.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the account by Reporter Bob Jones which appeared in the April 21 issue of the Honolulu Advertiser:

"AREA DENIAL" 25TH'S AIM

(By Bob Jones)

CU CHI, VIETNAM.—Signs began popping up around the Hau Nghia province countryside, erected by Viet Cong who face an increasingly difficult existence:

"National Liberation Front Country. Keep out. Anyone advancing beyond this point will be killed."

Maj. Gen. Fred C. Weyand, commander of the 25th Infantry Division, immediately ordered the signs torn down and new ones put up in their place: "25th Division territory. Viet Cong will be killed."

In a series of operations named for their Hawaii links (Honolulu, Taro Leaf, Kahuku, Makaha, Kahala, Kaneohe and Kaena), Weyand's troops for nearly three months have been chasing the Viet Cong from the treacherous Ho Bo Woods north of the province to the Oriental (Vaico) River in the south.

The number of VC killed by body count (468) was not spectacular, even considering the additional 971 "possible" kills the Tropic Lightning troops of the 2nd Brigade logged.

But as Weyand explained: "One of our primary missions here is area denial. We make sure the Viet Cong can't use the territory. Sometimes Johnny (Col. Lynnwood Johnson, 2nd Brigade commander) sends his troops back into an area he's already cleared just as a warning to the Viet Cong not to return once we've left."

Except for isolated incidents wherein the VC set up nighttime road blockades or tax travelers on Highway 1, the division has pretty much denied this traditional rice-and-peanut supply province to large units of Viet Cong.

"We belong here," said a division major. "We intend to live and stay here and rid the province of the Communist influence that's been here for 20 years. We intend to do it by aggressive military action and aggressive civic action."

From an untamed and sniper-infested island in the middle of a sea of Viet Cong guerrillas, Cu Chi has grown in three months into a military enclave which also is the headquarters for the 25th Division.

Inside the sprawling compound, which would encompass an area almost all of Waialae-Kahala, life is markedly improving for the soldier not out on line duty.

"The Ambush" laundry has sprung up to handle dirty uniforms for more than 5,000 men. The pup tents have come down and been replaced by wood-and-screen tent kits, some of which sport names such as "Club Hubba Hubba" or "The Glades." Four sickly palm trees wave over the division headquarters.

But despite the numerous improvements in living conditions, food and general security, Cu Chi still remains a dust hole in which the heat boils up to an unbearable 103 degrees on a sunny April day.

The troops not out fighting are racing against the calendar to get everything raised off the ground before the torrential rainy season begins in mid-May.

The province's rainy season runs until late November and dumps 74 inches of rain on the terrain which is as perfectly flat as a pool table.

Foxholes must be abandoned in favor of raised bunkers. Tanks and armored personnel carriers will become useless, and even the daily convoys which bring all the division's supplies up from Saigon will be hard pressed to negotiate the 30 miles of flooded highway.

Weyand has his troops pushing the Viet Cong to the maximum before the rains hit.

Northeast of the 50-mile-wide, 50-mile-deep province is the famous Iron Triangle, a patch of heavy forestation that even the crack U.S. airborne troops haven't been able to deny to the VC.

To the north is Tay Ninh province and War Zone C, reputed to be the VC command center for the whole country.

Eventually, these areas will have to be cleaned out and the VC dragged out of the command tunnel complex. The intricacy of that operation is something most military men here don't even want to think about.

Hau Nghia province itself is a major task, and the Vietnamese government hopes to have the Cu Chi district pacified by May 31.

The province is a main travel route from easterly War Zone D and the Cambodian border for VC supply and replacement units. Since it produces a wealthy 960 tons of pineapple and other fruit and 1,050 tons of protein-rich peanuts every year, it is a natural supply area for the VC.

It is one of the few provinces north of Saigon with a surplus of rice, cattle, pigs and poultry, also badly needed by underfed VC armies.

Its Highway 1, an all-weather surfaced road, runs from Saigon to Cambodia and has always been open only at the whim of the VC.

The area where 2nd brigade troops are running operations now is where U.S. Agency for International Development representative Douglas K. Ramsey was kidnapped by the VC last year. He still is missing.

Ironically, Ramsey was snatched while riding alone along Route No. 8, a stretch of road he had advised in one of his province reports should be traveled only when it is "lined on both sides with troops."

It's tough fighting, partially because of the temperatures. Average noon temperature is 90 degrees, which probably wouldn't be so bad were it not that the evening temperature drops off only four degrees from that. The average early morning temperature is 81 degrees.

Results of the Mize Instant Poll on National Issues

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the results of the questionnaire which I have circulated in the Second District of Kansas have been tabulated and I wish to bring the tabulations to the attention of my colleagues.

I called this the Mize instant poll because I visited most of the counties of the Second District during the Easter recess and handed out the questionnaire personally in every community I visited. In a great many instances, the questions on the opinion poll were answered on the spot and I was able to take them away with me. I also left additional copies in each community and mailed copies to those I did not visit personally, so the questionnaire did get good coverage in the district.

The response has been higher than average, I feel, because of the personal distribution and the fact that I could also collect a good many of the completed questionnaires before I left each community. I am pleased that so many of my constituents participated and I am confident that this cross section of opinion accurately reflects the position that a majority of the voters in the district take on each of these issues.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I respectfully request that the results of the Mize instant poll appear in the RECORD at this point. The summary follows:

THE MIZE INSTANT POLL ON NATIONAL ISSUES

[Results in percent]

1. Should Congress submit to the people a Constitutional Amendment that would permit one House of State Legislatures to be

apportioned on a basis other than population?

Yes	58
No	34
No opinion	8

2. Do you favor a four-year term for Congressmen?

Yes	55
No	42
No opinion	3

3. Do you think the benefits of the poverty program outweigh the reported costs and abuses?

Yes	15
No	80
No opinion	5

4. Should the minimum wage be raised from its present $1.25 per hour level?

Yes	38
No	58
No opinion	4

4(a). If yes, to what level? (Not all of those who thought the minimum wage should be increased indicated a specific rate. Of those who did, these are the preferences.)

For $1.40	48
For $1.60	33
For $1.75	19

(b). Should farm, hotel and restaurant workers receive a minimum wage guarantee?

Yes	51
No	41
No opinion	8

5. Do you favor setting aside a small percentage of revenue each year to reduce the national debt?

Yes	88
No	9
No opinion	3

6. Do you think incomes are increasing in proportion to the rising cost of living?

Yes	29
No	66
No opinion	5

7. Do you favor or oppose the following courses of action which the U.S. might take in Viet Nam?

(a) Withdraw?

Yes	32
No	68

(b) Take whatever military action is necessary to achieve decisive victory?

Yes	87
No	13

(c) Keep up our present military effort in hopes of a negotiated peace?

Yes	52
No	48

(It should be noted that many of the respondents answered more than one part of the question. Many who voted against withdrawal also voted for one of the other proposals. By far, the greatest number of those answering this question responded to section "b".)

8. Do you favor more strict Federal regulation in the sale and ownership of firearms?

Yes	47
No	50
No opinion	3

9. Do you favor increasing Federal control of the Unemployment Compensation program, increasing the duration of the benefits and the amount of payments as well as employer contributions?

Yes	10
No	87
No opinion	3

Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak Discusses 1. The U.S. Involvement in Vietnam, 2. The Importance of NATO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak delivered an address in Brussels on the 20th anniversary of the Association Belgo-Américaine in which he rather clearly defines the responsibility of the United States in Vietnam and the reasons why we are there. This is an excellent commentary from one of the European governmental leaders. His address follows:

MR. PAUL-HENRI SPAAK DISCUSSES 1. THE U.S. INVOLEMENT IN VIET-NAM, 2, THE IMPORTANCE OF NATO

Today, you celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Belgo-Americaine Association and you are celebrating it, let us speak frankly, at a difficult time for the United States. Their politics are not well understood, and their actions in Viet-Nam are highly criticized in many parts of the world.

All of us here, and I believe all in the United States, have a horror of war; we are all dismayed by the pictures and accounts of the fighting to which we are subjected—I wonder why—night after night on the television.

However, we are confronted with a political fact which we must try to explain to ourselves; and I believe it would be a good thing to have the members of the Association think about this problem as clearly as possible to try and counter balance the present unfavorable opinion.

ORIGINS OF THE WAR (1)

The first question to be raised is "Did the United States declare war on Viet Nam?" Obviously the problem of how a war originated is always a historical problem which is difficult to settle. The real causes and responsible parties of the 1914 war are still being discussed.

But still a number of facts are incontestable. In the years following the 1954 Geneva agreements, the United States did not intervene in Viet Nam.

So long as South Viet-Nam was living in peace, the United States was content with sending a few tens or hundreds of technical aides and advisers, in the hope that the country could by itself assert its independence and find its political equilibrium at the same time. Then in 1960, the North Viet-Namese Communist Party declared at a public meeting that North Viet-Nam's main objective was to conquer South Viet-Nam and bring it within its orbit and jurisdiction. That is when events started with the political action mentioned earlier.

Gradually North Viet-Nam began to send troops to South Viet-Nam and, relying on a political opposition which definitely existed, attempted to seize power, overthrow the government and realize its aims. It was then, and only then, that the United States intervened.

To some extent I understand the disillusion and bitterness of some United States leaders, who cannot make Europeans and other peoples understand the importance of the problems which arise down there and the fairness of the stand they have taken.

And yet there is an argument which we must understand and which concerns us. I have heard Mr. John Foster Dulles use this argument emphatically in the past, and I have heard Mr. Dean Rusk repeat it quite often lately: If the United States does not honor a single one of the commitments they have undertaken around the world, how can the rest of the world believe that they will honor other commitments?

Here we are directly involved? If the United States, who have concluded a treaty with South Viet-Nam, who have promised to help them guarantee and defend their independence and liberty, failed to keep their word, would we not become anxious too, would we not believe that one day the United States might look for excuses not to keep promises made to us?

I believe that this argument is a basic point of view and that the United States leaders are right.

If a great nation, which makes commitments throughout the world, fails to keep its word, no one can believe in pledges anymore, and we are directly concerned.

IMPERIALISM ARRESTED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

What discourages the leaders of the United States is that they cannot make Europeans understand that what is going on in Viet-Nam is not so different from what happened in Europe from 1948 to 1950. At that time, right or wrong so as not to start historical quarrels, we thought that we were seriously threatened, and that the Soviet imperialism then prevailing could result in countries other than those who had already experienced the Soviet yoke and influence could be subjected against their will to Communist power.

At that point, we found it very natural, indeed almost all of us rejoiced to see the United States come to our aid, to help guarantee our national defense, and to make with us more significant and weighty commitments than they had made with Europe throughout their history.

Is the situation in Asia today really so different? Would anybody dare to maintain that the free and independent nations of Asia are not threatened by Chinese imperialism, the imperialism of Communist China; then why can't we understand that what the United States has done in Europe, their might, their influence, the position they occupy in the world, and the role they must play today compels them to take a stand in Asia, identical to the one taken in Europe.

I don't know why people cannot understand that the Viet-Nam problem is much more important than a conflict in which the independence or slavery of South Viet-Nam is at stake.

If the Americans were to voluntarily abandon Viet-Nam, why would they remain in any Asian country?

If they abandoned Viet-Nam, why would they defend Thailand, Malaysia, or the Philippines?

And tomorrow, and a very near tomorrow at that, why would they even defend Asia?

The problem of the American leaders is not only to win victory in Viet-Nam, it is also to know whether, through an abandon which would not be compulsory, they would accept the idea that all of Asia must be submerged by Chinese and Communist imperialism.

We can now realize the significance of the problem which threatens the stability of the world and—permit me to say it—and surely you will have understood it already yourselves, our destiny or at least the destiny of future generations.

The United States is making a tremendous effort in Viet-Nam.

But who desires peace today? I am astonished and dumbfounded when I receive from certain organizations requests for signatures on petitions in which the United States is asked to make peace in Viet-Nam.

PEACE TERMS SOUGHT: PEKING STANDS OBSTACLE

Which one of the two belligerents does not caese to make peace overtures on reasonable terms? Is it the Americans and the South Viet-Namese who obstinately reject these terms? It is North Viet-Nam supported by Communist China.

There is no longer any doubt, Americans have stated and proclaimed: "We are ready to stop the fighting, stop the bombardments, open discussions on the basis of the Geneva Conference, accept Viet-Nam's choice of its own government, accept if it is their will to have the two Viet-Nams meet and unite, we are ready to leave Viet-Nam; and we do not ask for bases in Southeast Asia."

Are not all of these reasonable preliminary conditions to a peace conference?

Two motions are being made to reject the proposals: one, which is senseless and which no reasonable man would dream of sustaining; namely, that the United States must withdraw its troops from Viet-Nam before starting the peace talks. This motion is advanced because it is obviously unacceptable. The second, which is somewhat different, is that the Vietcong must have a place in the negotiations. The Vietcong is the revolutionary party which opposes the legal government.

Possibly this is a reasonable idea; I am skeptical about the possibility of making it a reality of establishing in South Viet-Nam a government in which Viet-Namese officials and the Vietcong would stand side by side, it all seems rather complicated; but there are other ways in which the Vietcong can make themselves heard, and, if I am not mistaken, United States leaders have stated that in principle they are not opposed to this if a reasonable solution is to be found.

This is what the Americans tell us every week and every month. This is the peace offensive which some sectors have tried to make fun of, and which other sectors have linked upon with skepticism; I really ask myself why, since I find it extremely reasonable, and why would it not succeed?

This would not succeed because Hanoi cannot make peace, and Hanoi cannot make peace because Peking forbids it to do so.

There is no longer any doubt about this. The Chinese reason in a way which is not sound for those who want and love peace; but for those who would examine the advantages for China, the reasoning is not without sense. They want the war to continue in Viet-Nam, because this will prevent what they fear above all things, namely "rapprochement" between the United States and the Soviet Union, a "rapprochement" between the Western world and European communism.

They do not want peace because they tell themselves that the United States is being dragged into an ever-growing and really difficult effort, and because they hope that the United States will lose part of its prestige in making this effort. It must be said that they make these calculations at small cost, since the Viet-Namese are the guinea pigs on which the operation is being performed.

All this appears incontestable to me today: the political reality is that the Americans did not want the war, they were dragged in little by little; and today, they offer to discuss peace on reasonable terms, while their enemies refuse to do so.

Why then, in view of the big resulting problems, does the European public opinion allow itself to be entirely affected by the understandable horror of the war, but refuse to reason, understand, and take a stand at the right time and on the right side?

The truth of the matter is that, instead of a strong movement against the United States, there should be a strong movement by all Europeans, by all parties, and all faiths, stating that the terms offered by the United States are reasonable; and those who refuse to examine these terms and really engage in the politics of peace must be denounced.

SUSTENANCE OF NATO

Naturally we must examine objectively how United States foreign policy is implemented; we must think about the problems of Southeast Asia in terms of its own problems; but we must not forget that we have had need of the United States in the past for our foreign and military policies, in the difficult and painful post-war period, and that we still have need of them.

We are the allies of the United States in NATO, and I maintain that we must defend and preserve the Atlantic organization.

We know that we will soon have the opportunity and obligation to defend this alliance.

I would like to repeat what I have already said this week at another Belgo-American gathering; since Napoleon and Lenin agreed that "man needs not so much to be told as to be reminded," I do not hesitate to repeat myself, and I find myself to be very eloquent.

Why would we abandon NATO, the Atlantic alliance?

Human organizations, and especially political organizations, have rarely succeeded in the past. A political organization which is 100 per cent successful is rarer still.

What were our aims when we concluded the North Atlantic Treaty? We wanted to raise in Europe an insuperable obstacle against the communist imperialism of the time, and we wanted to defend our independence and liberty in the profound hope that, to triumph in this defense, we would never forget that the existence of the Atlantic alliance would be sufficient to dispel danger.

We have succeeded. Since 1948 no European country has been victim of any aggression, and you know as well as I do that we have obtained all this through our constancy, our military organization, and sometimes difficult diplomatic negotiations, but in the end, as you know, it seems we have never had to resort to force.

Even today when we thing of the current situation, we are convinced that a war, a large-scale war such as the one we have known could no longer break out in Europe.

I have had a fairly long experience in diplomacy, I was Minister of Foreign Affairs before the war and during the years following the war; and in the course of my entire career, I have lived with the idea that war was near and that in any case it was a possibility that had to be faced. Only a few years ago, since the profound and radical change for the better, in my opinion, which occurred in Soviet policy, did I begin to think, for the first time in thirty years, that we are well protected, but we are protected thanks to what we have done, thanks to the system which we have built. Why then should we renounce this system?

To be sure things have changed since 1948. The Atlantic alliance must not be static, it must adapt itself to new requirements. Our relations with the Eastern countries can no longer be today what they were in 1948; they are constantly improving, but it is always reasonable and wiser to grapple with this problem together than separately.

Military integration is a characteristic of NATO. As Belgians, we cannot give this up. There is no conceivable national defense and army for a small country, other than military integration. In 1940, we had the same kind of army that the big nations had; we had machine guns, cannons, tanks, planes, and so on, perhaps in smaller quantities, but they had no special weapons.

You are sufficiently well informed to know that today only the leading nations of the world can have the weapons which, in a war that I believe to be increasingly unlikely, would be the decisive ones, namely, atomic weapons.

If tomorrow the fate of Europe were to be determined by small nations which would continue to arm themselves individually and in isolation, when large neighbors would have armies one hundred or ten thousand times stronger and better equipped, the national defense effort would have absolutely no purpose.

What does national defense today mean for a country which can surely be crossed by planes in 3 or 4 minutes from north to south, and in 7 or 8 minutes from east to west? It is an outdated concept, which would lead the small countries nowhere.

It is the idea of Atlantic union, the way we have set it up and of military integration the way Americans have helped us to create it, which must be defended today. Both are essential.

ACCURATE APPRAISAL OF U.S. POLICIES

Naturally we cannot congratulate ourselves for being friends of the Americans simply because they courageously wage war in Viet-nam and because their foreign policy is a good one.

What is never mentioned in this country, that which television, radio, and the press almost never talk about or, in any case, do not make daily reference to, as happens with military events, is the extraordinary economic, social, and intellectual effort which Americans are making.

When I think about the United States do you know what I fear? I fear that the effort, unselfish and probably unique in history, they made in helping us take the road of integrated Euorpe may be, theirs as well as ours, doomed to failure because we are not proceeding with sufficient speed and audacity. And I think that the best minds are beginning to ask themselves whether we are still in time one day to catch up with the United States technically and economically; and if we do not do it, it will be our fault, not theirs, because they will have understood better and faster than we how great and influential might be a united Europe coming out of its wars and quarrels to collect its forces and to try to be an equal partner instead of a satellite.

I was reading this morning President Johnson's message on the State of the Union. I am figuring in millions and billions of Belgian francs—and now often in billions of Belgian francs—and I am bewildered by the extraordinary display of force and economic power of the United States. They are waging an expensive war, but one which they can easily take in their stride, one might say, since it does not disturb the development of their economy. In the past year, they have achieved a considerable degree of expansion and have broken all records. I will not cite figures, because those who know me know that I never cite a figure with precision; I am satisfied with large-scale comparisons; no one can deny that the Untied States expansion is one of large scale.

Where are they going? They are becoming one of the world's most advanced countries from an economic as well as social point of view.

President Johnson has formulated the idea of the Great Society. One must see what kind of effort this represents in the fields of education, the fight against poverty, urban renewal, health insurance, and the like.

Finally, the United States has made an effort of which we see only the bad side—always on television: every time there is a racial incident we are sure to see it for several days; everytime a school shuts down or a Negro is bullied by the police, we are sure to see these policemen; but we are not told every day about the tremendous effort which the U.S. Administrations, first with President Kennedy and then with President Johnson, has had to make to establish this equality of rights, and to re-establish the legislation which in a few years, I am convinced, will make it possible to solve one of the most important political and human problems facing the United States.

I am convinced that the fate not only of our country and of Europe, but also that of peace, depends on close agreement and collaboration among the European countries, Belgium and the United States.

Let me congratulate you for serving in this great work and let me ask you to continue in it.

Truth in Trade Statistics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, it should not be too much to expect our official trade statistics to reflect the true state of our foreign trade, especially to the point of disclosing the competitive standing of our industries and agriculture in foreign markets.

At the present time the statistics issued by the Department of Commerce fail completely to perform this minimal function of public information and enlightenment. Instead they present a misleading picture, one that cannot be justified remotely by the facts. The attention of this Chamber has been called repeatedly to this breakdown of statistical integrity and it would seem that something would have been done to correct the misrepresentation as soon as attention was called to it. Instead the Department of Commerce continues to issue the tainted reports and continues to present a distorted image of our foreign trade to the public from month to month.

The Department continues to show a healthy export surplus every month in our foreign trade. These false reports lead the public to believe that this country enjoys a strong competitive position in foreign markets, contrary to the facts.

I insert at this point in the RECORD a commentary on this matter appearing in America's Textile Reporter of May 5, 1966. The article follows:

Whatever side one takes on the question of foreign trade, everyone should agree on the need for consistent trade statistics.

If in fact an expanding foreign trade does depend on a liberal trade policy, that fact can only be ascertained by maintaining statistics which are comparable to those of other countries. Such information is absolutely essential if the United States is to make an intelligent decision with respect to its foreign trade policy.

Thus it comes somewhat as a surpise that liberal trade forces oppose the development of information which could prove—or disprove—their case just as the Trade Expansion Act is coming up for renewal (1967). We have already noted that the Committee for A National Trade Policy opposes such information "unless the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee make clear the pitfalls of using such adjusted trade statistics."

CNTP's comments were directed at a Senate resolution (S.J. Res. 115) calling for the reporting of U.S. imports on a c.i.f. basis (the delivered value at U.S. port of entry) in addition to the f.o.b. method now used (export value). Most of the world's major trading countries use the c.i.f. basis for reporting imports. Thus, U.S. statistics—which are based on the f.o.b. method—are hardly comparable.

The resolution also would require that export statistics indicate the extent of government-financed shipments and those affected by government subsidies. The object behind the request for this information is to discover the "true" value of commercial exports. Obviously, such exports would not exist if it were not for the government assistance; otherwise, why the need for the government aid?

In any event, liberal traders see as the purpose of the Senate resolution (identical resolutions have been introduced in the House) an attempt to reduce the statistical value of U.S. commercial exports and to increase the value of U.S. imports as to cut substantially the trade surplus. The real key to their concern is their tacit recognition that the new figures would "substantially" reduce this country's trade surplus.

The new balance undoubtedly would more accurately reflect the competitiveness of U.S. goods in the world market. And in all likelihood—as liberal traders fear—it would show that the United States is in a weak competitive position in the world economy. This, of course, would not help their cause when the foreign trade bill comes before Congress next year.

Soil Stewardship Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, this makes the 12th consecutive year in which the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts has sponsored Soil Stewardship Week. This year, observance of Soil Stewardship Week occurs from May 15 to 22 and the theme of the annual observance is "Crisis in the Countryside."

I am proud to state that the 89th Congress has made a notable record in its conservation work, particularly in the passage of the Rural Water and Sanitation Facilities Act of 1965, a bill which I was privileged to sponsor. In passage of this legislation, we have recognized and provided a partial solution to one of the greatest crises rural America and its abundant countryside has been forced to endure.

One of the greatest needs of rural America has been the need for adequate and stable water supplies and waste disposal systems to curtail the terrible scourge of pollution. The Rural Water and Sanitation Facilities Act of 1965 will go far in meeting this crisis by restoring and preserving our vast inland reserves of water.

I believe that in marking Soil Stewardship Week, we of the 89th Congress and every citizen of the United States must renew our pledge to work for the protection of our land and water resources. It is our responsibility to further the action we have taken to provide for the future protection and development of the resources that are ours. We must remember that in our time it is in our care to protect, to develop, and to expand our responsibility for the natural heritage our forefathers found in the fertile region of Iowa and its sister States of the Midwest.

Conspiracy on Campus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, in view of distressing news stories coming from the campus of each of several large and influential universities, concerning certain student activities that have brought some important official administrative action to a halt, I wish to offer for the RECORD an editorial from the Lima, Ohio, News, which I urge my colleagues to carefully read. The editorial follows:

CONSPIRACY ON CAMPUS

J. Edgar Hoover once again directs attention to the conspiracy on the campus.

The FBI chief has information concerning Communist activities which ordinary citizens do not possess. One of his primary duties is to investigate subversion within the United States. Through FBI agents infiltrated into the Communist Party and from other sources, he has knowledge of party activities past, present and planned. Therefore, when he speaks of the Communist Party, we acknowledge him as the top authority in the United States.

Several years ago Hoover warned that U.S. Communists were concentrating their attention on students. Since then, he has pointed out how these plans were being fulfilled.

"The American college students today is being subjected to a bewildering and dangerous conspiracy perhaps unlike any social challenge ever before encountered by our youth," the FBI director writes in his most recent letter.

"On many campuses," he states, "he (the student) faces a turbulence built on unrestrained individualism, repulsive dress and speech, outright obscenity, disdain for moral and spiritual values, and disrespect for law and order. This movement, commonly referred to as the 'New Left,' is complex in its deceitful absurdity and characterized by its lack of common sense."

As in all campaigns, the Communists camouflage their campus activities in language which is intended to give the impression that what they are fighting for is really as old as the Constitution. In the case of the campus, it is, as Hoover points out, "the vital rights of free speech, dissent, and petition."

"Hard-core fanatics have used these basic rights of our democratic society to distort the issues and betray the public," Hoover states. Those who are beguiled by the language of the fanatics forget, or ignore, the fact that "liberty and justice are not possible without law and order."

"The unvarnished truth is that the Communist conspiracy is seizing this insurrectionary climate to captivate the thinking of rebellious-minded youth and coax them into the Communist cause," Hoover declares. "This is being accomplished," he says, "primarily by a two-pronged offensive—a much-publicized college speaking program and the campus-oriented Communist W.E.B. DuBois

Clubs of America. Therefore, the Communist influence is cleverly injected into civil disobedience and reprisals against our economic, political, and social system."

Some will scoff "at the significance of these student flareups," writes Hoover. "But let us make no mistake: the Communist Party does not consider them insignificant. The participants of the New Left are part of the 100,000 'state-of-mind' members Gus Hall, the party's general secretary, refers to when he talks of party strength. He recently stated the party is experiencing the greatest upsurge in its history."

"Thus the Communists' intentions are abundantly clear," Hoover continues. "We have already seen the effects of some of their stepped-up activities, and I firmly believe a vast majority of the American public is disgusted and sickened by such social orgies. One recourse is to support and encourage the millions of youth who refuse to swallow the Communist bait. Another is to let it be known far and wide that we do not intend to stand idly by and let demagogues make a mockery of our laws and demolish the foundation of our Republic."

As Mr. Hoover has explained, the "New Left" adherents on the campus are a decided minority. The Communists, however, do not by any means require a majority to accomplish their purposes. It was not true in Russia when they seized power. It was not true on the University of California campus at Berkeley. When a determined, disciplined minority is ready, it can seize control out of the chaos and confusion which it deliberately creates to give it that opportunity.

H.R. 14846

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD another editorial from a newspaper in my district, the Kingsport Times of May 11, 1966, which expresses support of my bill, H.R. 14846, to prohibit the desecration of the flag.

[From the Kingsport (Tenn.) Times, May 11, 1966]

DEFILING THE FLAG

There stands north of Arlington National Cemetery a bronze statue which is one of the most popular tourist attractions in the nation's capital.

The figures depict the historic raising of the Stars and Stripes on Iwo Jima during World War II. However, it also represents the thousands of Americans who have died defending this flag.

It is hard for loyal citizens of this nation to stomach the abuse and disgrace that some would-be Americans have heaped upon this banner.

It has been burned, spat upon, torn up, defouled and made the object of ridicule by these unpatriotic characters. Yet, they run to it for protection when they claim their "rights" are being violated.

It is for these reasons we heartily endorse a bill that has been introduced in Congress aimed at punishing those who desecrate our flag.

The measure, which Congressman JIMMY QUILLEN is co-sponsoring, provides that anyone who "publicly mutilates, defaces, defiles, tramples upon or casts contempt, either by word or act, upon any flag, standard, colors, or ensign of the United States" shall be punished by imprisonment and a stiff fine.

This is a bill that every congressman and senator can and should support. Those who do not should have to answer to their constituents back home at election time.

Of course a great many people do not show the proper respect for the flag. Men will stand with their heads covered as it passes by and women will fail to recognize it by placing their hands over their heart in salute.

Expropriation of American-Owned Property in Venezuela

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I find it necessary to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following letter relating to the problem of the seizure of American property by the Government of Venezuela. Citizens of my congressional district are involved and have sought restitution in the courts of the United States and assistance from the Department of State. These seem wanting—and I fail to understand why help cannot be given to the Venezuelan Sulphur Corp. which is a subsidiary of Chemical Natural Resources, Inc., of New York City.

CHEMICAL NATURAL RESOURCES, INC.,
New York, N. Y., May 2, 1966.

Re the expropriation and confiscation by the Government of Venezuela of the properties of citizens residing in 26 States of the United States.

Hon. EDNA F. KELLY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN KELLY: Your attention is respectfully called to the above subject so that in the event Venezuela should again wish to be considered for aid of any type from the United States taxpayers it should be denied it.

Venezuela, disregarding international law, which holds that properties of foreign nationals should not be expropriated without prompt and adequate compensation, expropriated, confiscated and wantonly vandalized properties in Venezuela owned by investors from these 26 states. Every means to arrive at an equitable settlement was exhausted during negotiations in Caracas from 1959 to 1962. After that, suit was instituted in the United States. Venezuela pleaded sovereign immunity as its defense and thus prevented the real issues to be heard. This has been in the courts during the years 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966. The United States Supreme Court is expected to review this matter. The Department of State has supported Venezuela from the inception of these grievous illegalities.

Dr. R. Lepervanche Parparcen, one of Venezuela's leading and most highly respected lawyers, and former President of the OAS, and one of the few, who can still speak out in Venezuela, recently publicly stated in Caracas—We who were born in Venezuela—We who who have lived in Venezuela all our lives—We who are subject to the laws of Venezuela,—know there is no justice to be obtained in our courts in Venezuela. If this is the treatment given to the natives of Venezuela, what treatment could be expected for Americans in those same courts. Nevertheless, the Department of State still recommends that this matter be returned to those Venezuelan courts.

Presently, the sons of some of these robbed investors are in Vietnam fighting to protect the properties of the South Vietnamese, while the confiscation of their own properties by the delinquent government of Venezuela is defended and condoned by their own government.

During these delaying legal maneuvers Venezuela has obtained hundreds of millions in aid, increased sugar quotas, increased oil quotas and investment guarantees, all at the expense of American taxpayers. Until Venezuela makes redress to these investors from 26 States of the United States, Venezuela should receive nothing from the United States, including investment guarantees for projects in Venezuela.

Thanks for any efforts in their behalf and best regards.

Sincerely,
BENJAMIN S. DOWD, *President.*

The Late Honorable Patrick V. McNamara, U.S. Senator From Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. MACKIE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. MACKIE. Mr. Speaker, the caption of an obituary article in a Washington newspaper announced the sad news of the passing of Senator Patrick Vincent McNamara of Michigan by referring to him as a "friend of labor and the aged." That was perhaps his finest epitaph. But he was a friend not only of laboring men and women and of aged men and women. His friends were numbered in the thousands, and they came from every walk of life. I am proud to have been one of them, and to have served in the Michigan congressional delegation with him.

In 1921, at the age of 27, he came to Detroit to head a construction crew. He soon left his pipefitting trade to enter the management side of the construction business, but his active interest in the problems of organized labor never waned throughout his long life. Discussing his lifelong association with the labor movement, he once said:

> My vocation has been the construction industry, but my avocation has been the labor movement. I have never held a paid labor office.

He was known best for his stanch support of Federal aid to education, medical care for the aged, and similar progressive measures. He played a leading role in the struggle to pass the medicare bill for hospital insurance for the aged under the social security system. He was named chairman of the important Senate Public Works Committee in 1963, and was also the chairman of the same Committee's Flood Control-Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee. He was the successful floor manager of a minimum wage bill that raised the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour.

If he believed himself to be in the right, nothing could move him or shake his judgment, but he arrived at his conclusions only after much study and thought.

Arguments—

He once said:

> are only honest misunderstandings. Any time you sit down and calmly consider all the facts, the solution can be easily discerned.

Everyone who knew him agreed that he was genial, had an engaging personality, a keen sense of humor, and a very active mind. He declined to be labeled a liberal, perhaps because with his wide experience in life he thought that no label was appropriate. In refusing to be called a liberal, he said that he was propeople, which amounts to about the same thing.

He was a great man, a great Senator, a friend of the humble and a friend of the great. We mourn his loss and extend our deepest sympathies to the grieving members of his family, whose pride in him must be even deeper than their grief.

The Call of Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, in its May 5, 1966, issue, the Advocate, the esteemed publication of the archdiocese of Newark, N.J., and diocese of Paterson, carried a timely and thoughtful editorial on the military draft. "The Call of Duty," which I am pleased to submit for the consideration of our colleagues, emphasizes the duty of citizens to serve their country. All of us must be distressed at the dangers and hardships facing our young men called to military service and must deeply regret the hard course that our Nation is compelled to follow. However, so long as the world is in its present troubled state, there is no alternative to the draft.

Our concern must be to insure that it is as fair and equitable as is humanly possible, and constructive criticism of draft policy and procedures deserves careful examination. But, despite its defects and flaws, the fact remains that, as the editorial stresses:

> The draft call is the legitimate clarion of our country for service in our Armed Forces.

The editorial follows in full:

The Call of Duty

The law of the United States government is that men may be called in the draft to serve their country. It is the responsibility of the federal government to provide for the defense of the United States. A necessary element in that defense is the operation of a draft call. The draft has been part of our national history. Over the years it has been necessary for our government to meet national emergencies by draft calls to provide for our security.

In the operation of the draft, our government has recognized legitimate exemptions. Our courts have recognized the role of conscientious objectors and have granted them military exemption. However, even in that area, men have responded to the draft as medical aides.

Critics who protest the draft point to inequities in its operation, dispute the policy of our government and raise personal obstacles to its application. Perhaps never before has there been so much criticism and violent protestations about the draft as now. We are told that those eligible for the draft are not using legitimate excuses to avoid the draft but find every means to avoid responding.

The uproar over Vietnam, whether or not we should be there, the dangers of escalation, the possibility of nuclear warfare—all of these seem to some Americans to justify destructive criticism of the draft. This is not common to the average patriotic American. There must be a realization that every American has a patriotic duty to serve his country when his country needs him by responding to the draft.

It has been well observed that the measure of patriotism is found in the service and sacrifice that one makes for his country. Those who have given service in our Armed Forces in the many wars of the past have brought back with them into their lives and homes a greater love for their country and the desire to keep America free and strong. The draft call is the legitimate clarion of our country for service in our Armed Forces. To serve is to fulfill our duty as a citizen.

Provide for Popular Election of Governor of Guam

SPEECH

OF

HON. N. NEIMAN CRALEY, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CRALEY], also an able member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(Mr. CRALEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CRALEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the bill, H.R. 11775.

I wish to congratulate and commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. O'BRIEN], chairman of the subcommittee, and the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL], chairman of the full committee, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR], the ranking minority member, for bringing this legislation to the floor.

But further and beyond that, Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the citizens of Guam themselves on the ability and loyalty they have shown to our democracy and to the principles of our democracy. I am sure it is their efforts and their loyalty to our country that has brought this legislation to this point and to its enactment.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

An Election in Vietnam Poses Many Difficulties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which recently appeared in the May 11 Milwaukee Journal. The Journal addresses itself to an analysis of the political climate in South Vietnam. With free elections, a coalition government may emerge and, hopefully, bring about a peaceful settlement in South Vietnam, something the military campaign has, thus far, failed to accomplish.

The possibility for carrying out a democratic election and establishing a representative government, however, appears cloudy. The statements of General Ky cast a shadow over the prospects of a general election and leave in doubt the future of any elected civilian government.

South Vietnam, if she is to emerge from her chaotic state, has to stabilize her political life. General Ky's utterances, about the future course that the elected government should follow, only serve, however, to intensify the civil strife which is so prevalent in the areas controlled by the South Vietnamese Government.

The editorial follows:

AN ELECTION IN VIETNAM POSES MANY DIFFICULTIES

If it is ever held, it will be a strange election in South Vietnam. It is scheduled for mid-August or September or October, depending upon when Premier Ky talks about it. The election would select an assembly to write a constitution which would create a legislature to be voted upon in another election. The legislature would then choose a government. In the meantime, Ky says, he would continue to serve. And if the government finally named is unsatisfactory to him, Ky says he will fight it. Ky censored his statements and wouldn't let Vietnamese papers print them.

All this, of course, has stirred up the Buddhists, and further confused an already chaotic situation. Secretary of State Rusk has said—more hopefully than realistically, apparently—that Ky never said that he would remain in power for another year. News reporters, who heard Ky and saw him, say that he not only announced his intention to remain in power but did it dramatically. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch said that he held forth in a bright yellow flying suit, "swigging bourbon whisky out of a paper cup"—it was "like a scene from Batman." And to underline it all, Ky said again Wednesday that he will be in power at least a year.

Our government says it favors an election. The difficulties an election poses, however, are tremendous. The Vietcong control great areas of South Vietnam. Will the people in those areas vote? How can they, and if they did, could anyone be sure the election was honest? Presumably the various political factions—Buddhists, Catholics and what have you—will support slates of their own for the constitutional assembly. If one side wins overwhelmingly will the others stand still for it? If the assembly is split will it be able to draft a constitution? If the threat of resistance by Ky and others hangs over it all, is the whole business feasible?

If the election did result in a civilian government that no one immediately tried to overthrow, what would the change be in the status of the war? None in all probability.

The big need in Vietnam is to stop the killing, put an end to the agony the nation is undergoing and step back from the risk of involving the United States in a wider war.

Solution to the Problems of Mass Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly support the provisions of S. 2935, a bill to authorize Federal grants to encourage regional solutions to transportation problems and to authorize grants under the Mass Transportation Act of 1964.

It is axiomatic that our commuter services are in dire straits, and that those commuter and passenger services are vital to the life of our urban communities and, indeed, vital to the life of the entire country. Without those services being available, our cities would be strangled in a huge congestion of automotive traffic and the economic and social life of the country would be seriously impaired.

Our Federal Government through the years has stepped in to render assistance where the vital interests of the country are at stake. There is indeed a clear need for Federal assistance at this point. We must prevent the further closing down of these vital services and we must take forward-looking steps to achieve improvement and rationalization of transportation into, in and between our urban communities.

The provision in S. 2935 authorizing Federal grants to meet one-half of the annual net operating deficit of any mass transportation company serving urban areas is such a far-reaching step. If commuter operations and if urban transportation services were to be seriously curtailed, the impact on the economy of any urban area would be self-evident.

I would suggest, however, that the committee give serious consideration to the proposal that the bill be amended so as to permit the making of such grants not only to transportation companies, but also to authorities and systems which are operated by the municipalities or by the States. Whether such systems are operated by private companies or by municipal or State authorities, the requirements and the desired ends are identical. I would strongly urge that the committee eliminate this unnatural distinction and that the bill be broadened so as to direct Federal help where help is needed, rather than on some artificial basis.

My support of this bill does not arise solely from my concern for my own city. Every major urban area in the United States will sooner or later experience the same type of problems which are now being faced in the East. Indeed, many areas are already experiencing those problems. It is imperative that we give assistance to that one area in the transportation field where the Government has not been forthcoming with active support. The Government subsidizes the airlines and steamship companies. It provides unbelievable quantities of funds for the highway program. Commuter services, however, have received no such support and this failure of support has resulted in the deplorable conditions currently being faced by our urban communities.

I strongly urge favorable committee action on S. 2935.

Standpoint—Prayers in the School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, once the distinguished minority leader of the other body, Illinois Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, returns to the Senate floor, his amendment for the purpose of guaranteeing schoolchildren the right to pray in classrooms if they wish will be debated in the Senate. It is my hope that the other body will act favorably on this constitutional amendment, and I am most hopeful that we in the House will do likewise. Support of this amendment has come from across the country. Typical of the editorial comment was that carried by WBBM–TV, of Chicago, in its editorial broadcast Tuesday, May 10.

STANDPOINT—PRAYERS IN THE SCHOOL

In all of the nearly two centuries it has existed, the Constitution of the United States has been amended only twenty-four times.

The first eight amendments make up the Bill of Rights, which guarantee us our civil liberties. Others deal with such weighty matters as rights to vote, the makeup of our Congress, prohibition and the amendment which later repealed it, the income tax and the procedures for electing our leaders.

Now it is proposed that we amend the Constitution one more time. The purpose would be to guarantee school children the right to pray in their classrooms if they want to. It may sound like a small point, perhaps even frivolous, compared to the more ponderous matters dealt with in other constitutional amendments.

But we support the proposed prayer amendment, if only to clear up a confused muddle which has set neighbor against neighbor, religion against religion and community against community clear across the nation.

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, along with 43 other Senators have sponsored a Senate Joint Resolution calling for the amendment. It is a rather simply worded document. It merely provides that no one in authority can either prevent or require any person to participate in prayer in a public building, nor can any one in authority tell any one what to pray.

The prayer issue has erupted several times in the Chicago area, as well as elsewhere. There is, in fact, a federal court case pending here now arising from the prayer issue in a school in nearby DeKalb.

We think the Dirksen prayer amendment would put an end to such disputes. We also hope it will put an end to the endless arguments over separation of church and state, and just what that issue entails.

There have been hints, for example, that a suit might one day be filed requiring all United States coins to be re-issued because the present ones carry the legend "In God We Trust."

Some have even suggested that it may be unconstitutional for a President of the United States, or any other public officer, to take the oath of office with his hand placed upon a Bible.

Three court decisions, two by the Supreme Court and one by a U.S. Court of Appeals, have virtually banished prayer from schools in this country.

But the decisions also have served to confuse the whole country on the knotty problem of the relationships between church and state. The net result has been to breed intolerance and to create bickering among friends and neighbors who adhere to differing religions.

We believe the Dirksen amendment would clear the air, by simply stating that children have the right to pray in their classrooms if they want to, and don't have to pray if they don't want to.

A Tribute to Secretaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct privilege and pleasure for me to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the dedicated secretaries in observance of National Secretaries Week.

Today, I would like to pay tribute to those many loyal men and women who, in their dedicated careers as secretaries, give each of us in public life such capable and understanding guidance in our daily efforts to serve our constituents in the U.S. Congress.

I also would like to pay tribute to all of the secretaries in private business and in industry. I especially want to point with pride to the secretary on Capitol Hill, who plays such a vital role in serving our country and who is well trained and qualified to help keep the wheels of our economy running smoothly.

May I also take this opportunity to compliment and commend the work of the Official Reporters of Debate. This is such a demanding job, and a task that often requires a certain skill to take the dictation that is so rapidly spoken on the House floor, and when transcribed flows into such eloquent remarks.

My wholehearted thanks go out to my entire staff, who serve me faithfully in discharging my duties to the people of southeast Iowa.

The Draft: Educational Status Has Nothing To Do With Duty To Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most controversial subjects during this war and every other war in our history is the system for drafting our young men into militay service.

The Wheeling, W. Va., Intelligencer, which was founded before West Virginia became a State, has a constructive, straightforward editorial on "The Draft." What the newspaper proposes is a requirement that every man within the military age bracket be put on precisely the same draft footing. The newspaper backs this proposal up with some strong, logical reasons. I have unanimous consent that the editorial be reprinted in its entirety:

THE DRAFT: EDUCATIONAL STATUS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH DUTY TO FIGHT

Student demonstrations against the draft examinations are understandable for the reason that no war is popular with those who have to fight it, and that this particular engagement has less patriotic appeal than most. But those who attend college and who may feel that the examination put them at a disadvantage in relation to other college men have much less cause for complaint than young men in the same age bracket who are not in college.

There is no way on earth by which these examinations can be made a fair test of young man's war service liability for the reason that the basic concept is false.

When the Country is at war—whatever may be thought of the official decisions that brought us into it—it is the duty of the people to wage it. We have a right to question the wisdom of the involvement, to criticize the conduct of the war and the policy of which it is a consequence; to control termination of the war effort. But so long as it is in progress we the people must support it, with money and men.

Because of the accident of age, the actual fighting, the risking of life and limb, is a responsibility of our young men. This is unfortunate, but it is a fact of life we cannot escape. The being so simple justice, it seems to this newspaper, requires that every man within the military age bracket be put on precisely the same footing. The fact that one boy is in college while another is not has nothing whatever to do with it, or should not have. The fact that one boy may be a brilliant, industrious student, another a dullard or trifler, should have no bearing on his draft status. If a young man chooses to work rather than pursue education; if his economic of social circumstances deny him the opportunity to go to college; if his mental capabilities are such that a college carreer is not for him, he does not assume, by any of these circumstances, an obligation to fight and if necessary die for his Country that does not rest as heavily on every other young man his age.

No physically and mentally able man in the appropriate age bracket whose absence would not impose a hardship on others dependent on him for their sustenance should be exempt from the draft.

To the degree, then, that these controversial examinations affect the liability of any person taking them or ignoring them or ineligible to participate they are unfair.

Private Enterprise: The Initiative of the American Way of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the 71st Annual Convention of the Children of American Revolution was held recently here in Washington.

More than 1,500 people heard an eighth-grader from Lyons, Ga., Ralph Hamilton Lankford, Jr., deliver the winning oration in the CAR national oratorical contest. Young Mr. Lankford's speech was entitled "Private Enterprise: The Initiative of the American Way of Life." I was greatly impressed with the comments of such a young American, and I am inserting it in the RECORD with the thought in mind that my colleagues will also enjoy it:

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE: THE INITIATIVE OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

(By Ralph Hamilton Lankford, Jr.)

In a mere one hundred sixty years, the United States of America has grown from birth to become the greatest nation the world has ever known. This could only become a reality because of the unique system in America . . . that system of private enterprise.

Private Enterprise was the guide that took Daniel Boone to Kentucky to open a new territory and to help Americans settle in this land. Private Enterprise gave Rockefeller the insight and the initiative to establish big business from a small beginning.

John Hays Hammond has said, "The function of government is not to guarantee equality of reward nor inequality of service. All a government can do in this respect, even a paternal government, is to give equality of opportunity." These words apply today as never before, and it is time for all good Americans to speak up and point to such thoughts as these and remind our government that we are where we are today because of personal initiative, and not because of government control. The trend shown today with rent subsidy and medicare is leading us only too quickly to the Communist boast of taking over the United States of America by 1973.

We have become too firmly set in the pattern of the majority, feeling that as long as we remain in the majority, "George" can take care of things! If we want to benefit from the continued practice of private enterprise, that has made our nation so great, we must begin by practicing such a theory, by doing for ourselves, and by showing the initiative to take advantage of every opportunity toward a more secure tomorrow. Private enterprise is ours only so long as we are willing to defend it, practice it, and benefit from it. Let us stop allowing Uncle Sam to do for us what we are capable of doing for ourselves.

Let us compare for a minute the communistic approach to production and the American way of private enterprise. Twice Americans have come forth with food for the Russians. First in 1922 and then more recently in 1963. When workers are deprived of incentive, when wages and living costs are provided equally to all, the natural inclination of human nature is to do no more than is necessary to exist. So, during both these periods mentioned, workers ceased to extend their energies beyond the minimum effort. As a result, Russia had shortages. In 1922 these shortages were so severe that five million Russians died of starvation. More recently, in 1963, the deficiency of wheat threatened the communists with a similar result. And to the rescue, not once but twice, came the products of Private Enterprise . . . . money and food from the free people of the United States of America.

If we in America had not been productive, it would have been impossible to help our fellow man. Whether the help was appreciated or not . . . whether it was to our best interest or not . . . would be subject for debate. The point here is that we had the means by which to help a nation in trouble that had claimed for over forty years that it was the perfect system of government.

It is our privilege as members of the Children of the American Revolution to defend Private Enterprise for future generations. How do we go about this task? We begin by studying history and becoming informed about our system of advancement . . . and let us always remember that Communism is our enemy.

Can we as American Citizens and Children of the American Revolution practice daily our system of Private Enterprise and eradicate the Communist boast of taking over the United States of America by 1973?

I am confident we can!!

Parkway Students High in Nationwide Testing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to insert a self-explanatory newspaper clipping from the Titusville, Fla., Star-Advocate, a story paying proper tribute to a fine group of students at Parkway Junior High School in Titusville.

This is but one of the many fine schools in my congressional district. The principal, Mr. Ralph E. Robertson and the guidance director, Mrs. Ruth Chewning, have been kind enough to bring this article to my attention. Quite naturally, they are very proud of this achievement, and rightly so, when school dropout is unfortunately becoming fashionable and a way of life for so many youngsters today.

I commend these students for their efforts.

PARKWAY STUDENTS HIGH IN NATIONWIDE TESTING

Ten of 12 Parkway Junior High students who participated in the National Educational Development Test, given in March, placed in the upper 10 per cent on national norms, according to Principal Ralph Robertson.

Two students, Jim Current and John Kadlec, scored in the 99th percentile, nationally. Other students who scored from 92 to 98 percentile are Harry Sanders Bell, Jay Carothers, Scott Carpenter, Donna Davidson, Debbie Hock, Sarah Kahn, Alice Loudon and Lyle Shaffer, III.

The test was given to ninth year students only and was given on a voluntary basis. Most of the students of Parkway scored highest in science and math.

The results have all been received in the guidance office and the students who participated should be receiving their scores within the next week.

The NEDT is used to measure broad aspects of the general educational development of ninth and tenth year students. A fundamental purpose of the NEDT is to provide a situation in which students can demonstrate how well they can use what they have learned. Scores reflect the extent to which they developed their abilities. The higher scores are earned not only by the brightest, individuals, but also by good students who have developed their capabilities to the fullest extent.

The ten Parkway students will receive the Certificate of Educational Development from Science Research Association, indicating their performance in the upper 10 per cent based on national norms.

The certificate reflects credit both to the sutdent and to the school.

United States-Soviet Race to the Earth's Interior?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 26, 1966

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the action of the House in disapproving a budget request of $19.7 million for Project Mohole is inviting Russia to sputnik the United States in its efforts to explore the earth's interior. Unless the Senate restores this money, the project will be terminated and I am reliably informed that termination costs could run as much as $45 million.

Completion of Project Mohole will surely enhance the prestige of the United States and has already resulted in numerous engineering and scientific discoveries of value to the military and to industry. It has the backing of the entire scientific community.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from Oceanology Week of March 31, 1966, which discusses to some extent the Soviet drilling program:

UNITED STATES-SOVIET RACE TO THE EARTH'S INTERIOR COULD DEVELOP

A U.S.S.R.-United States race to the earth's interior appears in the making with the announcement by the Novosti Press Agency that the Soviets will begin this year drilling a nine-mile hole on the Kola Peninsula in the Arctic Ocean.

Meanwhile, construction proceeds on Project Mohole's seagoing drilling rig which the U.S. will use for its attempt to drill through the earth's crust. If the tentative drilling site 130 miles north of Maui, Hawaii, were to become the ultimate location for the work, a hole of about 16,500 ft. would have to be drilled through igneous rock. Water depth there is about 15,000 ft.

While no dates are firm for the start of the U.S. effort, a Mohole spokesman mentioned 1971 as possible. Estimates of 2½ to 3 years are given for the completion of the drilling operations.

The Soviets say they hope to reach 49,200 ft. in their Kola Peninsula effort by 1971 or 1972. They anticipate reaching 9.3 miles in about five or six years because of a new "automatic installation" which is not yet available. Apparently this new installation greatly reduces the time for lowering and lifting used bores, usually a very time consuming process when drilling at great depths.

The Novosti statement also suggests a Soviet breakthrough in use of titanium for drilling pipes. Titanium pipe is superior to steel pipe, since the latter is more prone to break under its own weight. Titanium pipe is about 35 percent lighter. Some studies are being conducted under Mohole auspices in the development of titanium drilling pipe but the plan at this time calls for a high strength, low alloy steel pipe.

The Kola site was selected, according to the Soviets, because of the granite foundation there which starts near the surface and continues to great depths. Granite, they say, can be drilled to great depths, while "sedimentary rock subjected to high pressure turns into a monolith," resisting all drills. The fact that walls bored through granite do not require timbering is a second advantage cited.

The Soviet turbine-boring method is to be used for the project. This technique, which will also be employed in Project Mohole, is essentially one of stacking a series of turbines over the bit and lowering the bit and turbines into the hole. Water is forced down the hole under pressure to power the turbines and to return the drilled earth or stone to the surface.

The Russian effort on the Kola Peninsula is aimed at reaching the so-called Conrad surface, the line of division between the granite and basalt layers. The usual model of the earth's crust shows three layers: the sedimentary cover, the granite layer and the basalt layer at the bottom.

U.S. experts do not believe that the Soviets have yet acquired sufficient technology for drilling a nine-mile hole. Rather they think the Soviets are proceeding in the belief that their technology will be sufficiently advanced when needed.

The Russians already have drilled a 3800 meter hole at Bashkirskaya and a 5900 meter hole at Aral Sohr, their major oil resource area. Other announced sites for future drilling are in Azerbaijan near Baku and the Kuril ridge in the Sea of Japan where they may attempt to reach the Moho. The Mohorovicic discontinuity—the boundary between the earth's crust and the mantle—is generally thought to be about 25 to 30 miles below the crust.

The Eternal Flame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 5, 1966

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, a valued constituent of mine, Mr. Irwin W. Moser, 1322 Klee Street, Belleville, Ill., has sent to me a poem that he has written memoralizing our beloved President Kennedy. Because the poem expresses such genuine affection and love for our martyred President, I am asking that it be placed in the RECORD for all to read:

THE ETERNAL FLAME

(By Irwin W. Moser)

The Nation cried
Our Chief has died
And all did weep
With emotion deep
While people mourn
The bier is borne
To peaceful rest
Among the blest
Beneath the sod
With love of God
And his duty done
The world has won
For him a name
Of eternal flame

Congressman Basil L. Whitener Addresses Democratic County Convention at Gastonia, N.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE R. KORNEGAY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, Hon. BASIL L. WHITENER, made the principal address at the Gaston County, N.C., Democratic convention in Gastonia, N.C., on May 14, 1966.

His speech ably describes the work of the Democratic Party and the great principles upon which the party is founded. I believe my colleagues will find it most interesting, and under leave previously granted I insert the speech in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY BASIL L. WHITENER, MEMBER OF CONGRESS, AT GASTON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, GASTON COUNTY COURTHOUSE, GASTONIA, N.C., SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1966

It is a high honor and a great privilege for me here this afternoon to address this convention of Gaston County Democrats. I always find it a great pleasure to speak to Democrats, regardless of where they are. It gives me special pleasure, however, to speak to so many Democrats with whom I have worked through the years for great Democratic victories.

We meet this afternoon at a very critical period in the history of our Nation and of the world. We gather at a time when the need for dynamic leadership is mandatory if our way of life and that of the free world is to survive.

The Democratic Party had its origin in the philosophy of men who believed in the dignity of man and in his right to share in his government and to enjoy the fruits of his labor. The principles of our party were first enunciated by Thomas Jefferson. Later Andrew Jackson, a great North Carolinian, carried forward Jefferson's ideals of democracy.

Jefferson believed that in the people resided the source of all authority and power in our land. This principle forms the very basis of our government. It has enabled our country to become the leader among the nations of the world and to be the guardian of freedom in all ages.

The Democratic Party has produced great leaders in the past, whose broad vision and vigorous efforts have helped us to realize the hope of our forefathers who expressed in the Preamble to our Constitution the desire "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

More than any other political organization in our history the Democratic Party has adopted programs to bring to the American people the great blessings expressed in the Preamble to our Constitution.

The Democratic record at all levels of government has for the past 150 years been one of sound and progressive government and educational, economic, and social progress.

One of the things that has made our party great is that we have not been afraid to have differences of opinion within the party as to political, economic, and social programs. We have been tolerant of the views of every American.

We were the first party to realize that, in a great nation embracing many nationalities, races, and religions, it is impossible for all of our people to think and act alike. Our party has been made strong by accommodating within its philosophy the hopes, the ambitions, and the ideals of all Americans.

Our party is the party of the farmer, the businessman, the worker, the youth, and our aged. It is the party which envelops the thinking of the liberal, the conservatism, and the middle-of-the-roader. Out of this amalgamation of thought our party has developed principles and procedures which have given to the American people programs that have resulted more nearly in a consensus as to the approach to issues.

As a result of this combined thought we can and do move forward on a sound, middle ground, giving recognition to time-honored principles and ideals which afford a meeting place for all who are interested in the progress of our nation. There is room in our party for all sincere, honest elements who have a fervent desire to observe the principles on which our nation is founded and to bring about progress without a violation of those principles.

As one who takes pride in the great accomplishments of our party, I feel that we often overlook the real strength of our party when we place too much emphasis on the accomplishments made at the national level.

The basic strength of our party has been the people, as Thomas Jefferson so ably enunciated. The Democratic Party has always had a strong foundation at the township, county, and state level. It has been the sound and progressive government which our party has given to the people at these levels that has enabled it to sustain the confidence of the American people and to be rewarded with national leadership.

The record of the Democratic Party in North Carolina is an outstanding example of the sound and progressive government which our party has given to the American people.

During the past 65 years North Carolina has had Democratic governors. Their administrations have been characterized by a greater development of our resources; more jobs for our people; a vastly improved system of elementary, secondary, and higher education; and an expanded network of fine highways and improved harbor facilities.

Under Democratic leadership at the state and county level North Carolina has moved into the forefront of the Southern States and has taken her place as one of the most progressive states in the Union. In the last 25 years the Democratic record has been exceptionally noteworthy.

The late great Democratic Governor Gregg Cherry of Gaston County will be remembered for his work in improving the mental institutions of our state.

Our people will long remember the record of Kerr Scott in behalf of better roads in North Carolina. Although his administration was cut short by his untimely death, Governor William B. Umstead will be remembered for his steady hand at the helm of government at a time of social and economic change in our state.

Governor Hodges gave new direction to our state's program of industrial development. Governor Sanford carried forward our great traditions of providing improved educational opportunities for our young people.

Today we have a Governor whose efforts to create new jobs in North Carolina though industrial development and to improve educational standards are bringing praise to our state from all areas of the country. Governor Moore is a great Democratic leader.

At the national level our party has a record without equal in the history of the nation. For the 35 years since 1930 Democratic leadership has brought a fuller measure of economic opportunities to our people than was accomplished during all the other years of our history.

Laws have been enacted to protect the bank deposits and other savings of our people, to strengthen our farm economy, to bring electricity to the rural areas of our nation, to provide loans to get the wheels of industry humming, to establish a minimum wage for our people, to provide expanded educational opportunities, to set up social security for the wage-earner and his dependents, and countless other laws of far-reaching significance to the future of our nation.

Today we have the highest level of employment of any nation in the world. 73 million Americans are employed. As a result our people have better housing, better health facilities, and are receiving better educational opportunities than any other people. In every phase of our activity our nation is experiencing unbounded progress.

New businesses are being incorporated at the rate of 197,000 every year. Common stock prices, earnings, and yields are at a high level, and the profits of corporations after taxes have grown more than 80%. Since 1961 the average factory worker's wage has increased 20%, and the income of the farmer has also increased nearly 20%.

The Democratic Party leadership has not only been concerned with providing the American people with the highest standard of living in the world. Our party has consistently stood for strong national defense and opposition to all forms of tyranny from abroad. It was under Democratic leadership that the nation crushed Nazism in World War II and repelled communist aggression in the Korean War.

Most Americans strongly support the efforts our government is making today to halt the spread of communism in Southeast Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and in Latin America.

Under the direction of Democratic Presidents the United States has become the leader in nuclear research and in the exploration of outer space. We have come to the forefront in this area which is so vital to the survival of our nation and that of the free world.

We can be proud of the great record of our party.

In our desire to improve the economic and social conditions of our country we should not overlook the fact, however, that we must keep our nation on a sound economic basis.

We should support the principle of fiscal responsibility. It is only through the application of sound economic principles that we can provide for our continued prosperity and national security.

We should vigorously oppose the efforts of all of those who would undermine the resistance of our nation to communist aggression. We should strongly support our young men who are fighting in Viet Nam and who are serving in other parts of the world in the cause of freedom.

The operation of the United States Government is the largest business in the world. Every American is a stockholder in his government.

Our people should be encouraged to take a more active interest in our local, state, and national governments. You and I should encourage everyone to register and to vote. An informed citizenship exercising its right to franchise is the most effective bulwark against the critics of our way of life.

In two weeks our party will have its primary in North Carolina. Democrats will be nominated for the General Election next fall. The nominees of our party will deserve our support. In the traditional Demorcatic way we should forget the personal differences that we might have during the primary contests and unite behind our candidates selected in the primaries.

The continuance of good government that we have in Gaston County, throughout North Carolina, and at the national level depends upon the degree of support that we give our Demorcatic candidates this fall.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all of those here this afternoon for the generous support which they have given me through the years in my efforts to be of service to our people in the Congress of the United States.

It has been said that: "Nothing is more honorable than a grateful heart."

My heart is grateful this afternoon for your warm personal friendship and for the privilege which you have given me to serve you in the Congress of the United States.

Toward a Review of the Draft—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on May 7 there was a very interesting conference in New York discussing revision of the draft law.

Because the action we took in 1963 to extend the draft law will expire July 1, 1967, the Congress will no doubt act this year on a further textension.

Some of the ideas expressed at the May 7 conference may very well be subjects for discussion in Washington during the coming months.

A story in the New York Times for May 8 describes the conference. Under unanimous consent I place in the Appendix the New York Times article and a report on the conference prepared by Donald J. Eberly, executive associate, Overseas Educational Service:

[From the New York Times, May 8, 1966]

Educators Urge Options To Draft—Peace Corps Service Asked as Military Alternative

(By Henry Raymont)

Leading educators and manpower experts advocated yesterday that students and other youths be given the option of service in the antipoverty program or in the Peace Corps as an alternative to being drafted into the armed forces.

The early inclusion in the draft law of this option, which has been under previous consideration, was favored in discussions at the first National Service Conference here yesterday.

Donald J. Eberly, chairman of the meeting, said the conference would begin a comprehensive review of the military draft, including the possibility of establishing a compulsory national service.

The study, he said, can be expected to suggest a radical revision of the draft law, stressing that youths should be allowed to serve in nonmilitary programs as an alternative to military service.

Some 30 representatives of universities, student organizations, government agencies and private foundations participated in the meeting, which was organized by Mr. Eberly, executive associate of the Overseas Educational Service.

The participants included John Monro, dean of Harvard College; Glenn Olds, dean of international studies of the State University of New York; the Rev. William S. Coffin, chaplain at Yale University and civil rights leader; Harris Wofford, associate director of the Peace Corps, and Robert Edwards, program assistant of the Ford Foundation.

The meeting was partly an outgrowth of the White House conference on International Cooperation held last December at which Mr.

Eberly first submitted a national service program providing for the draft option.

EARLY ACTION SOUGHT

The delegates yesterday seemed overwhelmingly to endorse the idea that the Peace Corps and antipoverty program were the types of service that should be considered as alternatives to military draft. But they showed less agreement on the practicability of establishing a broader national service corps.

This feeling was reflected in the discussion to set guidelines for the group's study. The discussion emphasized a desire to concentrate on providing military draft exemptions in time for Congressional hearings on the draft law before it expires next year.

The chance for positive action, the group agreed, is provided by two immediate factors. One is that nonmilitary services would provide an alternative to youths who object to joining the armed forces for reasons of conscience or religion. The other is the growing need for manpower as the Administration increases the scope of its social programs to combat poverty, illiteracy and disease.

The day-long meeting was held at the Princeton Club, 15 West 43d Street.

The decision for a study on proposals to change the draft law was endorsed informally during the final session. There was no vote, but several participants urged the action to lay the basis for a broad national debate on the draft act.

The idea of exempting Peace Corps volunteers from military service was originated by President Kennedy when he proposed formation of the corps in his final campaign speech on Nov. 3, 1960.

With the increasing military manpower needs caused by the Vietnam war, however, this suggestion has not been put into practice. It was disclosed during yesterday's discussions that out of 5,000 volunteers who returned from overseas, 80 have been drafted.

While they have not taken any public position, some high Peace Corps officials are known to favor a return to the principle of making service in the organization—possibly with more rigorous standards and an extended tour of duty—an alternative to the draft.

Much of yesterday's discussion dealt with the practical problems of incorporating the concept of national service into the Government and educational structure.

STATEMENT ON THE NATIONAL SERVICE CONFERENCE OF MAY 7, 1966

Because of the interest shown in the topics discussed at the National Service Conference this interim statement has been prepared in advance of the publication of a booklet that is to include a detailed conference report, several papers prepared for the conference, and an annotated bibliography.

The meeting was convened by a number of persons interested in the question of national service and was not sponsored by a foundation or government agency. Thus, while an effort was made to bring together persons identified with a variety of groups, it was not possible to include as wide an array of backgrounds and interests as would have been desirable. However, that so many distinguished persons (list attached) attended the Conference is a tribute to the strong interest in the national service concept.

The principal purpose of the Conference was to explore the concept of national service and to suggest terms of reference for a detailed study of this subject. No votes were taken, nor was any formal organization established. Nonetheless, it is possible to summarize very briefly several of the major concerns of the meeting:

First, it was the consensus that a young man should have the option of fulfilling his service obligations in an uncomplicated manner through participation in specified nonmilitary activities. It would, of course, be necessary to meet certain minimum conditions relating to, for example, length of service (perhaps three years), standards of behavior, and kinds of activities. Also manpower requirements of military defense would take priority at all times.

Second, while rapid approval might be extended to Peace Corps service as a recognized alternative activity, as well as to the War on Poverty programs which meet prescribed conditions, encouragement should be given to the development of a variety of activities to be acknowledged similarly as in the national interest. Programs sponsored by private agencies, such as the American Friends Service Committee and International Voluntary Services should likewise be considered for approval as qualified activities. Several examples were given of activities that should be encouraged. Among these were, reforestation, landscaping and land reclamation, construction of new towns, reduction of water pollution, and service as teachers' aids and medical aids.

Third, there were several suggestions to the effect that it would be in the national interest to accept for some of these nonmilitary activities persons who failed to pass the mental or physical examinations of the Armed Forces. Such persons could render useful service to the nation that would be consistent with their talents, and they could, as appropriate, participate part-time in literacy and vocational training programs.

Fourth, there appeared to be general agreement that in order to reduce draft inequities serious consideration should be given to eliminating student deferments and instituting a combined lottery-alternative service system.

Fifth, there was agreement that every opportunity should be given to women to serve voluntarily in appropriate programs of nonmilitary service; suggestions were made to expand opportunities for women to serve and to devise mechanisms to facilitate such service.

Sixth, the various conferees offered a variety of reasons for giving general approval to the above suggestions. Probably the most often cited reasons were that national service would lead to, (1) a reduction of draft inequities, (2) provision of cross-cultural experiences, (3) meeting of manpower needs in areas of short supply, (4) giving to participants a sense of self worth and civic pride, (5) fulfillment of service owed to the world, nation, state, and community as part of the obligations of citizenship. There was agreement that education in its broadest sense was probably the most fundamental part of the rationale for the variety of programs which would come under the general heading of national service.

Seventh, in discussing a possible compulsory, universal service embracing both military and non-military service, two views were presented. On the one hand several conferees expressed the belief that such a program has sufficient merit to warrant consideration in the future, following detailed research, careful evaluation of national needs, and examination of voluntary non-military programs. Others said that a program of compulsory universal service should not even be considered, claiming that young people, upon leaving high school, should be free to follow the educational and experiential activities of their own choosing, rather than be forced into involuntary service regardless of its nature.

Eighth, there was full agreement that a study should be conducted that would explore in more detail the proposals made at the Conference and would examine the ramifications of these proposals in relationship to such areas as the national economy, military security, posible conflicts with commercial organizations or labor unions and relations with other countries.

Finally, the conferees agreed that the summary of the discussions should be given wide circulation so as to stimulate public debate on the subject and provide a basis upon which Congress may consider possible revisions in the Selective Service Act when it comes up for renewal in mid-1967.

DONALD J. EBERLY.

MAY 11, 1966.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE NATIONAL SERVICE CONFERENCE, MAY 7, 1966

Borton, Ray; Agricultural Development Council.

Bramson, Leon; Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Swarthmore College.

Chamberlin, Jr., Rev. Roy B.; Reverend, Gorham, Maine.

Coffin, Jr., Rev. William S.; Chaplain, Yale University.

Cowan, Geoffrey; Legislative Assistant to Congressman RYAN.

Cullinan, Terrence; Lieutenant, U.S. Army.

Dawson, J. Dudley; Vice-President and Dean of Students of Antioch College.

Eberly, Donald J.; Executive Associate, Overseas Educational Service.

Edwards, Robert; Program Assistant, Ford Foundation.

Ford, Thomas E.; Director of Scholarships, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

Greenway, Robert G.; Director of Program Development/Research in Education, Franconia College.

Higgins, Ted; VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity.

LaMontagne, Ray; Associate of Mr. John D. Rockefeller 3rd.

MacIver, Dale; Administrative Assistant to Congressman Fraser.

Monro, John; Dean of Harvard College.

Mosher, Frederic A.; Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation.

Myers, Charles N.; Executive Associate, Education and World Affairs.

Nemerovski, Howard M.; White House Fellow attached to the Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Olds, Glenn; Executive Dean of International Studies and World Affairs, State University of New York.

Oshins, Robert; Director, Office of International Investments, Department of Commerce.

Preiss, Jack J.; Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Duke University.

Rapoport, Roger; Student at the University of Michigan.

Sanders, Mrs. Marion K.; Associate Editor, *Harper's* Magazine.

Sherburne, Philip; President of U.S. National Student Association.

Springer, Arthur; Associate Editor, *Current* Magazine.

Stillman, John S.; Chairman of American Veterans Committee.

Terry, Robert; Advance Project Director, School for International Training, The Experiment in International Living.

Vogel, Jerome; Director, Overseas Youth Program; Operation Crossroads Africa.

White, Lawrence M.; Coordinator of Research Evaluation and Proposal Development, Massachusetts Service Corps.

Wofford, Harris; Associate Director-at-Large, Peace Corps.

Tribute to George B. Merry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute today to a man who has made a major contribution to the welfare of our country which, though little heralded, will have a lasting effect upon the representation of our citizens in their State legislatures.

George B. Merry, staff writer for the Christian Science Monitor in Boston, Mass., has maintained a keen personal, as well as professional, interest in the field of legislative apportionment and congressional redistricting for almost a decade. His legislative malapportionment series was first published in 1958 and his congressional districting series was first published in 1959. Both were subsequently reprinted in booklet form by the National Municipal League.

Then Solicitor General of the United States, Archibald Cox, arguing Baker against Carr before the U.S. Supreme Court, cited Mr. Merry's research in his brief.

A native of Boston and a graduate of Boston public schools, Mr. Merry received his A.B. from Northeastern University in Boston in english journalism in 1948 and joined the staff of the Christian Science Monitor that same year. He has since covered almost every facet of public affairs and presently writes on municipal activities and urban affairs; including State and local political developments in Massachusetts.

In 1963 Mr. Merry was awarded the Public Service Reporting Award by the American Political Science Association for his work in spotlighting the problem of legislative malapportionment.

His work has been not only a tribute to his profession but of even greater meaning to the right of every American to a vote equal in effect to every other citizen of his State.

People, Not Cars, Are the Guilty Ones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of this body know, the interest in the Congress at the moment is high on the subject of what can be done to improve traffic safety. The steady rise in traffic deaths and injuries is calling upon our best intelligence and experience to find ways and means of making automobile travel and highway use less dangerous. As a member of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee involved in the present hearings, I do not believe the auto is the major culprit, although there are those who would have us believe this.

I was gratified to note that Dr. Peter J. Steincrohn, syndicated medical columnist writing in the Washington Star, agreed with my thinking. I call this article about the present hearings to the attention of my colleagues:

STOP KILLING YOURSELF: DRIVERS NOT FREE FROM ALL BLAME

(By Dr. Peter J. Steincrohn)

I have been reading and hearing and seeing about as much about the failures of car manufacturers in Detroit as I can stand.

Books are being written about their apparent heedlessness in building cars that are coffins on wheels. Magazine and newspaper articles bombard the auto makers so often and so mercilessly I wonder how their executives can sleep at night. And TV and radio and all the news media show the investigating committee blasting top brass of the industry; blaming them for not having produced the accident-proof car, one in which the steering wheel folds harmlessly on impact; on which tires never blow out; doors don't fly open; and speeds of 70 to 80 miles per hour are no menace to the limbs and life of the people in the car.

I know no executives in the automobile industry. I own no stock in their companies.

So when I say, please let's get off their backs for a while and face the real culprits, it is done in the spirit of fair play and for getting the job done.

It's time we looked at ourselves, and so should the committee in Washington.

If they spent more time on formulating a law which would help make us better drivers, they would be making greater progress in cutting down the mounting statistics of battered skulls, twisted and broken backs, shattered minds, and invalidism in bed and wheel chair for life—much worse than sudden death.

I thought I had had my say, that it was time to stop, that active interest in the problem of traffic deaths and injuries was now in good hands. But I don't consider that it is, if emphasis continues to be put on the car rather than on the driver.

For years I have been saying these things and they bear repeating:

1. Unless you are extremely careful as a driver (most of us are helpless as passengers), you may be carried out horizontal on a stretcher.

2. Drive as if every other driver is a moron or completely untrustworthy.

3. Respect stop signs even if you have the right of way. Otherwise a nut may crash through and hit you broadside.

4. Never release your brake until you have fastened your seat belt.

5. Never take alcohol before driving or while driving. (I suppose you are tired of hearing that alcohol is in 50 percent of those killed in auto accidents.)

6. Black coffee won't neutralize the effects of a few drinks.

7. With our present setup in various states (no re-examinations, no physical or psychological checkups yearly), remember that the man in the car approaching you, following you, or coming at you from a side street may be blind, deaf, psychotic, in a temper tantrum, or in scores of ways incapacitated and unfit to be behind the wheel of a car.

Let the geniuses who design cars in Detroit come up with an apparently foolproof vehicle. But don't let's hound them. Who will agree that if you put a person behind the wheel who does not deserve a license, that it will be foolproof at 70 to 80 miles per hour on a wet or dry highway, while its driver is filled with alcohol or hostility?

Let's lay off the auto industry for a while and turn the white light on ourselves.

People, not cars, are the guilty ones.

Highway Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, eariler this year I sent out a questionnaire to my constituents, and among the questions was one dealing with auto safety. In addition to answering questions, many people wrote comments or additional letters on this subject. A letter which very well expresses the sentiments of my constituents on this subject was written by Dr. Thomas M. Parkinson of Kalamazoo, Mich., and I ask that it be inserted in the RECORD immediately following my statement.

I recommend it to the attention of my colleagues because it so well places into perspective the relationship of the driver, the legislator, and the automobile manufacturer. It represents a highly constructive approach to a difficult problem.

It is interesting that studded tires for winter driving are not legal in Michigan. This is most certainly an oversight, and I hope that the State legislature will remedy it shortly. I am advised, however, that many of these tires are now sold in Michigan in spite of the fact that they are illegal. The law preventing their sale dates back to the time that farm tractors and other farm implements with lugs were prohibited from driving on pavement.

The text of the letter follows:

KALAMAZOO, MICH.,
March 7, 1966.

Congressman PAUL H. TODD, Jr.,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TODD: I am taking this opportunity to express to you some of my views concerning highway safety. I feel that it will be extremely difficult to resolve in any meaningful and effective way the problem of increasing highway deaths because of a certain amount of hypocrisy on the part of those to whom this burden apparently must fall, i.e., state and national legislators and the automobile industry. This hypocrisy seems evident to me whenever the two major areas for improvement, cars and their drivers, are discussed.

The automobile industry admits deep concern over the problem but indignantly refuses to admit that they are putting cars on the road which are less safe than they might be, and points an accusing finger at the driver. Legislators, on the other hand, admit no less concern, but bristle at suggestions that compulsory vehicle inspection, periodic physical examinations, and more stringent licensing procedures might remove thousands of people from the highways who are neither mentally nor physically qualified to drive a modern automobile, and in turn point the finger of accusation at The Big Three. Their indignancy seems directly proportional to the number of their constituents whom such proposals are likely to affect. Only when both groups, the automobile industry and the public, represented by their senators and members of the house, admit that any truly effective solution will mean some inconvenience or possible financial burden for both can the groundwork for effective legislation be laid.

I favor a bill setting minimum safety equipment standards for automobiles and automobile tires. However, I feel strongly that such equipment should not be limited to devices enabling occupants of a vehicle to survive a head-on crash, but should include features which would minimize the possibility of a crash in the first place. American automobiles are notably deficient in braking and handling qualities, design emphasis shifting more and more to comfort and convenience. Lighting is poor. Manufacturers seem to compete with one another to see who can most effectively conceal tail lights and directional signals within the fenders or grillwork. Parking lights should be wired to remain on with the headlights.

In case of a burned out headlight, drivers of oncoming cars could still clearly define position and width of the vehicle. Minimum tire standards should also be set, ensuring that cars do not leave the factory on tires whose load capacity is already exceeded by the curb weight of the vehicle. In addition, advances in tire design such as the recently introduced studded tire for winter driving should be more quickly accepted. I think that it is criminal that in our own state, with its high winter accident rate, these tires have not been legalized.

I have had the privilege of earning a National Competition License, issued by the Sports Car Club of America. I think that there is a lesson to be learned from such organizations which sponsor automobile racing in the U.S. Under their auspices the same kinds of cars which are killing thousands annually on our nation's highways are driven under conditions which are potentially more dangerous, with few major accidents. Why? Because these organizations recognize that everyone is not capable of driving a race car, and that unless a car can meet rigid safety requirements it should not be allowed on the track. Consequently, one can feel a sense of security on the track which he can never feel on the highway, knowing that these requirements have been met by the drivers and the cars around him, and that the primary responsibility for his safety lies squarely on his shoulders. To make the average American motorist feel equally secure and responsible should be the goal of highway safety legislation.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS M. PARKINSON, Ph. D.

Connecticut Figures in Agreement on Fast Train Experiment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have today received word from Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor that he has agreed to the possibility of extending a rail passenger service demonstration project through Connecticut as part of a demonstration project from Boston to New York.

I was happy to receive this information for it fulfills a recommendation which I made some time ago to the Secretary that he accept the offer of the State of Connecticut, which was made through Gov. John N. Dempsey, to commit $500,000 to the project for improved railroad bed and signaling devices along the New Haven line.

This is, of course, another significant development in the program which has been approved by the Congress to authorize the Department of Commerce to take the essential steps to provide faster and better railroad passenger service with emphasis on the Boston-Connecticut and New York-to-Washington run.

I am happy that significant developments have already been made and the report which has come to me today from Secretary of Commerce Connor is most satisfying.

With permission to extend my remarks, I include herewith a copy of the release issued by the Office of the Secretary of Commerce:

Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor said today that agreement has been reached with the State of Connecticut on the possibility of extending a rail passenger service demonstration project to reach all the way from Boston to New York.

The project originally had been scheduled to run only from Boston to Providence, but Secretary Connor said later developments offered hope that travel time could be reduced sufficiently to obtain a satisfactory test of improved service.

The Secretary said the developments were:

A new self-banking suspension system which if it meets engineering expectations, will allow faster speeds on curves, and

The Connecticut Transportation Authority's decision to commit $500,000 to the project which will permit necessary upgrading of the railroad bed and signalling along the New Haven line west of Providence.

Secretary Connor notified Connecticut Governor John H. Demspey by letter of the Department of Commerce's willingness to cooperate in a 1-year test of passenger response to faster, improved, and more comfortable service on the 229-mile Boston-New York run.

The Secretary's letter said the Department's commitment was "subject to the requirement that trains can be operated between those points, meeting standards of passenger comfort, in the maximum elapsed time of three hours and fifteen minutes."

(The New Haven line's fastest trains now schedule the New York-Boston run for 4 hours and 15 minutes.)

Secretary Connor's letter noted a recently approved demonstration on the Pennsylvania Railroad for the 226 miles between Washington and New York would offer regular demonstration passenger service at the maximum time of 3 hours.

"We believe," he added, "that similarly reduced elapsed times for operation between New York and Boston are necessary to obtain a satisfactory test of the future demand for rail passenger service."

Equipment for the New York-Boston demonstration already is on order. The Department awarded a $2.1 million contract to United Aircraft Corporation's Systems Center, Farmington, Connecticut, last January to provide on a leasing basis gas-turbine propelled trains for the Boston-Providence demonstration.

Secretary Connor said this equipment, due for delivery late this year, could be used on the New York-Boston run. It is made up of two train sets of three articulated cars each, and could be added to if response should warrant it.

Election of Guam Legislature

SPEECH

OF

HON. N. NEIMAN CRALEY, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

(Mr. CRALEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CRALEY. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is proud to bring this bill up for consideration this afternoon. It is one of four pieces of legislation which extend additional home rule to our unincorporated territories, Guam and the Virgin Islands. We have carefully studied the needs and desirability of recommending enactment of H.R. 13298. We are convinced that the American citizens on Guam are capable of performing the duties detailed by this bill.

Since the enactment of the Guam Organic Act of 1950, the 21 members of the unicameral legislature have been elected at large. Although the island is small in area there is a growing need for providing election districts so that the rural as well as urban communities will have representation in the territorial legislature. Presently only 10 of the 19 local voting districts have representation. From the first to the incumbent eighth legislature, the average number of local districts represented has been 11.

Based on testimony from the members of the legislature, the Governor, the Office of Territories on our visit to Guam last fall, our committee was convinced that permitting election by districts will allow the voters to enjoy a greater equality of representation than that presently found in the legislature. It will also encourage the voters from each district to analyze the merits of the few candidates from that district rather than learn about all candidates in the field.

I was on Guam twice last year. On each occasion I was told that the at-large election system made it possible for a slight shift in the attitude of the voters to change the entire makeup of the legislature.

To carry this weakness to its ultimate, under the present system 50½ percent of the voters could elect all 21 at-large members of the legislature, thereby denying direct representation to the other 49½ percent of the voters. Election by districts will reduce the likelihood of eliminating the minority party from representation in the legislature.

Guam has a two-party system with a 13-to-7 breakdown in the eighth legislature. There is one vacancy. This has not always been the case, however. In four of the legislatures the minority party has had no representation.

We all realize that this is not the democratic way. Under the provisions of H.R. 13298 the Guam Legislature may district the island and apportion itself as it believes proper but with a requirement that every person in Guam shall be guaranteed the equal protection of the laws. Each voter in each district shall be entitled to vote for the whole number of persons to be elected from the district at that election as well as the whole number of candidates to be elected at large—if there are any. Thus the bill gives further assurance of the "one man, one vote" principle.

Again this is but another indication of our confidence in the political maturity of the people of Guam, for it will extend to these people another opportunity in self-government.

I wish to express my gratitude to Chairman ASPINALL and to Mr. O'BRIEN for their kind cooperation, help, and understanding during the past 16 months.

I also extend my appreciation to my fellow colleague from Pennsylvania, the ranking minority member, Mr. SAYLOR.

Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in accord with the principles set forth in H.R. 13298, as amended, and look forward to its expeditious enactment.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Space Planning and the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the April 1966 issue of Space/Aeronautics contained a very penetrating analysis of our space exploration program. It clearly compares the United States and Soviet efforts in going to the planets. While the Soviets have not achieved notable success, it is entirely possible that they are on the verge of pushing ahead. This article points out a matter of vital importance to the future of our space program and the future of our Nation as well.

The relationship between the executive and legislative branches is one that calls for cooperation but also calls for the exercise of independent judgment by those on whom responsibilities for making the laws rest.

Representative Joseph E. Karth has certainly taken the lead in seeing that the Science and Astronautics Committee of the House of Representatives assumes its full responsibilities. His judgment is sound and his independence a fact that I have seen demonstrated time and time again.

If we are really to remain first in space we will have to remain first in space planning and that goes for the elected officials of this Nation in the Congress to play their rightful role and assume their full measure of responsibility.

The article follows:

With the advantage of hindsight, it is apparent that the Soviet assault on the planets is assuming the same pattern as that shown in the Luna program, which required at least nine launches before the first soft landing was achieved. Soviet failures in the planetary program are now occurring much closer to the goal, and in this respect the two latest Venus flights resemble Lunas 7 and 8 which succeeded in reaching their planned landing points in 1965 even though they did not survive to return data.

The irony of the Venus failures is that the Russians did not precede them with a diagnostic flight similar to Zond 3 to ascertain the exact effects of solar heating on a spacecraft as it approached the sun. It is noteworthy that the heat problem was the most serious encountered during the successful U.S. Mariner 2 flyby of Venus in 1962. In the case of Mariner 2, incidental reflections of sunlight from the spacecraft structure materially increased the spacecraft temperature—a phenomenon which had not been calculated in advance—and it is very possible that the two Venera craft succumbed to a similar problem during the latest attempt.

By U.S. standards, the Soviet learning process appears intolerable. Stated bluntly, the Russians have been shooting their troubles into space instead of solving them on the ground. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the entire performance is Soviet tenacity despite five consecutive years of costly failures. Dr. Homer E. Newell, NASA Associate Administrator for Space Science and Applications, has estimated that a U.S. planetary effort comparable to that of the Russians would cost $200 million a year; Murray and Davies estimate that the Russians have spent between five and ten times the amount we have committed to date for planetary exploration.

It is this enormous disparity in relative effort which troubles the space science community, NASA and the U.S. Congress. For fiscal 1967, the Administration approved a total planetary request of only $56 million, $10 million of which was earmarked for the ambitious Voyager orbiter/lander program. Voyager was originally scheduled for a first flight in the 1971 Mars window, but Mariner 4 data on the low density of the Martian atmosphere, together with new NASA budgetary constraints, forced postponement to 1973 for the first mission. And NASA Administrator James E. Webb has conceded in recent Senate testimony that the lander portion of Voyager may have to be deferred until 1975, leaving only the orbiting bus to make the 1973 journey.

To take some of the sting out of the Voyager deferment, and to maintain a reasonable level of planetary activity at Jet Propulsion Laboratory until, hopefully, Voyager funding becomes easier, NASA announced in December it will launch a spare Mariner to Venus during the 1967 opportunity, and two 800-lb upgraded Mariners to Mars aboard the Centaur vehicle in 1969. There were grumblings in the space science community at this retrenchment, but NASA did not doubt its revised program would receive the usual rubber stamp from the space committees of the House and Senate, and that ultimately it would be voted the requested funds.

NO RUBBER STAMP FOR NASA PLAN

But NASA reckoned without Representative Joseph E. Karth, Democrat, of Minnesota, chairman of the Space Science and Applications Subcommittee of the House Science and Astronautics Committee. Known as "Genghis" Joe Karth in some NASA circles, the St. Paul Congressman has developed a keen investigational interest in the conduct of space programs falling within his jurisdiction. His investigations have ranged over such troubled projects as the Army's Advent communications satellite, the Centaur launch vehicle, and the Ranger and Surveyor lunar projects.

For the first time in its eight-year history, NASA found that the rubber stamp had ceased to work. Not only did Karth's subcommittee run roughshod over the NASA planetary proposal, but in its authorization action it completely recast the NASA program and posed a hard-driving challenge to the Executive Branch on the troublesome matter of control of the nation's aerospace program.

The subcommittee found that the $10 million earmarked for Voyager studies was completely inadequate. "The subcommittee is convinced that for a project which is destined to be one of the most complex and difficult ever undertaken by NASA, and in which the American taxpayer will be asked to invest $3 billion or more during the next decade, every effort should be made in these early years to do as much preliminary work as possible," Karth declared in a report to the full House Space Committee. "If there is one single feature that is common to the least successful of NASA's flight projects—those which have been marked by lengthy schedule delays and enormous cost overruns—it is that there was inadequate preparatory work."

As for the interim Mariner program, the subcommittee found considerable merit in the plan for a 1969 Mars flight with two upgraded spacecraft, and it provided additional funds for the inclusion of a small entry probe in the Mars craft for direct measurements of the planet's atmosphere. Without such direct measurements, it said, the Voyager lander would have to be designed conservatively to withstand a wide range of conditions and this might restrict its payload unnecessarily.

On the other hand, the subcommittee found almost nothing to recommend the 1967 Venus Mariner, and it wiped out funds for the project. "The Venus mission has all the appearance of being a makeshift and an afterthought," they reported. "The main purpose is believed to be little more than an urge to do something—*anything*—between now and 1969 in the planetary area." It said it could see no point in a one-shot Venus try when funds are so short for the higher-priority Mars effort.

DIVERTING $42 MILLION

In line with these views, the subcommittee lopped a total of $42 million from NASA's Space Science and Applications budget request, including $18 million for the 1967 Venus Mariner project. At the same time, it added $42 million to the budget to be spent as follows: $22 million more for Voyager and $20 million to engineer the atmospheric proble capability into the 1969 Mars Mariner project. Thus the net effect of the subcommittee's action was to approve the entire $664.1 million sought for space science and applications in fiscal 1967, but to hand back to NASA an entirely different planetary program from the one presented. Even more important, however, the subcommittee had told NASA: "Now let's do it our way."

NASA was ready with its conventional defenses. It insisted that the Venus probe, even without a backup, was a sound undertaking and that it had the solid support of the scientific community. And it would grant that the 1969 Mars Mariners would be much more desirable with entry probes—but that the absolute deadline for initiation of entry capsule development had just passed within the month, and that the earliest that the entry probes could be made ready is now the 1971 Mars opportunity. As one NASA official remarked, "They can vote us money, but they can't vote us time."

A CHALLENGE OF PRINCIPLE

Behind the NASA opposition lay a solid determination that Congress will not be allowed to tamper with the fundamental decision-making machinery on the direction of the space program. Congress may vote the funds or not, as it sees fit, but it may not shape the program for which the funds are spent. It was this sacrosanct principle which Karth had challenged, and the battle would be joined on this issue, regardless of the language the parties might employ.

Underlying the confrontation is a growing sense of desperation over the future of the U.S. planetary exploration effort—and whether, in fact, there will be an effort worthy of the name. Karth has seen too many NASA scientific exploration and development efforts bungled by poor planning, inadequate funding in the early years, and inept administration; as the total effort shrinks, he is determined to seize some element of control before the program is dissipated entirely. For its part, NASA is deeply concerned over the Administration's intentions with respect to the long-range U.S. space endeavor. It is increasingly fearful that Great Society priorities are threatening the nation's space goals, and that even if the war in Vietnam can be brought to an early and successful conclusion, the Johnson Administration will not proceed with the space effort on the scale established by the Kennedy Administration. NASA officials believe they have remedied the deficiencies which Karth has pinpointed in their past management of the space exploration program, and they are determined to finance the broadest possible planetary program within their available funds. But above all else, these officials are determined to keep their own hands on the reins.

It is difficult at this point to judge which of the parties is taking the more realistic position. KARTH, for example, takes NASA's Voyager program at face value and logically seeks to strengthen that effort in its early years when critical design errors can be avoided through comprehensive preliminary studies. He makes a convincing case for upgrading the 1969 Mars Mariners to the earlier "Mariner B" configuration. NASA, on the other hand, seems more circumspect. One senses that its opposition to resuscitation of the Mariner B program is based at least in part on fear that it could become an excuse for deferring Voyager much later into the 1970s, or perhaps entirely beyond the next decade. It is anxious to keep Voyager alive, but it feels that $10 million is all it can afford to keep that pot warm in view of the uncertain outlook for space science funding. In short, NASA wants to keep open as many options as possible even if it means treading water in some areas, while KARTH wants to forge ahead now on the top priority tasks even if this means that other attractive projects must be sacrified.

It remains to be seen how Congressman KARTH will fare in his bold effort to recast the space program. The full House Committee on Science and Astronautics has unanimously endorsed the subcommittee's recommendations; the test will come in the Senate. Normally one might expect a compromise of sorts, perhaps increased support for Voyager while the 1967 and 1969 Mariner programs remain intact. But KARTH's challenge is so basic to the executive/legislative power structure of the U.S. government that compromise may prove impossible. In that event, most government observers expect KARTH to yield as gracefully as possible. But KARTH is a conscientious and determined man, and he may not take the easy way out. If that should prove the case, the U.S. planetary program will indeed experience a major upheaval.

Growing Impact of Federal Purchasing and Contracting Upon Economic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, a new book entitled "Defense Purchases and Regional Growth," written by Dr. Roger E. Bolton, of Williams College, and published by the Brookings Institution, could well be placed on the must-read pile of every single Member of this and the other body of the U.S. Congress.

For a number of years, a small band of Members has tried to point out the growing impact of Federal purchasing and contracting upon the economic growth of the various regions of our country. Dr. Bolton has now analyzed this impact and concludes, not surprisingly, that the east north central region, consisting of the States of Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, has been the one most adversely affected, in the decade beginning in 1952, by the shift in Federal purchasing patterns.

Of the five east north central States, the first three; that is, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana, are, according to Dr. Bolton's study, the only ones in the entire Nation to have had their economic growth actually depressed by the shift of Federal purchasing.

Mr. Speaker, I hope, as I say, that all Members of the Congress will take note of these alarming facts. I also hope and trust that leading officials of the executive branch will note this study and take action to see to it that in the next 10 years this pattern is drastically changed.

One vital step could be taken in the next few months. The decision will be made in these next few months as to where to locate the largest Federal research facility planned to be built in the next decade. I refer, of course, to the Atomic Energy Commission's 200-billion-electron-volt proton accelerator laboratory, to be built at a cost of some $350 million, and expected to generate an annual payroll of well over $50 million.

Of the six final sites now pending before the AEC for final selection, two are located in States which have had their economic growth depressed by the shift in Federal purchasing which has taken place since 1952: the Madison, Wis., and Ann Arbor, Mich., sites.

I hope that Members of Congress from all sections of the country will rally behind the efforts of the Wisconsin and Michigan delegations and will express their support for the location of the new atomic research facility at either Madison, Wis., or Ann Arbor, Mich.—the latter located in the Second Congressional District of Michigan, which I am privileged to represent in the U.S. House of Representatives.

I include at this point in the RECORD a review of "Defense Purchases and Regional Growth," which appeared in the April 9 issue of Business Week magazine:

DEFENSE PURCHASES AND REGIONAL GROWTH

Few legislative battles bring on more flexing of regional muscles than those over where defense dollars should be spent. The reason is pointed up in a new book, Defense Purchases and Regional Growth, released this week by the Brookings Institution.

Because the author, Williams College economist Roger E. Bolton, had no data later than 1962, the study does not estimate the impact of the Vietnam buildup on regional growth. Moreover, the implications of the study are broadly familiar: Between 1952 and 1962, the weight of defense spending shifted from the East North Central and Middle Atlantic regions to the Pacific, South Atlantic, and New England regions.

Nevertheless, Bolton's book is likely to be a blockbuster. It shows more clearly than ever before how federal decisions on where to spend defense dollars can make or break a region's effort to improve its growth rate. Bolton finds that:

Although the residents of each state are in some sense taxed equally, there are wide differences in the benefits received from defense spending. Between 1952 and 1962, Bolton estimates, defense gains accounted for more than 20 percent of total growth in states such as California and Mississippi. At the same time, the growth of some key East North Central states—Michigan, Wisconsin, and Indiana—was severely curtailed by cuts in defense spending.

There is a close relation between a region's over-all growth rate and its rate of defense gains. Between 1952 and 1962, annual gains in personal income were biggest in the Pacific states (6.4 percent) and Mountain states (6.3 percent)—the precise areas where defense spending was growing fastest. Income gains were smallest in regions suffering actual defense cuts—the East North Central states (4.3 percent) and the Middle Atlantic states (4.6 percent). Regions with minor changes in the defense share generally put on a middling show in over-all income gains. For example, in the South Atlantic region where defense gains were average, income grew at 5.7 percent per year.

KEY ROLE

Bolton reaches his conclusions via an elaborate model of regional economic growth. His model says that a region's success in competing with other parts of the country depends on what happens to what he calls "exogenous income"—that part of income that is earned in transactions with other parts of the country. This includes the earnings of all the region's export industries—autos in Michigan and oranges in California, for example—as well as all sales, including defense sales, to the federal government.

The importance of exogenous income to any region stems from the fact that exogenous dollars are in effect double-duty dollars. It is these earnings that provide the basis for growth of industries catering purely to the domestic market. Bolton estimates that for every dollar earned through exports, a region tacks on $2 to its personal income. So defense dollars, like any other exogenous dollars, have a big impact on regional economic growth.

SHIFTING SITES

Between 1952 and 1962, total defense spending didn't change too much, increasing by $4.8-billion in 10 years. So total exogenous dollars from this source were scarce and vigorously pursued. The major trend during the 10-year period covered by Bolton's study was, of course, the shift from the conventional weaponry of the Korean War to a concentration of the sophisticated weaponry needed to support a defense system based on missiles.

Because of the relocation of defense procurement that followed, defense business flowed out of East North Central and Middle Atlantic states in three directions: toward New England, the South Atlantic, and the Mountain and Pacific regions. Bolton's study emphasizes the profound effect that these shifts had on regional differences in income growth.

LAG IN R & D RACE

Like other defense experts, Bolton is hard put to explain these regional shifts in defense spending. However, he is inclined to think that the East North Central lost out in the rivalry for missile business because it fell behind in the race for research and development contracts. The East North Central share of research awards, he says "is not commensurate with its shares of university resources and higher degrees granted." Bolton also feels that part of the difficulty was a decision of East North Central companies "to stick to civilian markets."

WEAPON FACTOR

Although Bolton hasn't made a full study of the way in which Vietnam is affecting the regional distribution of defense business, he thinks that the return to more conventional weaponry has revived defense business in areas that lost ground between 1952 and 1962. For example, total prime contract awards in the last six months of 1965, compared with those in the last six months of 1964, show Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin increasing their share by 4.1 percent, while the Pacific states'—California, Oregon, and Washington—share of the market dropped by 4.3 percent. Ohio in particular made large gains. However, Bolton doubts that these states will recapture the entire share of total defense orders they had during the Korean War.

PENTAGON CRITERION

Politicians and regional developers have always had a hard time understanding the justice of a system that collects taxes equally from all, but is so selective in deciding where the defense dollars are spent. The Pentagon tells the disgruntled that it usually applies a "least cost" principle in its spending decisions.

Bolton is generally sympathetic to the doctrine of stress on efficiency in determining where defense dollars should be spent. "Because the cost and quality of the defense effort are important to the nation, this criterion is sound," he says.

Nevertheless, despite strong pressures on the Defense Dept., Bolton is skeptical that even "without violating the least-cost criterion all that can be done to equalize defense spending has in fact been done." His own analysis, for example, indicates that the effects of policies designed to increase the share of defense contracts going to labor surplus areas over the past 15 years "have been slight."

FULL CONSIDERATION

Bolton, in fact, argues that the Defense Dept. should give full consideration to the regional impact of its spending. However, he also points out that defense spending should not be a substitute for area development programs designed specifically to achieve regional economic stability, and growth.

Whether they agree with his conclusions, defense specialists are likely to regard Bolton's work as a real breakthrough. For those using his methods, regional planners will be able to get a clearer fix on where they stand in the race for the defense dollar and on what trends in defense spending are really doing to their economies.

What Being an American Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the text of an excellent address by Mr. Edward Moreno, news editor of radio station KALI in Los Angeles, delivered at the Roosevelt Adult School on May 3, 1966.

Mr. Moreno's speech, entitled "What Being an American Means to Me," is a very thoughtful and moving explanation of how it feels to be a "new" American, a naturalized U.S. citizen.

In describing the rich and diverse cultural heritage of this land, Mr. Moreno declared:

> The more I observe American culture and the more I read about the development of this country, the more I find that contributions to her greatness have been made by people of Hispanic ancestry and by people from all over the world who still conserve intact many of their beautiful traditions and folkways.

Then Mr. Moreno talks of one of the hallmarks of America's strength, her pride in the variety of peoples and cultures that have mixed and blended in what has been termed a human melting pot to produce the America we know today. He said:

> When in California I look at what the Mexican-American has been able to accomplish, I feel doubly proud of the duality of my culture. But I imagine that the Japanese-American, the Chinese-American, the Filipino-American, and all the other Americans of foreign extraction have equal reason to feel as proud of their lot, as I am of mine.

After outlining the importance of each new citizen becoming an active participant in the democratic processes—for with my right to vote goes the obligation to know for what and for whom I am voting—Mr. Moreno sums up his feelings with this challenging statement:

> Yes, to me being a "new American" has meant and will always mean more than paying my taxes, voting, obeying the laws, and waiting for my social security check to come, and in my short years as a naturalized citizen I have just begun to savor the fantastic adventure of the daily discovery of new facets, new features, new facts, historical, geographical, social and cultural, new for me at least, which, despite having caused me a few frustrations, have also made life for me in my new country, my most rewarding experience. And tell me, who wouldn't like to find a similar adventure?

Mr. Moreno's address follows:

WHAT BEING AN AMERICAN MEANS TO ME

(An address by Edward Moreno, delivered at Roosevelt Adult School, May 3, 1966)

Quite a few years ago, when Spanish-language radio was not as sophisticated as it is now, when for the Federal Communications Commission it was more of a curiosity than the second most important phase of commercial broadcasting, there was a gentleman in Los Angeles who broadcasted under the name of Professor "B" and who would peddle everything in radio from curative herbs, more herbs than curative, to books and pamphlets on every imaginable subject. He hit one day on the idea of selling a Spanish translation of the Citizenship Manual of the Federal Government, and decided to look for ideas for this promotion. Seeking to appeal primarily to the senior citizen, he came up with something like this:

"Order now your Manual de Ciudadania. It contains all you have to know; trial questions and answers similar to those you'll be asked by the immigration examiner." And so on, and it ended more or less: "Imagine, you can be a citizen in no time; no more subject to deportation; or to the annual address report * * * and you'll be able to get your pensioncita" (your little pension).

Of course, the ad lasted just until he was hauled in front of a federal judge, to whom he had the nerve of telling, in his heavy accent, when questioned about such a practice.

But your Honor, what will any person of 60 or 70 years would want his citizenship for? leaving the judge speechless.

The incident impressed me not so much for the nerve of that individual, who was able to come out unscathed of his encounter with our American Judicial System, but for the possibility that there might be some people among my own, for whom becoming a citizen meant only that, no more danger of deportation, no more reporting their address yearly, and a chance to get a subsidy of some kind. But time has given me an opportunity to find that, if existent, these persons are in the minority, and that the majority of those who want citizenship look for it with a genuine sense of wanting to belong fully to the country which has given them a chance to find a new life, to secure a better opportunity, and to obtain the protection of the most powerful nation in the world, for their rights as humans.

So, when my turn to become a "new American" came, some 12 years ago, I felt that I was better prepared to become a citizen, for I desired an opportunity to exercise the privilege of voting in an election, to be equal to my peers, and to show my loyalty to the country of my adoption. And, one lovely day in January, in Japan, where I was serving a tour of duty with the US Army, I took the oath with tears in my eyes and emotion in my soul, sworn loyalty to the Flag of the Republic, and said to myself, "Brother, this is it * * *" and how mistaken I was.

Life did not change radically for me right after I became a new citizen. It does not change that way; for, although the change is indeed drastic, it comes very slowly, and then only if purposely sought for. My accent has improved somewhat, but I haven't changed color, or physical make-up, and I don't think I'll ever be able to pass for a native. What then are these drastic changes, and how have they occurred to me?

I have learned, for one, that citizenship does not automatically change one's own outlook on life. That the process of physical maturation does not mean a concurrent process of emotional maturation, and so I have had to force myself to learn as much as I could about American behavior, both from the textbook and the personal observation, in order to adjust my ways to those of my new country, but to see too, if through effort I could help modify some of those ways for my own comfort and that of other naturalized citizens. And in this process, I have learned that to be a "good American" does not require of me the complete abandonment of all the traditions, the cultural values and ways of my land of birth, Mexico. Quite the contrary, the more I observe American culture, the more I read about the development of this country, the more I find that contributions to her greatness have been made by people of Hispanic ancestry and by people from all over the world who still conserve intact many of their beautiful traditions and folkways.

These contributions vary from ways for a more gracious mode of living, to substantial advances in science, industry, education, psychiatry, and include proffering one's own life, limb and blood for the survival of the democratic ideal. Americans of foreign extraction have felt that nothing, absolutely nothing is too great a price to pay for the privilige of, or in recognition of, or for the satisfaction of being an American citizen. But with all this goes too the pride of the contributor of being an American by choice. And, since America is the only Nation in the world with the ability to synthesize the most attractive values and folkways of her citizens of many origins, and to adapt them beautifully to "American" living, I have never felt that one of the requisites of being completely loyal was to forget my maternal language, or to deny that I like a fiesta, my Mexican dishes, the love and respect for mother, characteristic of my people, the value of family unity, or the place of a man, my place in the family as its recognized head.

Besides, when in California I look at what the Mexican-American has been able to accomplish, I feel doubly proud of the duality of my culture. But I imagine that the Japanese-American, the Chinese-American, the Filipino-American, and all the other Americans of foreign extraction have equal reasons to feel as proud of their lot, as I am of mine, so I have also made a point to know other groups, and now I feel confident, and secure, and able to function among them, despite our differences.

The privileges of citizenship have not ended for me with the certainty that I have to pay taxes at the end of each year, and that I have to vote for the candidate of my choice in every general election to keep my right to elect someone who will represent me, and that I must obey and keep the law. Very soon after graduation, I found that I must question why at every step of the democratic process of selecting my representative. This question starts for me at the school district level, and ends at the Presidency itself. For with my right to vote goes the obligation to know for what and for whom I am voting. So I have learned not only not to surrender my vote to the cute-face that has behind himself a large number of television shows and moving pictures, but also to question the claims of that challenged man in power who fervently claims a vast experience in government, and who, perhaps because of the disinterest of the voter in good government, or the interest of a machinery to preserve a status quo, has remained in office a considerable number of years.

I have learned that it is my obligation that when neither man, and neither party offers me and my community the honesty, integrity, interest, and good administration that would benefit everybody the most, then my duty to fairness, and to the survival of the democratic way goes beyond party labels, and requires that I become personally involved in efforts to obtain better government, and a better administration than the ones offered by any of the candidates and platforms available for choice.

But anybody can question why for the simple act of questioning. So, this questioning implies for me naturally, an obligation to prepare myself, and to continue everyday of my life the hard task of getting an education. Thus I have felt as my duty to learn as much as I could about the culture, and as my need to master the common language of my new country to be able to communicate better. For this gives me the tools that I require when I must understand the variety of thought and opinion that naturally arise in an open society like ours; and with the mastery of language, I must also acquire the ability to discriminate between what is fact, what is interpretation of fact, what is fantasy, and what is deliberate propaganda on behalf of vested interests. And I must get the ability to express myself, very especially to clarify misunderstandings about my older culture, or my new country, and to raise an appropriate question, and to express a valid opinion. In this process, I have found that part of my education will have to go beyond formal schooling and classroom experience, and extends to the club, organizations, and the very contact between man and man.

But I guess the acid test of my loyalty may come when I must make a decision about bearing arms for the country to which I have professed loyalty in public, to help defend it in case of conflict or attack. And with great respect for the ideas of he who professes absolute peace as his way of life, I feel the obligation of walking with the first to be called first when the country that needs me is in peril, or when the ideals which gave birth to my new nation are threatened with extinction. Yes, I am not afraid of the word patriotism, or the phrase "Under God," nor I am ashamed of confessing publicly my belief in the Deity, and in my Nation.

Yes, to me being a "new American" has meant and will always mean more than paying my taxes, voting, obeying the laws, and waiting for my Social Security check to come, and in my short years as a naturalized citizen I have just begun to savor the fantastic adventure of the daily discovery of new facets, new features, new facts, historical, geographical, social and cultural, new for me at least, which despite having caused me a few frustrations have almost made life for me in my new country, my most rewarding experience. And tell me, who wouldn't like to find a similar adventure?

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Appendix

Present State of California Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD a statement by Mr. Lionel Steinberg. Lionel is vice president of the California State Board of Agriculture and a member of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman's Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights. His remarks were made on the occasion of the visit of Under Secretary of Agriculture John A. Schnittker to my district on April 16, 1966.

Mr. Steinberg is very knowledgeable in agricultural matters and I believe that his statement is an excellent report on the present state of California agriculture:

RIVERSIDE COUNTY VISIT OF JOHN A. SCHNITTKER, U.S. UNDER SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, INDIO, CALIF., APRIL 16, 1966

(Remarks by Lionel Steinberg, vice president, California State Board of Agriculture, and member of U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman's Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights)

On behalf of all the members of the California State Board of Agriculture, I wish to welcome you to Riverside County. Governor Edmund G. Brown has asked me to extend his warm good wishes to you, and regrets that he cannot be present with us today.

I also wish to take this opportunity to thank our outstanding Congressman JOHN TUNNEY for the work he has done in behalf of our farmers, and for his efforts to bring you to our district.

We are glad that you are spending three days in California to meet our farmers and to discuss our problems. In the past 25 years, I have had the opportunity to farm in ten of California's counties, and to attempt to grow some 25 of California's 200 crops. I can report to you that farming in the Coachella Valley is the most difficult area in the State of California. In this room are some of California's most outstanding farmers who are growing food for our nation under the most trying conditions. Farming in California's desert means combatting winds that reach 100 miles per hour, heat that soars to 130° during grape harvest in July, winter and spring frosts that can destroy tender vegetables, and a rising saline water table that, in some areas, is just 12 inches below the ground. And, if our farmers are successful in growing a crop, they often take it to a market that returns far less than the cost of production. In fact, one might say that you have now reached "Marlboro Country".

Superlatives are the common stock in trade of American farmers, but particularly of Californians. Perhaps this is because agriculture in California is so very different from agriculture in most of the other states, such as that of the Undersecretary's former residence, the State of Kansas, where relatively few commodities make up the agricultural industry.

California is the leading producer of 48 different crops, including such diversified crops as almonds, apricots, artichokes, broccoli, brussels sprouts, carrots, dates, figs, garlic, peaches, pears, prunes, spinach, tomatoes and walnuts. California is second in the nation in the production of seven crops, and third in the production of eight. In addition, California is first in cattle slaughtering, and fourth in milk production.

California, with a land area of 100 million acres, utilized approximately 39 million acres in 1964 on some 90 thousand farms. With less than 3 percent of all the nation's farms, California accounted for about 10 percent of the national gross cash receipts from farming—with a gross of \$3¾ billion in 1965. Adding processing and packing value, agriculture is a \$15 billion per year business in this State, and is California's biggest single industry. In 1966, the average California farm is about 450 acres in size, and is valued at nearly \$250,000 with buildings and equipment. This represents a per farm investment of four times the national average.

As you have seen during your brief visit to California, our climate and our topography are extremely diversified. Our 200 different crops grow in areas that range from about 2,000 feet elvation to 250 below sea level—and our average annual precipitation varies from less than 5 inches a year in this valley to well over 100 inches in parts of Del Norte County.

Our top 20 producing California counties include 8 in the San Joaquin Valley, 8 in Southern California, three in the central coast, and one in the Sacramento Valley. California, which is ¾ths the size of France, and has a population of 19 million, outproduces most of the nations of the world, including India with a population of 500 million. Only Japan, with tremendous inputs of fertilizer, exceeds some of our per acre records.

California is blessed with an excellent climate and good soil. But man, himself, has been the most important factor in this production achievement. Irrigation has made much of the difference. Approximately 95 percent of the tonnage being harvested in California receives some supplemental water. Presidents from Theodore Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson have responded to the needs of Western Agriculture. And here, in California, former Republican Governor Earl Warren and Democratic Governor Edmund G. Brown contributed to a great California Water Plan that will make it possible for California to feed the nation and help feed the world.

California farmers also owe a debt of gratitude to the scientists at the University of California, and to those of the United States Department of Agriculture for their research and development, and to our excellent county agricultural commissioners for their efforts, and to far-sighted bankers who have provided financing for expansion and mechanization, and to industry that has provided us with modern equipment.

California's unique agriculture requires efficient farm workers in large numbers during many months of the year. For example, on the week ending September 4, 1965, California farms employed—

Farmers and members of their families	94, 200
Hired regular farm workers	95, 800
Temporary hired domestic workers	195, 300
Contract foreign workers	1, 500
Total	386, 800

In the week ending March 12, 1966, there were employed—

Farmers and members of their families	88, 250
Hired regular farm workers	91, 600
Temporary hired domestic workers	77, 700
Contract foreign workers	50
Total	257, 600

California farmers are caught in one of the worst cost-price squeezes in the nation. This is because of the large amount of hand-labor required in growing specialty crops, and because more fruits and vegtables are being produced than the nation can presently consume, which has brought runinous prices.

It is estimated that California farmers supply 43 percent of the nation's vegetables, and 42 percent of the nation's fruit and nut crop. 97 percent of California's 200 crops are not under Federal subsidies. It has been estimated that Federal subsidies amount to about 1 percent of the gross income of California farmers.

It is my belief that the farmer is the most unappreciated person in the United States, next to the farm worker. Any television repairman makes more money than the average farmer.

California farmers pay the highest wages in the nation. According to the Crop Reporting Board of the USDA, California's wage rate was \$1.43 per hour for 1965. Our competitor, who grow the same fruit and vegetables in Arizona, pay \$1.05; in Texas 98 cents per hour; Florida 81 cents, and in Georgia 67.6 cents; South Carolina 57.6 cents and in North Carolina 78 cents per hour.

Our American farm workers need more money, but it is going to take higher farm prices to enable the farmer to pay more.

Despite our great productivity, the number of California farmers has shrunk from 125,000 in 1954 to about 88,000 in April 1966. Those of us that have survived the difficult past decade, have done so by enlarging our farms and enlarging our debt. As you know, the national farm debt rose \$3.4 billion last year to a record \$39 billion.

Last year, I recommended to the California State Board of Agriculture that the California Department of Agriculture undertake a comprehensive study to determine the farmer's share of the consumer's dollar on a carefully selected list of fresh fruits and vegetables. The Department's preliminary reports show that the California farmer is getting between 10¢ and 15¢ out of the housewife's dollar.

According to a March 1966 report of the California State Department of Agriculture, the gross income per California farm increased from \$20,000 in 1954 to \$45,000 in 1965. Despite this huge rise in gross farm income, net farm income to the farmer for his labor and management dropped to approximately \$3,000 in California last year. It is my belief that an overwehlming majority of California's 15,000 fruit growers had red ink last year. And further, after allowing

5 percent interest on their total farm investment, I believe that 80,000 of California's 88,000 farmers put in a year's work without any compensation for their labor and management.

Annual national net farm income has risen several billion dollars in the past three years. However, this increased income has gone almost entirely to the hard-pressed cattle, hog and poultry farmers who have come out of a serious recession and are now benefitting with higher prices that came with production cutbacks.

I respectfully wish to join my voice to that of Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN and others throughout agriculture, who deny that present farm prices are inflationary. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As our great U.S. Department of Agriculture has reported to the nation, the American people were never better fed for a smaller proportion of their income than they are today. American families are eating a high quality varied diet for about 18 percent of the family's take-home pay. American farmers who make up 7 percent of the nation's population, are receiving only 3 percent of the total national income. Farmers have not shared in the general prosperity enjoyed by most segments of the nation.

In conclusion, I would like to respectfully submit the following:

1. I suggest that the Johnson Administration stop inflation where it exists by raising taxes. I urge an immediate halt to the precipitous rise in interest rates, which is the same "hard-money" policy that brought two recessions during the Eisenhower Administration. The rise in interest rates this past year will cost the American people an additional $20 billion dollars per year to carry the public and private debt.

2. California farmers strongly supported the late President Kennedy's Food for Peace program, and now applaud President Johnson's proposal for a Food for Freedom program to lead the world in all-out war against hunger. I am certain that California farmers would make themselves available for service abroad to help President Johnson in this program to eliminate hunger in the less developed nations.

3. At the March 1966 meeting of the California State Board of Agriculture, I recommended that the President of the United States, and The Congress, consider allocation of at least 10 percent of the $3.2 billion in food aid to the less developed nations in the form of fresh, dried and canned nutritious fruits and vegetables rather than almost entirely in grain and feed products. This would help eliminate surpluses of specialty crops and return the growers of these items to the roles of income tax payers.

4. The California State Board of Agriculture has urged unanimously that the school lunch and milk program not be cut back in size; and that the Federal Food Stamp plan be expanded as rapidly as possible so that all needy Americans, the unemployed, and the aged have an opportunity to benefit by participating in this great program.

5. I urge that the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the U.S. Department of Labor join in making an all-out effort to provide housing for American farm workers who "follow the crops". Many of these needy Americans, who have replaced the Bracero, live along ditch banks under conditions hardly better than prevailed during the 1930's. I personally believe that a chain of mobile farm labor villages, regionally located, is the most economical answer. These villages should contain a recreation center, dispensary, washing facilities, child care center, mobile elementary school, playground, swimming pool, water and sewage plant, etc.

6. I wish to bring to your attention the continued concern of Governor Brown and California farmers that everything possible be done to prevent unreasonable restrictions in the export of our specialty crops to the Common Market.

7. On the Import Side, California has lost much of its strawberry, melon and tomato market to Mexico. California growers who pay $15 a day for farm labor cannot compete with foreign growers who pay less than $1.50 a day for hand labor. In other words, many of California's commodity groups are now beyond the "peril point".

8. The California State Board of Agriculture looked with interest upon Congressman Bob Poague's proposal that India concentrate on producing grain during the next five years in place of cotton wherever possible. This would enable the United States to substitute surplus American cotton instead of grain, which is in diminishing supply. We urge its study.

9. California farmers urge a high national minimum farm wage rigidly and equitably enforced nation-wide. California farmers are competing with growers in other states who grow the same crops and pay half the wages. We urge the USDA to lend its support.

I know that you will find useful the reports you are about to hear from a group of Riverside County farm, water, and university experts.

Again, thank you for coming to California.

"The Day of the Americans," First American Book on the Liberation of Dachau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, during this period when many of our soldiers are again in the field, I wish to commend to Members a new book by Nerin E. Gun, published on April 29 by Fleet Publishing Corp., of New York. This is "The Day of the Americans," which tells the true story of how the heroic soldiers of the U.S. Army 42d—Rainbow—and 45th—Thunderbird—Divisions liberated the Nazi concentration camp in Dachau, Germany, on April 29, 1945, thereby saving the life of the author, Mr. Gun, and many thousands of other innocent prisoners from extermination by the Nazis. Nerin Gun has written his book in thanks to these American soldiers, "who liberated, not conquered."

Nerin Gun is a naturalized American citizen who lives in the attractive village of Sea Cliff, beautiful set on the New York shore of Long Island Sound. His father was a Turkish diplomat, and Mr. Gun was a Turkish national, 19 years old, and taking a course at the University of Berlin toward a law degree, when World War II started. He took a job as a neutral correspondent for Swiss, and later also for Turkish news services, and at 19, became the youngest foreign correspondent accredited to cover World War II from Berlin. He first displeased the Nazi authorities by writing a story about the German occupation of Paris which was cited by the International Red Cross in its appeal to the Nazis for more humane treatment of Frenchmen.

He further irritated them by making the first dispatch from the field predicting the defeat of Hitler's armies during the Nazi invasion of Russia. After he filed the first eyewitness report of the atrocities of the Warsaw ghetto, he was imprisoned, then expelled from Germany by the personal order of Hitler. When later covering the war from Hungary, he was again imprisoned, and was falsely accused by the Nazis of being a British intelligence agent, though never tried. He was sent to a series of prisons and camps, and was in the Dachau camp, under threat of execution, when the Americans liberated the Dachau camp. Nerin E. Gun and Richard Hottelet—now the CBS correspondent at the United Nations— were the only accredited journalists ever imprisoned by the Nazis exclusively for stories they filed.

While in Dachau, Gun was a member of the underground resistance committee, and his duties were to record, by a stolen camera and collection of documents and notes, what had happened there, in case the Nazis succeeded in destroying other evidence. At first, Gun thought that the world had been sufficiently told of the record—at Nuremberg, in other books. But no book about Dachau has ever before been published in this country. And when Gun, now an American citizen, with his native American wife revisited Dachau in 1964, 20 years after the liberation, he found that there was not a single reminder or memorial in all Dachau of the fact that the Americans had liberated the camp.

He found that the young people—and some of the adults—of Dachau were reluctant even to admit that the camp had ever existed as an instrument of Nazi terror and extermination. Some even claimed that it was an invention of propaganda. He realized that his duty, to document and record, was still necessary, and unfulfilled. So he has written this brilliant and thought-provoking book, which alternates between chapters on his experiences and reflections about the continuing meaning to the world of the Nazi terror.

Nerin E. Gun, after being liberated from Dachau, resumed his career as a journalist. He has written for almost every major European magazine, and his articles have appeared in the United States in Life, This Week, Pageant, and other publications. He became an American citizen in 1958, and married an American. He and his wife and their young daughter live in Sea Cliff between his worldwide trips as a journalist. His previous book, "The Red Roses of Texas," was an account, written for Europeans, of the United States of America on the day of President Kennedy's assassination. It filled the vital role of informing the English, French, Italians, Germans, and people of a number of other countries, how the tragic events of the assassination affected Americans—and it also gave a true and generous portrait of America and our customs to other nations of the world.

That a man like Nerin E. Gun, member of a distinguished Turkish intellectual family, son of an Italian mother, educated in France and Germany, and international traveler and observer, would choose to live in America, and praise this Nation and our institutions and traditions of freedom and democracy, is evidence of the great vigor of Americans, both in our national history and in the wide dissemination of American ideals. It is to be hoped that "The Day of the Americans" will be widely read here, as it will be abroad. Library Journal, a distinguished organ of comment on books, has recommended "The Day of the Americans" for all public libraries.

John Barkham of the Saturday Review has called the book genuinely unusual. The Mid-Century Book Society will distribute it to thousands of American readers as an April book club selection. I commend it to Members for its historical testimony, and as food for thought.

FTC Commissioner MacIntyre Places Antitrust Picture in Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Everette MacIntyre, Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission, is one of the most knowledgeable and informed men in our country today in the area of antitrust theory and application.

Commissioner MacIntyre in a recent address to the business public relations seminar in Hot Springs, Va., delivered a perceptive and learned discussion of antitrust, posing penetrating questions and making discerning observations.

Commissioner MacIntyre has had 40 years of experience in this field—as an attorney for the Federal Trade Commission, as general counsel with the House Small Business Committee and as Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission.

His observations and conclusions, therefore, carry great weight and are most significant.

I insert excerpts from his address to be reprinted in the Appendix of the RECORD because of its interest to my colleagues and to the Nation.

The excerpts follow:

ANTITRUST, REAL OR FANCIFUL

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to visit with you and to discuss 'antitrust with you on this occasion of your seminar.

We at the Federal Trade Commission feel particularly fortunate when we have an opportunity to meet with representatives of a group such as yours because we know we should share a common interest in fostering a high level of business ethics and preventing unfair practices. We believe, as I am sure you do, that ethical practice is good for business and for the community as a whole, not only from the standpoint of morality, but also from the standpoint of the businessman's return on investment.

* * * * * * * *

MERGERS

Antitrust activity in the merger area has always ben an intriguing subject for the commentator. Of late, however, the volume of comment—much of it critical from the academic community, the press and business—has been increasing. The reasons for the current concern with application of antitrust to mergers are fairly obvious. On the one hand, there are those who have become ever more concerned with concentration and alleged super concentration and the implications of these phenomena for our free enterprise system. On the other hand, there are those who view with alarm current developments under the merger law, which it is feared may freeze business into an obsolete pattern. In short, there is increasing concern about the relevance of antitrust to the economy of today. My remarks will be devoted to that topic and the further question of how should antitrust measures be applied to current problems.

* * * * * * * *

To begin, in any serious discussion of the validity of antitrust, two basic questions must be answered. Is the economy still sufficiently decentralized so that it is meaningful to speak of regulation of the market by the impersonal forces of competition? Secondly, is the optimum approach for maintaining a free competitive economy one which focuses on the structure of the economy (*e.g.*, prohibition of mergers) or one which emphasizes the restraint of anticompetitive behavior. Finally, one might also ask whether a rational antitrust approach should not give equal consideration to both alternatives.

I must preface my further remarks with the advice that I, of course, cannot on any of these issues give you a definite answer. One's point of view on such problems is necessarily personal and to a considerable degree conditioned by one's past associations and experience. Mine has been primarily with the Federal Trade Commission. In this connection, it is significant that the statute creating the Commission—the Federal Trade Commission Act—as enacted in 1914 declared "unfair methods of competition are hereby declared unlawful."

The phraseology of this prohibition is important; it charges the Commission with proscribing these acts which have a tendency to hamper or lessen competition. In short, it emphasizes the antitrust concern with the behavior of firms in a market in order to keep that market viable for competition.

* * * * *

A consideration of this topic leads us to the burning antitrust issue of the day: What is the structure of the economy like at the present time and should the antitrust agencies concern themselves at all with the size and shape of economic markets?

While economists may disagree as to whether concentration is accelerating, it is obvious that a good deal of concentration is now at hand in the economy as a whole and in specific industries and markets. It is further clear that overall concentration in the economy has, to a large degree, been a function of business's drive for diversification. As a result, one of the most pressing antitrust problems facing both the Antitrust Division and the Federal Trade Commission is what policy should be adopted towards mergers generally and, specifically, should the two agencies differentiate between pure conglomerate mergers on the one hand as opposed to vertical and horizontal acquisitions on the other? There is no unanimity on the point.

* * * * *

Some economists examining the current scene, taking into consideration the phenomenon of concentration as well as diversification, have noted that certain firms have become more significant than the industries in which they operate and that the conventional economic analysis concentrating upon market power in the single market and assuming a single product has come to have little, if any, relevance to the behavior of such large firms.

A number of economists view current developments with alarm and call for action under the antitrust laws. Notable among these is Prof. Corwin Edwards of Oregon University who has written a great deal on this topic. Dr. Edwards notes the power of a large conglomerate enterprise may be significant and that such power is not measured by the size of its market share in particular markets but extends to markets in which a conglomerate's share is too small to constitute a monopoly or participation in oligopoly.

The problem of overall concentration due to conglomerate size is, however, a difficult one. Even Dr. Edwards, despite his suggestion that Section 7 proceedings should be brought whenever possible, does not seem certain that the present laws are applicable to concentration resulting from the growth of conglomerate firms. He concedes that it would be difficult to bring the present antitrust laws to bear upon such amalgamations. Dr. Edwards is not alone in expressing doubt that the antitrust laws now in force were designed to deal with this problem.

In this connection it is interesting that Donald Turner, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Antitrust Division, recently suggested the possibility of dealing with overall concentration by legislation specifically designed to curb growth by way of acquisitions in the case of certain of the largest corporations.

I also question whether the Sherman and Clayton Acts were designed to cope with this problem. Conglomerate size is relatively new to American manufacturing and for that reason neither economic theory nor public policy has yet been devised which will effectively deal with this issue. There is merit to the suggestion that if government should concern itself at all with the problem of bigness, as such, then it should be done under a specialized statute designed expressly for that purpose.

An attack on overall size without regard to the effect on competition in specific markets cannot be justified except on the basis of public policy clearly expressed by Congress in a new law. To attack bigness as such under the antitrust laws would, I fear, merely distort our antitrust statutory scheme without compensating benefits. In short, I do not believe that under the antitrust laws we have a mandate for planning the structure of the economy.

* * * * *

However, although conglomerate mergers should not be attacked simply because of an increase in concentration in the overall economy, they should be dealt with if they manifest anticompetitive effects in specific markets or industries just as would be the case in a proceeding involving vertical or horizontal acquisitions. In short, if in a particular market it becomes apparent that a conglomerate merger results in the elimination of potential competition, the likelihood that reciprocity will be used, or the creation of extraordinary competitive advantages for the conglomerate enterprise, then a proceeding under the present antimerger act is justified.

In the case of vertical and horizontal mergers, however, the antitrust agencies, in my view, should take a fairly stringent stand. These acquisitions can readily be evaluated by the traditional antitrust standard of the actual or probable impact of the merger on competition in specific markets. Horizontal mergers in the majority of cases clearly diminish competition, at least to some degree, because the necessary consequence of such an amalgamation is the disappearance of a competitor or a number of competitors.

The only question is whether the impact on competition in the particular case is sufficient to warrant action either by the Federal Trade Commission or the Department of Justice. Similarly, in the case of a merger involving vertical integration, either backwards to a supplier or forwards to a customer, these too can be fairly readily evaluated in terms of the impact on competition in a specific market, namely, are competitors frozen out of a significant source of supply or a substantial market for their products.

I would agree with Mr. Turner's rebuttal to Fortune's proposals that the best economic evidence indicates that a strong merger policy, at least insofar as horizontal mergers are concerned, is almost certainly right.

* * * * *

As Mr. Turner stated, an active merger policy intended to limit increases in market concentration is unlikely to result in lower efficiency nor will an antimerger policy conflict with efficiency. Accordingly, I believe that in terms of antitrust objectives such as lower prices, better services and more efficient allocation of economic resources, there is a great deal to be gained from application of the antitrust laws to preclude, if possible, further concentration in specific industries and markets as distinguished from indiscriminate attacks on mere size.

The concept of inter-industry or interproduct competition, to my mind, does not warrant a retreat towards a permissive policy in merger law leading to concentration or increased concentration in specific markets. A substitute product is simply not, as a practical matter, an adequate substitute for competition within a product line.

UNFAIR ACTS AND PRACTICES

In discussing concentration, the structure of markets, and policy towards mergers, I have, however digressed from what should be my prime concern, namely, the prohibition by the Federal Trade Commission Act of unfair methods of competition and unfair acts and practices. Clearly, antitrust and trade regulation, although there are those who will deny it, must be as concerned with behavior in a market as with the structure of a market. Certain competitive practices can be as destructive to competition as a wave of mergers; for example, some types of discriminatory pricing and sales below cost.

The suggestion, however, has been made that a broadened attack on market power would not only reduce the frequency of anticompetitive behavior such as price discrimination but also the frequency of situations where unfair practices such as price discriminations would have a substantial competitive impact. It is further suggested in this connection that the values of fair competition could by this approach be protected at less sacrifice to competitive vigor than by rigorous enforcement of certain provisions of our antitrust laws which prohibit destructive trade practices.

The suggestion to this effect, although recently made, is not new. Similar suggestions have been made through different periods of antitrust activity. It seems to me that many of these suggestions in effect say "Let the tooth and claw of the jungle prevail." It is argued by some that this would allow for "vigorous competition." Of course some of these advocates claim that they would undertake to dissect "vigorous competition" and try to learn whether the tiger, upon sinking his tooth and claw in his victim, harbored predatory intent. Successful studies of mental gymnastics of tigers are few indeed. In any event, the result of the use of the tooth and the claw is the same, regardless of intent.

The use of many unfair trade practices in business destroy competition, whether with or without intent. Also, I say any idea that healthy competitive conditions can be restored by breaking up heavy concentrations of economic power built up through the use of unfair practices is a false premise. After nearly 40 years of training and experience in antitrust I am not quite so confident as some others about what can and should be done to implement our antitrust public policy in a particular antitrust case. Much of my experience has come from firsthand observation and study of business problems and firsthand experience as a trial lawyer in antitrust cases.

I have seen and experienced the difficulties involved in the objective marshalling of facts upon the basis of which fair decisions may be made in antitrust cases. Likewise, I have noted the difficulties for business and the government in antitrust actions where decrees and orders have been directed to the restoration of healthy competitive conditions in situations found to be monopolistic.

In fairness to business and the public, many of those situations never should have been permitted to develop. Therefore I thoroughly disagree with any thought that it is either fair to business or to the public to proceed in antitrust with policies based upon a concept which would include a result of "build up and break up monopolies." I believe that an ounce of prevention is worth more than a pound of cure. Moreover, certain economic conditions may be somewhat like cancer for which we have no cure.

In my view, it would be unwise to deemphasize enforcement of those antitrust statutes specifically designed to prohibit unfair methods of competition by primary or total reliance on a structural approach to antitrust. Enforcement of the antimerger law has an important role in the antitrust statutory scheme, but the structural approach, as I have already noted, has definite limitations which it would be folly to ignore. As a result, competition cannot be maintained by antitrust action directed to the structure of markets alone. This is particularly true in the case of highly concentrated markets where it may reasonably be expected that competition, as an automatic regulatory force, has less vitality than in those industries and markets where economic power is more widely decentralized. As a practical matter, it is highly unlikely that steps will be taken to decentralize already concentrated industries, although Section 7 of the Clayton Act is of critical importance in stemming further increases in concentration in such markets. Further, since an attack on bigness as such is neither politic nor practical, the enforcement agencies should be particularly alert to enforce the ban on anticompetitive behavior prohibited by the antitrust laws in the case of the large conglomerate firm.

CONCLUSIONS

The remaining and fundamental question is: Does antitrust still have a valid role to play in today's economy?

I answer that question in the affirmative. Antitrust has provided valuable results over the years. Witness the simple fact that business, by and large, is still competitive. There is no reason why, if intelligently applied, antitrust cannot continue to provide worthwhile results for the present and in the years to come. It is to be hoped that antitrust will continue to receive public support, for without it enforcement is not likely to be effective. It seems to me the business community might well be in the forefront of those supporting antitrust enforcement. It is well to keep in mind that under antitrust, in the free enterprise area of the economy, the law merely fixes the rules of the game but does not involve the government in business risks or management activity nor require detailed review of either basic investment commitments or run-of-the-mill business decisions. In short, the law need do no more than prevent the activity which results in substantial lessening of competition in order to protect both the public interest and the legitimate interests of business competitors. Antitrust may be irksome on occasion to those subjected to a proceeding under these laws. Nevertheless, its implementation is far less restrictive than a system of stringent, direct governmental control allegedly protecting the public interest. Such restrictive legislation would almost inevitably be enacted should Congress and the public become convinced that basic decisions on price, employment, quality and quantity of goods are no longer subject to effective control by the checks and balances of competition but rather are made on the basis of private fiat alone.

We have been warned about these possibilities time after time. As recently as April 15, 1966 a prominent New York lawyer engaged in private antitrust practice, warned that if our national public policy for an economic system of private enterprise based on free and fair competition is not vigorously maintained, there can be no doubt but that controls of a public utility type would be imposed to socialize the powers, profits and property of business enterprises.

Earlier on Pages 13 and 14 and in Footnote 9 of this presentation, I discussed a report which appeared in The Evening Star of Washington, D.C. on April 15, 1966 under the heading "U.S. Aide Hints at Trust Law to Bar 'Super-Concentration'." That report stated:

"A new trust-busting law may be needed if the nation's biggest companies grow bigger by merger, the government's top antitrust prosecutor has suggested.

* * * * *

"Such a new law, Turner suggested, might 'say to the top 50 to 100 companies that any time you make an acquisition of a specified size, you must peel off assets of a comparable size.'

"Turner said that he did not want to be understood as proposing such a law, but only as suggesting it 'as a separate avenue if action is appropriate'."

According to that report, Hon. Donald F. Turner, the Assistant Attorney General in Charge of Antitrust, Department of Justice, indicated that he believes some antitrust action should be taken against some of the concentrated economic groups. The report said, "Yesterday, he talked of using a court case under the present antitrust laws or of asking Congress for new legislation." He indicated that the Justice Department has not made up its mind whether it is appropriate to start a new case trying out a new anti-oligopoly theory or going to Congress for a new law. I make these references at this time to point out that thoughtful prominent persons are suggesting the possibility that in the future drastic legislation may ensue.

I share the concern expressed by these prominent antitrust authorities about the possible future befalling our economic system of free enterprise. Also, I am concerned very much about what is suggested as possible remedies to relieve us from the dire consequences if antitrust should fail. It is for this reason that I would give increasing attention to those acts and practices which threaten our economic system of competitive private enterprise. Moreover, it would be grossly unfair to the owners and managers of our corporate enterprises to permit further concentration in the economy as a result of unfair acts and practices unchecked by either advice or injunction and then to say to them, "Big Boys, you are now too big; you must submit to surgery. We are going to undertake to cut you down to proper size."

In conclusion, it is my belief that although the economy may undergo many changes, antitrust is not apt to lose its relevance. Mr. Justice Holmes described the basic antitrust law, the Sherman Act, "as a charter of freedom, * * * [having] a generality and adaptability comparable to that found to be desirable in constitutional provisions." The same may be said with equal validity of the Federal Trade Commission Act's provisions against unfair acts and practices. In other words, Congress has fashioned instruments to develop the law in this area into what should be "a living process, responsive and responsible to changing human needs."

This living process should be one that would approach the problems and needs of business and the public realistically and not fancifully. It should fulfill the dream of Woodrow Wilson in advising businessmen about these problems and solving them in their incipiency. We should help businessmen deal with these problems in the seed and not in the weed. The Federal Trade Commission was authorized by the terms of the Federal Trade Commission Act to do this. It has policies and programs which could do this if utilized. I urge that full use be made of these resources so that antitrust will become real and not merely fanciful.

How Not To Win Friends in Asia and at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's vigorous efforts to make his budget deficit look reasonable appear to be running into conflict with friends abroad as well as with segments of industry here at home.

To show some of the problems developing from our one-man government, I include an article from the Washington Post newspaper of May 16, 1966:

GSA UNDER WHITE HOUSE ORDER: STOCKPILE RUBBER SALES DRAW ASIAN OBJECTIONS

(By Philip Meyer)

A little group of frustrated officials is trying to peddle surplus rubber from the Government stockpile to help President Johnson narrow his budget deficit.

So far, the project hasn't produced much visible income. But it has irritated the rubber industry and angered some of our allies in Southeast Asia.

The effort is part of a White House plan to raise a billion dollars for the coming fiscal year by getting rid of surplus stockpiles of critical materials. The rubber selling campaign started last March. Since then, the world price of natural rubber has dropped more than a cent a pound to a fraction over 24 cents. This has provoked an angry reaction in Malaysia, where a cent a pound costs the national economy $20 million a year.

U.S. tire makers are being forced, as part of the project, to buy more surplus rubber than they want. A letter of protest has been written by the Rubber Manufacturers Association.

Before March, government stockpile sales were limited to 18,000 long tons a quarter, in order to avoid depressing the world market and antagonizing friendly rubber producing countries. That limit has now been removed. Officials of the General Services Administration, which sells the rubber, won't say what the new limits is—if there is any.

WHITE HOUSE ORDER

The new program is based on orders from the White House which bypassed the interagency committee, representing GSA, State Department, the Commerce Department, and the Office of Emergency Planning, which has controlled stockpile sales in the past.

GSA officials, under conflicting pressure from the industry and from the White House, are irritable about the whole thing. Questions about current rubber sales policy provoke more hostility than light.

"Our policy changes every month," growled one GSA official.

For rubber manufacturers, however, the new policy is clear cut. As before, they must buy a certain amount of natural rubber for each tire that they sell to the government. The amount has been drastically increased.

Under the old rule, the natural rubber each company had to buy was equal to the amount of natural rubber in the tires it sold. It was figured by weight.

Now it is figured by price, and the manufacturer has to buy enough natural rubber to equal half the value of the tires he sells. It works out to about four times as much rubber as before, much more than the manufacturers can use. Modern tires are made mostly of synthetic rubber.

REQUIRES THAWING

However, there is a limiting factor to any effort to build up sales from the stockpile. The rubber has been frozen to preserve it, and thawing it out requires special equipment.

This equipment is already being used at near capacity. "I don't think we can thaw out more than 10,000 tons a month," an Association spokesman said.

Meanwhile, representatives of rubber growing countries, including Malaysia, Ceylon and Thailand, are meeting this week in London to complain about the new U.S. policy.

So far, the increased sales have probably not been great enough to have much effect on the world price, according to knowledgeable Washington sources.

The Malaysian rubber interests have an office in Washington which argues that the gains to the U.S. economy of the sales program are more than offset by the damage to our Asian allies.

It "does not seem entirely consistent with the President's offer of $1 billion to aid the economic development of Southeast Asian countries," says the president of the Malayan Rubber Fund Board's Washington unit.

"The harm done . . . in order for the United States to realize only a quicker cash return and a relatively small storage charge saving seems disproportionate in the extreme."

Imports Threaten Domestic Cattle Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great alarm and fear for the American cattleman that I view the most recent statistics on the rapidly increasing meat imports into this country.

Despite legislation to curb this foreign inflow of beef and veal, the imports of these meats in the first quarter of 1966 have risen by more than 20 percent. Red meat imports, all types of meat, are up more than 34 percent. Indeed, the administration is threatening the American cattlemen with economic ruination by allowing meat imports to go unchecked.

This latest import flood is the starting point of another bust in cattle prices similar to the 1963 collapse when prices were driven to their lowest level in years because of the great influx of foreign beef. This flood represents the newest chapter in the administration's merciless campaign to beat down farm prices. We have seen the price of nearly every commodity forced down and down by the Secretary of Agriculture. Now the American cattleman has been betrayed.

Congress passed legislation to prohibit this type of antifarmer trade policy, and I think that Congress should against review this problem with the aim of imposing stricter curbs on meat imports, before the cattle market is once again driven down by the negligence of the administration.

Summer Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin endorses the Johnson administration's plans to provide summer jobs for young people.

The paper believes that young people want a way of exploiting youthful energies, and that "unfortunately and for varied reasons, too many youngsters are shackled into long hot summers of idleness."

It is pointed out:

> President Johnson, looking back on the successful 1965 Youth Opportunity program which put 1 million youngsters into jobs, has asked that sights be elevated this year. Close to 2 million youths * * * will be available for work once schools close.

Knowing that others will want to study this view—one which President Johnson has called "the most serious situation ever" for young people between 16 and 21—I herewith make the editorial available for inclusion in the RECORD:

SUMMER JOBS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

The notion that most young people like to "hang around" in the summer, stewing in their own restlessness and, wherever possible, making life miserable for others, has long been discredited. What the kids want is what kids have always wanted: a way of exploiting youthful energies and having some fun.

A summer job can take care of the first requisite and provide the wherewithal for the second. Unfortunately and for varied reasons, too many youngsters are shackled into long hot summers of idleness. The results are often unhappy.

President Johnson, looking back on the successful 1965 Youth Opportunity program which put one million youngsters into summer jobs, has asked that sights be elevated this year. Close to two million youths, among them a good share of the 28,000 Greater Philadelphia high school graduates and an unknown number of undergrads, will be available for work once schools close.

Private industry is being encouraged to follow the federal lead in taking on one youth for every 100 regular employes. If this can be accomplished among the 37,296 major and minor employers in the Greater Philadelphia area, as well as around the country, the business and industrial community will have made an invaluable contribution toward easing what Mr. Johnson has called "the most serious situation ever" for young people between 16 and 21.

Youngsters Cling to Peanut Butter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Joe McHugh, every Congressman's friend and unofficial but helpful timekeeper on quorum calls, has favored me with an article by Mary McGrath on peanut butter which I overlooked in the Washington News.

As Representative of the largest peanut-producing district in the Nation, I am always happy to share anything with my colleagues that calls attention to the way young people crave the wholesome and nutritious product—the most important food in the school lunch program.

Mr. Speaker, this is a cleverly written treatment of a wonderful subject:

YOUNGSTERS CLING TO PEANUT BUTTER

(By Mary McGrath)

For kids who've outgrown their security blankets, happiness is a peanut-butter sandwich—easy on the jelly.

Peanut butter is the universal antidote for starvation among the set that is too old for pablum but still too young for pate de foie gras. It is probably the only completely acceptable solution to the question of cuisine in any house where the kids are under the age of 10. Even youngsters who "won't eat a thing" eat peanut butter.

In some households, it has replaced the potato as a staple for every meal. At breakfast, spread on buttery toast, it serves as a substitute for bacon, eggs, cereal, and all those other things that nutritionists claim make the ideal breakfast. At lunchtime, it goes to school in paper sacks. While it may not actually substitute for an evening meal, spread on lots of crackers it fills the breach while other more exotic vittles are being prepared.

You wouldn't want a kid to come to the table hungry, would you?

FOR SILENCE

To the male child, particularly, peanut butter is now what foreign cheeses will someday be—an irresistible lure that will satisfy every gourmet urge when a "little something" is all that's required.

It doesn't even have to be particularly good peanut butter to win the approval of the young. If it is brown, gloppy and sticks to the roof of the mouth then it is acceptable to the fans, no matter how remote its affiliation with the goober.

While the ubiquitous spread might seem to be lacking in some of the finer virtues for those with more sophisticated taste, it has a lot going for it that can't be completely ignored.

Once applied to bread, it has no propensity whatever for spilling out onto your lap. It flows without flooding and when applied with just a shade of jelly slides home fairly satisfactorily.

It is probably the only food eaten by the young that keeps them in total silence while they work at it. No one must be advised to refrain from conversation with a full mouth. Talking is at a complete standstill and the young try to gain the delicious sustenance without choking to death.

The 25th Anniversary of the Nation's First Independent Primary Aluminum Producer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, with a great deal of pride, I wish to point out that today marks the 25th anniversary of the production of aluminum by the Nation's first independent producer. I refer to the start of production by Reynolds Metals Co. at Listerhill, near Sheffield, Ala., on May 18, 1941.

The vision and determination of R. S. Reynolds, Sr., founder of the company, in establishing this plant in northwest Alabama was of inestimable value to this Nation during World War II when the need for aluminum for aircraft and other defense needs skyrocketed. The foresight and confidence the company exhibited during the postwar days by developing and promoting new uses for this lightweight metal have contributed greatly to the economy of the Nation.

Now, on the 25th anniversary of the company's first production at Listerhill, Reynolds has again demonstrated its recognition of the bright future of northwest Alabama with the announcement of a new cold rolling mill with a capacity of 4,000 feet per minute.

The Reynolds' alloys plant near Sheffield, Ala., is the firm's largest and, along with the adjoining reduction plant and reduction research headquarters at Listerhill, employs about 4,800. Of these employees, 325 have been with the company 25 years or more.

The faith Reynolds has expressed in northwest Alabama has been a great impetus for industrial growth and development of that area. The continued expressions of confidence, as reflected in the new expansion plans, will spur both the company and the community to greater heights.

Articles in the company publication, Reynolds Review, of May 1966, point out some of the details of the dramatic development and growth of this Alabama plant. They follow:

The top news of May 18, 1941, dealt with events of war—a war that the United States would not be entering for another seven months.

On May 18, 1941, another event took place. It was not an event of war, but it was to be important to the war and the peace that followed. In a brand new Listerhill reduction plant near Sheffield, Ala., the first Reynolds-made aluminum was poured into its mold.

This metal was a response to a challenge.

In the autumn of 1938, the late R. S. Reynolds, Sr., founder of our company, returned from Europe where had been searching for aluminum. He was gravely concerned with Germany's sensational increase in aluminum production and that country's obvious motive, a light metals war.

In April, 1940, after months of effort to get others in the industry and government to increase domestic aluminum production, the decision was reached that Reynolds Metals itself should become a primary aluminum producer.

The company was already doing well in the fabrication of aluminum foil and powder, and high-speed color printing on foil. Sales in 1940 were more than $29,000,000.

The company borrowed $15,800,000 to build and equip an aluminum reduction plant. In order to borrow this money, the company mortgaged all existing Reynolds plants and all plants to be built with the borrowed funds.

Five months and 28 days after ground was broken in a cotton field near Sheffield, Ala., Reynolds poured its first aluminum ingot. Meanwhile, construction was started on an alumina plant as well as sheet and rod mills in Alabama.

With the need for aluminum becoming graver, and war looming nearer, Reynolds was urged to negotiate another loan for a second aluminum reduction plant at Longview, Wash. Thus, when aluminum was vitally needed for military planes in 1942, Reynolds Metals had facilities to produce 160,000,000 pounds of virgin aluminum annually.

The first of this aluminum was poured on May 18, 1941.

On the twentieth day of November, 1940, construction crews moved into the one-square-mile tract of land outside Sheffield, Ala. The site, formerly used for the growing of cotton, turnips and potatoes, had been chosen to contain Reynolds Metals' first aluminum reduction facilities.

Five months and 28 days later—on May 18, 1941— the first aluminum ingot was poured in the new reduction plant at the Listerhill site, named after Alabama's Senator LISTER HILL, who had given R. S. Reynolds, Sr., inspiration and support during those trying days of doing what others called impossible.

Two months later, in July, the first aluminum sheet came from the new Reynolds alloys plant on the same site.

The construction achievement was called a world's record. To many, it seemed a miracle. Some experts had said the project would take five years.

Capacity of the reduction plant when built was 20,000 tons. The alloys plant capacity was 120,000 tons.

American entry into World War II brought with it urgent demands for aluminum. The effect at Listerhill was expansion. At the reduction plant by mid-1942 three more potrooms were added to the plant's original two, bringing total capacity to 50,000 tons.

The alloys plant, too, soon outgrew its original rolling capacity and in 1942 sheet mill rolling and finishing facilities were substantially increased.

A pattern of dramatic growth was begun, and today—25 years after that first Reynolds aluminum was poured—the Listerhill reduction plant has a capacity of 194,500 tons. Alloys' capacity today is 300,000 tons.

Appointment of Robert A. Fox to the New York City Board of Air Pollution Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, in New York City, Mayor John V. Lindsay, in his fight against the dangers of air pollution, is seeking the best available talent.

I am very pleased to note that he has appointed Robert A. Fox, a constituent of mine, as a member of the board of air pollution control.

The announcement from the mayor follows:

Mayor John V. Lindsay today announced the appointment of Robert A. Fox, a chemical engineer, as a member of the Board of Air Pollution Control.

In announcing the appointment Mayor Lindsay said, "For too long the Board of Air Pollution Control has lain dormant despite the fact that it was specifically empowered by the City Charter to serve as a policy-making body.

"It is my intention to revive the Board and give it new importance. It will work closely with the new Air Pollution Control Commissioner, Austin Heller, in the fight to clean up New York's skies.

"I am pleased that Robert Fox, 34, who was a member of the Task Force on Air Pollution, has agreed to continue his service to New York City by joining the Board of Air Pollution Control.

"Mr. Fox will apply his skill and knowledge to the problem of air pollution control as the Board and the Department carry out the recommendations of the Task Force report.

"I know that he will bring great personal dedication, energy and talent to his work on the Board."

The Air Pollution Control Board is composed of the Air Pollution Control Commissioner, the Buildings Commissioner, the Health Commissioner and two private citizens who have experience in fields related to air pollution control.

As one of the two civilian members, Mr. Fox will be paid $50 for each meeting of the Board he attends up to $3,000 a year. The Board is required by the City Charter to meet at least once every month.

Mr. Fox fills the term of Richard A. Wolff which expires December 2, 1967. Terms of office for the private citizen members is four years.

The Board of Air Pollution Control is empowered by Section 895 of the City Charter to adopt and amend rules, consistent with the law, governing emissions into open air.

Mr. Fox was born in Philadelphia, Pa., December 24, 1931.

He earned a B.E. degree in chemical engineering from Yale University in 1953 and a M.S. degree in Industrial and Management Engineering from Columbia University in 1959.

From 1954–1956 he served in the U.S. Navy in both the Atlantic and Pacific fleets with the rank of Lt. (j.g.).

He is employed by Columbia Gas System Service Corp., where he is Senior Project Engineer, responsible for market development and economic analysis in petrochemicals.

Previously with California Texas Oil Corp., he worked in the Netherlands and in England and was living in London during the December 1962 air pollution episode.

One responsibility of his work abroad was the design of air and water pollution controls for a petrochemical complex then under construction in Frankfurt, Germany.

He is co-author of "The Forgotten Fallout—The Filth we Breath," a report by the New York Young Republican Club's Committee on City Affairs.

He is a member of the Air Pollution Control Association is on the Board of Directors and is Chairman of the Speaker's Bureau for Citizens for Clean Air, and serves on the Pollution Control Committee, New York Section, for the American Institute of Chemical Engineers.

He is active in the American Chemical Society and is a member of the Yale Engineering Association and the Chemical Industry Association.

He is married to the former Jane Page Gunn of Longmeadow, Mass. They have one son, Christopher Allen, who attends the Allen-Stevenson School in Manhattan. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. G. Earle Fox of North Palm Beach, Florida.

Hammonton's 100th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, the lovely city of Hammonton is marking its 100th anniversary Saturday evening with a communitywide centennial ball. I am pleased to pay tribute to the forward-looking residents of Hammonton, which is located in Atlantic County in New Jersey's Second Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent.

When the area which is Hammonton today was first settled by colonists, it was the site of a Leni-Lenape Indian village. In 1812, a settlement was founded by William Coffin some 30 miles east of Philadelphia and 30 miles from the coast. That settlement received its name from Coffin's son's name—John Hammond Coffin.

William Coffin brought the first industry—a sawmill—to Hammonton and shortly after, glass manufacturing began there. Throughout its history, Hammonton has been a center of glass manufacture, from the flasks produced in the infancy of the industry to the wide variety of glass items made there in more recent times.

In 1866, Hammonton received a charter by a special act of the New Jersey Legislature and was ruled by a president-and-council form of government until 1907, when the present mayor-council form was adopted.

Today, a century after its charter was received, Hammonton's industrial makeup includes agriculture—the growing of berries and vegetables, principally—in addition to clothing factories, a large pharmaceutical plant, cookie factories and frozen foods plants.

Located in the center of New Jersey's widest section, it is a lovely recreational area, and the center of these activities are found in Hammonton Lake Park.

The residents of Hammonton, under the leadership of Mayor Peter Parisi, have not been content to merely review their history during this centennial year, but have been making plans for future improvements for their community—improvements which will rank with the recent erection of a new hospital, a new junior-senior high school and new Protestant and Catholic churches in starting Hammonton's second century.

As Hammonton's Representative in the Congress, Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to this important anniversary in its history.

The Unemployment Insurance Amendments of 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Chairman WILBUR D. MILLS (D., Ark.), Committee on Ways and Means, today announced that he and the Honorable JOHN W. BYRNES (R., Wis.), the ranking Republican Member of the Committee, have introduced identical bills, H.R. 15119 and H.R. 15120, the "Unemployment Insurance Amendments of 1966". The Committee ordered Mr. MILLS' bill, H.R. 15119, reported to the House.

The bill extends coverage of the Federal-State unemployment insurance system to an estimated 3.5 million additional workers; establishes a permanent program of extended benefits to workers who exhaust their basic entitlement to unemployment compensation payments during periods of high unemployment; furnishes the States a procedure for obtaining judicial review of certain of the findings of the Secretary of Labor with respect to a State's program by appeal to a U.S. Court of Appeals; provides certain additional requirements which must be met by a State in order to have its unemployment compensation law approved by the Secretary; and makes other changes which will strengthen and improve the Federal-State unemployment insurance system.

A summary of the major provisions of the bill follows:

EXTENSION OF COVERAGE

Today approximately 49.7 million jobs (including those of Federal employees, ex-servicemen and railroad workers) are protected by unemployment compensation. Approximately 15 million jobs are not covered. Nearly 7 million of the workers not covered are in the employment of State or local governments and, except for certain employees in State universities and hospitals, unaffected by the bill. Of the approximately 8 million remaining workers not presently covered, the bill would extend coverage to about 3.5 million, effective January 1, 1969.

The following are the groups of workers to whom coverage would be extended by the bill:

a. *Definition of Employer (workers in the employ of persons or firms with less than 4 employees)*.—Present Federal law applies only to those employers who have 4 or more workers in their employ in 20 weeks in a year. Under the bill an employer would come under the Federal-State system if he employs one or more persons during 20 weeks in a calendar year, or pays wages of $1,500 or more in any calendar quarter in a calendar year. Approximately 1.2 million additional workers would be covered under this provision.

b. *Definition of Employee.*—Approximately 200,000 additional workers would be covered by adopting the definition of employee which is used for social security purposes, with a modification. Those affected by this change are persons who are not considered employees under common law rules, such as certain agent-drivers and outside salesmen. The concept of employee as adopted by the bill differs from that of the Social Security Act in that it does not apply to full-time insurance salesmen and persons who work on materials in their homes which are furnished by another (if they are not employees under common law).

c. *Agricultural Processing, etc. Workers.*—Approximately 200,000 additional workers would be covered by adopting the definition of "agricultural labor" that applies to the social security system, with a modification. Included among the newly covered workers would be those working in processing plants where more than half of the commodities handled were not produced by the plant operator and others working on specific commodities, such as maple sugar workers and those engaged in off-the-farm raising of mushrooms and poultry. The bill would not cover the employees of certain agricultural cooperative organizations who are covered under social security system.

d. *Employees of Non-Profit Organizations and State Hospitals and Institutions of Higher Education.*—Approximately 1.9 million employees of non-profit organizations and State hospitals and institutions of higher education would be brought under the unemployment compensation system. Coverage would not be extended to certain employees of non-profit organizations, however, including duly ordained or licensed ministers of the church; employees of a church; employees of schools other than institutions of higher education; professors, research personnel and principal administrators in an institution of higher education; and physicians and similarly licensed medical personnel of a hospital, but nurses would be covered under the program.

Non-profit organizations must be allowed the option of either reimbursing the State for unemployment compensation attributable to service for them or paying the regular State unemployment insurance contributions. They would not be required to pay the Federal portion of the unemployment tax. A separate effective date would allow the States to put the reimbursable option into effect at any time after December 31, 1966.

The extension of coverage would apply only to non-profit organizations that employ 4 or more workers in 20 weeks during a calendar year.

Certain types of workers, such as domestic servants in private homes, would continue to be excluded from the coverage of the Federal law. In addition, a new exclusion is provided by the bill for students employed under specified work-study programs arranged by the schools they attend, effective January 1, 1967.

ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS

States would be required to amend their laws, effective not later than January 1, 1969, in order to obtain approval by the Secretary of Labor for the purpose of receiving tax credits for employers and payment of administrative expenses, to provide that—

1. A claimant must have had work since the beginning of his benefit year in order to obtain unemployment compensation in his next benefit year (prohibiting the so-called "double dip" which allows a worker to draw full benefits in 2 successive years following a single separation from work);

2. The wage credits of a worker may not be cancelled or totally reduced by reason of a disqualifying act other than discharge for misconduct connected with his work, fraud in connection with a claim for compensation or receipt of disqualifying income such as pension payments. But a State could, for example, disqualify a worker for the duration of a period of unemployment following a disqualifying act, such as a voluntary quit, so long as the worker's benefit rights are preserved for a future period of involuntary unemployment during the benefit year;

3. Compensation may not be denied to workers who are undergoing training with the approval of the State unemployment compensation agency; and

4. Compensation may not be denied or reduced because a claimant lives or files his claim in another State.

Related provisions of the bill permit the States to reduce the tax rates of new employers (to not less than 1 percent) during the first three years they are in business and provide a sanction to enforce an existing prohibition against discriminatory treatment of maritime employees.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

Under existing law the decisions of the Secretary of Labor as to whether or not a State law conforms to the requirements of the Federal law are final. There is no specific provision in the law allowing a State to appeal these decisions to a court.

The bill would furnish the States a procedure for appealing these decisions of the Secretary to a United States Court of Appeals within 60 days after the Governor of a State has been notified of an adverse decision by the Secretary. Findings of fact by the Secretary would be conclusive upon the court "unless contrary to the weight of the evidence." The provision would be effective upon enactment.

FEDERAL-STATE EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION PROGRAM

The bill would establish a new permanent program which would require the States to enact laws, that would have to take effect beginning with calendar year 1969, to pay extended benefits to workers who exhaust their basic entitlement to unemployment compensation programs during periods of high unemployment.

The Federal Government would pay 50 percent of the benefits under the program, with the States paying the other 50 percent.

These benefits would be paid to workers only during an "extended benefit" period. Such period could exist, beginning after December 31, 1968, either on a national or State basis by the triggering of either a national or State "on" indicator.

A national extended benefit period would be established if (a) the seasonally adjusted rate of insured unemployment for the nation as a whole equalled or exceeded 5 percent for each month in a 3-month period and (b) during the same 3-month period the total number of claimants exhausting their rights to regular compensation (over the entire period) equalled or exceeded 1 percent of covered employment for the nation as a whole. The national extended benefit period would terminate if the rate of insured unemployment remained below 5 percent for a month or if the number of claimants exhausting their rights to compensation added up to less than 1 percent for a 3-month period.

An extended benefit period would be established for an individual State if (a) the rate of insured unemployment for the State equalled or exceeded, during a running 13-week period, 120 percent of the average rate for the corresponding 13-week period in the preceding two calendar years and (b) if such rate also equalled or exceeded 3 percent. An extended benefit period in a State would terminate if either of these conditions was not satisfied.

During either a national or State extended benefit period an individual claimant would be entitled to receive payments equal in amount to those he received under regular compensation (including dependents' allowances) for up to one-half of the number of weeks of his basic entitlement but for not more than 13 weeks. No claimant could receive more than 39 weeks of combined regular and extended compensation.

FINANCING

The bill would increase the rate of tax under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act from the present 3.1 percent of taxable wages to 3.3 percent, effective with respect to wages paid in calendar year 1967 and thereafter. The taxable wage base under the act would be increased from the present $3,000 per year to $3,900 per year, effective with respect to wages paid in calendar years 1969 through 1971 and to $4,200 beginning in 1972 and thereafter.

The bill in effect increases the net Federal unemployment tax from 0.4 percent to 0.6 percent. A portion (0.1 percent) of the net Federal tax would be put in to a separate new account in the Unemployment Trust Fund to finance the Federal share of the extended benefits programs established by the bill.

OTHER PROVISIONS

The bill also contains provisions to—

1. Authorize funds to conduct research relating to the unemployment compensation system and to train Federal and State unemployment compensation personnel;

2. Change the date with respect to which the Secretary of Labor certifies that the State laws are in conformity with the requirements of the Federal law from December 31 to October 31 of each year;

3. Extend for another five years the time within which the States could expend for administrative purposes funds returned to them as axcess Federal tax collections.

The Legality of U.S. Position in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, last February the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association declared that the U.S. position in Vietnam is legal under international law and is in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Southeast Asia Treaty.

Mr. Eberhard P. Deutsch is chairman of the ABA Committee on Peace and Law Through the United Nations. This committee helped to sponsor the ABA resolution. The American Bar Association Journal for May 1966 contains Mr. Deutsch's excellent statement on this matter and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the American Bar Association Journal, May 1966]

The Legality of the United States Position in Vietnam

(By Eberhard P. Deutsch, Chairman of the American Bar Association Committee on Peace and Law Through United Nations)

By the Geneva Accords of 1954, the commanders in chief of the French Union Forces in Indochina, on the one hand, and of the People's Army of Vietnam, on the other, established the 17th parallel as the military demarcation line between North and South Vietnam, with a demilitarized zone on each side of the line. They stipulated that the armed forces of each party were to respect the demilitarized zone and the territory of the other zone, and that neither zone was to be used "for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy".[1] The accords additionally provided for the creation of an International Commission, composed of India (chairman), Poland and Canada, to supervise the agreements.[2]

In 1962 the International Commission reported, with approval, findings of its Legal Committee to the effect that "there is evidence to show that arms, armed and unarmed

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Footnotes at end of speech.

personnel, munitions and other supplies have been sent from the Zone in the North to the Zone in the South with the objective of supporting, organizing and carrying out hostile activities, including armed attacks, directed against the Armed Forces and Administration of the Zone in the South", and that the People's Army of Vietnam "has allowed the Zone in the North to be used for inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in the Zone in the South aimed at the overthrow of the Administration in the South".[3]

The evidence further demonstrates that the aggression by North Vietnam against South Vietnam (the Republic of Vietnam) had been going on unabashedly since the signing of the Geneva Accords and that North Vietnam had consistently violated those accords from their inception. An official State Department report recites:

"While negotiating an end to the Indochina War at Geneva in 1954, the Communists were making plans to take over all former French territory in Southeast Asia. When Viet-Nam was partitioned, thousands of carefully selected party members were ordered to remain in place in the South and keep their secret apparatus intact to help promote Hanoi's cause. Arms and ammunition were stored away for future use." [4]

It is important to bear in mind that neither the Republic of (South) Vietnam nor the United States is a party to the Geneva Accords, and that while the United States participated in the discussions leading up to the accords, it did not sign the final declaration. However, during the last plenary session of the Geneva Conference on July 21, 1954, Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith, head of the United States delegation, said in an official statement that his Government "would view any renewal of the aggression in violation of the aforesaid agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security".[5]

On September 8, 1954, just a few weeks after the Geneva Accords were executed, the Southeast Asia Collective Defense (SEATO) Treaty was signed. Parties to it were the United States, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines. The United States Senate ratified the treaty on February 1, 1955, by a vote of 82 to 1.[6] It took effect on February 19, 1955.[7]

Paragraph 1 of Article IV of the SEATO Treaty provides that each party thereto "recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area [8] against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes".[9] By a protocol to the treaty executed on the same day, the parties "unanimously designate[d] for the purposes of Article IV * * * the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam".[10]

The SEATO Treaty was made by the parties in a reiteration of "the faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations",[11] nothing in which, according to Article 52 thereof "precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action . . .". Article 53 of the charter provides that "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council . . .". These two articles are at the head of Chapter VIII.

The preceding chapter (VII) deals with "Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression". The first twelve articles (39 to 50, inclusive) of that chapter prescribe the measures to be taken by he Security Council to meet "any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression". By the last article (5) of that chapter, it is stipulated expressly that "nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security".

It was clearly with these provisions of Articles 51 and 52 of the Charter of the United Nations in mind that, in Article IV of the SEATO Treaty, each party thereto agreed that it would "act to meet the common danger" in the event of "aggression by means of armed attack [anywhere] in the treaty area" (Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific). "Enforcement action" is clearly action to enforce decisions of the Security Council under Articles 39 to 50 of Chapter VII of the charter. Equally clearly, "enforcement action" does not include measures of "individual or collective self-defense". So that when Article 53 of the charter provides that "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements . . . without the authorization of the Security Council", it does not refer to such measures of "self-defense" as are contemplated under the SEATO treaty, particularly in light of the explicit recital of Article 51 of the charter that "nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense".

DECLARATION STATES PURPOSE OF AGREEMENT

The "Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference", issued on July 21, 1954, the same day on which the Geneva Accords were signed, states:

"The Conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Viet Nam is to settle military questions with a view to ending hostilities and that the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as consituting a political or territorial boundary." [12]

It was by no means contemplated, however, that there was to be no ultimate partition of Vietnam. On the contrary, the very next article (7) of the final declaration provided expressly that the political problems of "independence, unity and territorial integrity" were to be determined by free elections, internationally supervised. That article reads "that, so far as Viet-Nam is concerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Vietnamese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot . . . under the supervision of an international commission . . .".[13]

It will be recalled that by the protocol to the SEATO Treaty, South Vietnam (the free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Viet Nam") was promised protection as such under the treaty. Reference has since been made to South Vietnam as a protocol state".[14]

In addition to the reference in the contemporaneous protocol to the SEATO Treaty to the State of Viet Nam", the Republic of (South) Vietnam "has been recognized as a separate international entity by approximately sixty governments around the world. It has been admitted as a member of several of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. In 1957, the General Assembly voted to recommend South Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations, and its admission was frustrated only by the veto of the Soviet Union in the Security Council." [15]

The right of self-defense under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations is expressed to be unimpaired "if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations", and it has been asserted by opponents of United States' policy in Vietnam that this amounts to explicit denial of such a right in the event of attacks against nonmembers of the United Nations. A thesis that members of the United Nations are not permitted to participate in collective self-defense to repel aggression, on the ground that the aggrieved nation is not a member of the United Nations, can hardly be supported on its face, in reason, logic or law.[16] Would proponents of this doctrine suggest that members of the United Nations would have no right to assist Switzerland in self-defense against a foreign invader?

But the right of self-defense has always existed independently of the charter,[17] and that right is recognized expressly in Article 51. It is quite obvious that the charter merely confirms, as to members of the United Nations, the innate right of self-defense appertaining to both members and nonmembers. Article 51 expressly retains, unimpaired, the "inherent" right of both individual and collective self-defense, thus implicitly recognizing the independent existence of the right of members to come to the aid of nonmembers in colective self-defense against aggression, or attack "to maintain international peace and security"—the very first purpose of the United Nations itself as stated in the charter.[18]

On August 7, 1964, the Congress adopted, by a vote of 88 to 2 in the Senate and 416 to 0 in the House,[19] the Joint Southeast Asia Resolution, in which the preambular clauses recite that "naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace": "these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression" against the South Vietnamese "and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom".

The resolution then states "that the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression"; that "the United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace he maintenance in international peace and security in Southeast Asia"; and that "consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." [20]

In an address delivered at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on April 4, 1959, President Eisenhower declared that his administration had reached "the inescapable conclusion that our own national interests demand some help from us in sustaining in Viet Nam the morale . . . and the military strength necessary to its continued existence in freedom".[21] In a letter of December 14, 1961, to the President of the Republic of Vietnam, President Kennedy, recalling that the Communist regime of North Vietnam had "violated the provisions of the Geneva Accords . . . to which they bound themselves in 1954" and that "at that time, the United States, although not a party to the Accords, declared that it 'would view any renewal of the aggression in violation of the agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security' ", as-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

sured him that "in accordance with that declaration, and in response to your request, we are prepared to help the Republic of Viet Nam . . . to preserve its independence."[22]

In President Johnson's message of August 5, 1964, to Congress, reporting the Communist attacks on United States naval vessels in the international waters of the Gulf of Tonkin, he said:

". . . The North Vietnamese regime has constantly sought to take over South Vietnam and Laos. This Communist regime has violated the Geneva accords for Vietnam. It has systematically conducted a campaign of subversion, which includes the direction, training, and supply of personnel and arms for the conduct of guerrilla warfare in South Vietnamese territory. . . . Our military and economic assistance to South Vietnam and Laos in particular has the purpose of helping these countries to repel aggression and strengthen their independence. The threat to the free nations of southeast Asia has long been clear".[23]

The Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam questions whether President Johnson's deployment of United States forces to Vietnam can "be squared with our Constitution * * * for, contrary to widely held assumptions, the power to make and conduct foreign policy is not vested exclusively in the President, but is divided between him and Congress * * *".[24] In his message of August 5, 1964, to the Congress, President Johnson went on to say unequivocally that "as President of the United States I have concluded that I should now ask the Congress on its part, to join in affirming the national determination that all such attacks will be met, and that the United States will continue in its basic policy of assisting the free nations of the area to defend their freedom." And the President forthrightly requested that Congress adopt "a resolution expressing the support of the Congress for all necessary action to protect our armed forces * * * and to defend freedom and preserve peace in Southeast Asia in accordance with the obligations of the United States under the Southeast Asia Treaty."

Two days later, on August 7, in response to this message from the President, Congress adopted the resolution quoted above, and on August 10 the President signed it as Public Law 88–408.[25]

Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides that "nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense", requires that "measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council * * *". That the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty was made under and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, particularly Article 51, is evidenced by the provision of paragraph 1 of Article IV of the treaty (by which each party agreed to participate in defending acts of aggression in the treaty area), that "measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations".

On August 5, 1954, Adlai E. Stevenson, United States Representative to the United Nations and the Security Council, advised the council formally of two "deliberate armed attacks" by North Vietnamese torpedo boats against a naval unit of the United States on the high seas. He declared that "these wanton acts of violence and destruction" were simply part of "the sabotage of the international machinery established to keep the peace by the Geneva agreements—and the deliberate, systematic and flagrant violations of those agreements by two regimes which signed them and which by all tenets of decency, law and civilized practice are bound by their provisions", all of which, he said, "fit into the larger pattern of what has been going on in Southeast Asia for the past decade and a half".

Ambassador Stevenson assured the Security Council that "we are in Southeast Asia to help our friends preserve their own opportunity to be free of imported terror [and] alien assassination, managed by the North Viet-Nam Communists based in Hanoi and backed by the Chinese Communists from Peiping". He affirmed solemnly "that the deployments of additional U.S. forces to Southeast Asia are designed solely to deter further aggression".[26]

On February 7, 1965, Ambassador Stevenson, by a letter to the President of the Security Council, informed that body of "attacks by the Viet Cong, which operates under the military orders of North Vietnamese authorities in Hanoi". He said the attacks were part of an over-all plan "to make war against the legitimate government of South Viet-Nam" in "violation of international law and the Geneva Accords of 1954". He stated also that, as required by paragraph 2 of Article IV of the Southeast Asia Treaty, the United States and Vietnamese Governments had consulted immediately and had agreed that it had become "necessary to take prompt defensive action" to resist "this continuing aggression". He reported further that the "counter measures . . . are a justified measure of self-defense" and that he was "reporting the measures which we have taken in accordance with our public commitment to assist the Republic of Viet-Nam against aggression from the North".[27]

Of particular interest at this point is the reiterated assertion by the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, phrased variously throughout its submission, that "only the Security Council . . . is authorized to determine the existence of any . . . act of aggression and . . . the measures to be taken to maintain or restore international peace".[28] To the statements quoted above, which were made by Ambassador Stevenson in his letter of February 7, 1965, he added significantly: "We deeply regret that the Hanoi regime, in its statement of August 8, 1964, which was circulated in Security Council Document S–5888, explicitly denied the right of the Security Council to examine this problem."[29]

Less than three weeks later, in another letter to the President of the Security Council, Ambassador Stevenson transmitted to that body an extensive State Department report entitled *Aggression from the North: The Record of North Viet-Nam's Campaign To Conquer South Viet-Nam*, the facts recited in which, Ambassador Stevenson submitted, "make it unmistakably clear that the character of that conflict is an aggressive war of conquest waged against a neighbor—and make nonsense of the cynical allegation that this is simply an indigenous insurrection".[30]

Innumerable other reports, both formal and informal, were made to the Security Council by the representatives of the United States at the United Nations; and there was even one by President Johnson on July 28, 1965, bespeaking the continued efforts of Secretary General U Thant to find a solution of the Vietnamese problem through the United Nations. In the last of these reports available as this article is written—two letters of January 31, 1966, from Ambassador Goldberg to the President of the Security Council—it is requested "that an urgnet meeting of the Council be called promptly to consider the situation in Viet Nam". A draft resolution, calling "for immediate discussions without preconditions . . . among the appropriate interested governments . . . looking toward the application of the Geneva accords . . . and the establishment of a durable peace in Southeast Asia", was transmitted with the second of these letters for consideration by the council.[31]

"We are firmly convinced," said Ambassador Goldberg, "that in light of its obligations under the Charter to maintain international peace and security . . . the Council should address itself urgently and positively to this situation and exert its most vigorous endeavors and its immense prestige to finding a prompt solution to it."[32] Despite all prior, and this formal, urgent submission of the Vietnamese problem to the Security Council, it has never taken any action of any kind looking toward the restoration of international peace and security to Southeast Asia. Neither has the council expressed the slightest criticism of any action taken by the United States in the SEATO area.[33]

In its memorandum in opposition to the policy of the United States, the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam asserts that "the conduct of the U.S. Government in Viet Nam appears plainly to violate the terms of the Geneva accords".[34] While the United States is not a party to the accords, it did by contemporaneous unilateral declaration agree, in effect, to respect them. But, as demonstrated above, the Geneva Accords since their inception have been violated continuously by the Hanoi regime. It is an accepted principle of international law that a material breach of a treaty by one of the parties thereto dissolves the obligations of the other parties, at least to the extent of withholding compliance until the defaulting party purges its breach.[35]

It has been suggested that because the power to declare war is vested by the Constitution in the Congress alone, the deployment of United States forces to Vietnam by the President, without a formal Congressional declaration of war, violates the constitutional fiat. When the phrasing of this clause of the Constitution was being considered at the convention in 1787, its original form, vesting in Congress the power to "make" war, was changed to give it the power to "declare" war, "leaving to the Executive the power to repel sudden attacks"—"he should be able to repel and not to commence war" and "to 'conduct' it which was an Executive function".[36]

The President is, under section 2 of article II of the Constitution, the "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States". Throughout the history of the United States, he has been deemed to have authority to deploy the country's military forces to trouble spots around the world, frequently in combat. The Department of State has a record of some 125 such instances.[37]

In the last analysis, however, the exercise of the President's power as Commander in Chief in deploying forces of the United States to Southeast Asia for the defense of the Republic of Vietnam has the repeated sanction of the Senate, as well as of the Congress as a whole, so that, although the situation now seems unquestionably to constitute war in its technical sense, a formal Congressional verbal declaration of war as such could not conceivably be essential to clothe the President's conduct with constitutional validity. This Congressional sanction has been evidenced by overwhelming majorities in the Senate's approval of the SEATO Treaty, in the adoption of the Joint Congressional Southeast Asia resolution of August 10, 1964, and in the passage of the appropriations necessary to carry on the defensive actions undertaken by the Executive.

First, as to the treaty. In it (paragraph 1, Article IV) each of the parties "recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against" any of them or against the "free territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Viet-nam" (protocol) "would endanger its own peace and safety".

The "treaty area", under Article VIII, includes "the general area of the Southwest Pacific not . . . north of 21 degrees 30 min-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

utes north latitude". The United States has historically owned tremendously important and valuable strategic territorial interests in that area. Aside from its trusteeship over the Mariana (except Guam), Marshall and Caroline Islands, the United States owns Guam, Wake and the Samoan group. And yet the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam has asserted that "SEATO is not a regional agency within the letter or spirit of the UN Charter", because "Articles 51 and 53 . . . envisaged regional systems which historically and geographically developed into a regional community—not contemplating a regional system which fused . . . Southeast Asia with a country of the North American Continent"—"separated by oceans and thousands of miles from South East Asia".[38]

In the cited paragraph of the treaty, the United States agreed that in the event of aggression in the treaty area it would "act to meet the common danger". In recommending ratification of the treaty to the Senate, its Foreign Relations Committee reported that "the committee is not impervious to the risks which this treaty entails. It fully appreciates that the acceptance of these obligations commits the United States to a course of action over a vast expanse of the Pacific. Yet these risks are consistent with our own highest interests."[39] The Senate ratified the treaty on February 1, 1955, by a vote of 82 to 1.[40]

In light of all of the foregoing, it seems difficult to find anything in the nature of an adequate foundation for the *ipse dixit* of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Viet Nam that "the 'Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty'—connecting the United States with Southeast Asia, architectured by Secretary of State Dulles, is a legalistic artificial formulation to circumvent the fundamental limitations placed by the United Nations Charter on unilateral actions by individual members".[41]

Undoubtedly the clearest and most unequivocal Congressional sanction of the President's deployment of United States forces for the defense of South Vietnam is contained in the Joint Southeast Asia resolution of August 10, 1964, reciting expressly "that the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression", and that the United States is "prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom".[42]

The Lawyers' Committee on American Policy Toward Viet Nam quotes a passage from an article in the *Washington Daily News* of June 4, 1965, by Richard Starnes, read into the *Congressional Record* by Senator ERNEST GRUENING of Alaska, which states that the joint resolution was "passed in the fever of indignation that followed" the Gulf of Tonkin attacks, and then, again as their own *ipse dixit*, assert that "there is no evidence that Congress thought or understood that it was declaring war".[43]

This statement is simply incorrect. When the President sent his message to Congress on August 5, 1964, recommending passage of "a resolution expressing the support of Congress for all necessary action to protect our Armed Forces and to assist nations covered by the SEATO Treaty", he stated explicity that he "should now ask the Congress on its part, to join in affirming the national determination that all such attacks will be met, and that the United States will continue in its basic policy of assisting the free nations of the area to defend their freedom".[44]

In the course of a colloquy on the floor of the Senate on August 6, 1964, between Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER of Kentucky and Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT of Arkansas, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee which recommended passage of the resolution,[45] the following discussion (excerpts) took place:

"Senator COOPER. Are we now [by this resolution] giving the President advance authority to take whatever action he may deem necessary respecting South Viet-nam and its defense, or with respect to the defense of any other country included in the treaty?

"Senator FULBRIGHT. I think that is correct.

"Senator COOPER. Then, looking ahead, if the President decided that it was necessary to use such force as could lead us into war, we would give that authority by this resolution?

"Senator FULBRIGHT. That is the way I would interpret it".[46]

Senator MORSE himself called the resolution "a predated declaration of war",[47] which would, somewhat enigmatically, give "to the President what I honestly and sincerely believe is an unconstitutional power * * * to make war without a declaration of war".[48] The enigma in this puzzling concept seems to arise from the rather simple and logical hypothesis that the function of a legislative "declaration of war" is to authorize the executive "to make war". Since, by Senator MORSE's own statement, the resolution authorizes the President "to make war", it surely has the same legal effect as a Congressional "declaration of war" *in haec verba* would have had.[49]

Actually, while two or three members of the Senate expressed doubt as to whether the resolution was intended to go as far as it did, there was no real question about it. Senator MORSE himself made extended speeches against it, repeatedly warning his colleagues as to its dire import, in such words as that it "does go beyond the inherent authority of the President to act in the self-defense of our country and does vest in him authority to proceed to carry out a campaign that amounts in fact to the waging of war."[50]

In the course of a recent debate on the floor of the Senate on a bill for an appropriation in support of the military forces in Vietnam, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL of Georgia, Chairman of the Armed Forces Committee, said:

"I knew that the joint resolution conferred a vast grant of power upon the President. It is written in terms that are not capable of misinterpretation, and about which it is difficult to become confused. * * * The language could not have been drawn more clearly. Personally, I would be ashamed to say that I did not realize what I was voting for when I voted for that joint resolution. It is only one page in length. It is clear. It is explicit. It contains a very great grant of power."[51]

During the hearings on that appropriation bill before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 18, 1966, Senator MORSE asked Secretary of State Rusk whether he thought that the vote on the Southeast Asia Resolution "would have been the same if my colleagues in the Senate had contemplated that it might lead to 200,000 or 400,000 or 600,000 American troops in South Viet Nam?" The Secretary replied: "I doubt very much that the vote would be substantially different."

In response to that, Senator MORSE commented that there would be "a change next week to find out. * * * I intend to offer [a rescission resolution] as an amendment to the pending business in the Senate."[52] On March 1 Senator MORSE offered his amendment to the military appropriation bill, to provide that the "'Joint resolution to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia' * * * is hereby repealed".[53]

To avoid any question as to the effect and meaning of a vote on his amendment, Senator MORSE himself declared that it "would be a vote to make clear to the President that those who vote for the amendment disapprove of the continuation of the exercise of the power he has been exercising under the Tonkin Bay resolution".[54] Senator RUSSELL said "that the defeat of the proposal of the Senator from Oregon by the Members of the Senate . . . will leave the original joint resolution . . . unimpaired, in full strength and vigor, and with Congress, except for two Members of the Senate who voted against the 1964 resolution, solemnly and solidly behind the President in the steps that he has taken in southeast Asia".[55]

After full debate, Senator MANSFIELD of Montana, the majority leader, moved to table Senator MORSE's amendment, and the motion was carried, 92 to 5.[56] After some further discussion, Senator RUSSELL moved for passage of the appropriation bill, and his motion carried by a vote of 93 to 2.[57]

One of the best means available to the Congress for the control of executive action is through the power of the purse—the ultimate necessity of Congressional action for appropriations to provide funds to carry out executive functions. As stated by Senator MORSE during the hearings on the military appropriation bill, "a vote on this pending piece of business in the Senate really is a vote as to whether or not we are going to continue to support this program, because the only check, one of the best checks we have, is to say we are not going to finance it".[58] As stated, the bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of 93 to 2. The vote in House was 392 to 4.[59]

The legal authority of the President of the United States to conduct the present war, for "the maintenance of international peace and security in Southeast Asia", which, as the Congress declared in its 1964 resolution, "the United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace", is surely sustained amply by the composite impact of that resolution, the terms of the SEATO Treaty ratified by the Senate and the appropriations made by the Congress to support the military actions in the treaty area.

That the memorandum of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam is grounded on an emotional attitude opposed to United States policy, rather than on law, is not only demonstrated by a look at the facts, but is emphasized by the memorandum's concluding paragraph:

"Should we not, twenty years after President Roosevelt's hopeful dream—twenty years after the advent of the nuclear age with the awesome potentiality of incineration of our planet and the annihilation of our civilization and the culture of millenia—Should we not 'spell the end of the system of unilateral action . . . that has been tried for centuries—and has always failed'?"[60]

Contrasted with the tone and substance of that memorandum is the temperate statement of thirty-one professors of international law from leading law schools throughout the United States, which recites simply that they "wish to affirm that the presence of U.S. forces in South Vietnam at the request of the Government of that country is lawful under general principles of international law and the United Nations Charter. The engagement of U.S. forces in hostilities at the request of the Government of South Vietnam is a legitimate use of force in defense of South Vietnam against aggression."[61]

Contrasted also with the tone and temper of the memorandum of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam is

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Footnotes at end of speech.

the simply resolution adopted unanimously on February 21, 1966, by the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association on the joint recommendation of its Standing Committee on Peace and Law Through United Nations and its Section of International and Comparative Law.[62] The resolution is supported by a brief report, which concludes "that the position of the United States in Vietnam is legal under international law, and is in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the South-East Asia Treaty".[63]

These conclusions as to the legality of the presence of the United States forces in Vietnam under the Constitution of the United States, as a question of domestic law, are those of the author. They were not included in the opinion of the thirty-one professors of international law or in the resolution of the American Bar Association.

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[1] Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet Nam, IC/42/Rev. 2, July 20, 1954 (the first of the Geneva Accords. The others, not immediately relevant, dealt with Laos and Cambodia respectively), Art. 19.

[2] *Id.*, Chap. VI, Arts 29, 34 *et seq.*

[3] *Special Report of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam*, Saigon, June 2, 1962, para. 9; reprinted in *Hearings Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on S. 2793*, 89th Cong., 2d Sess. 736 (1966), hereinafter cited as *Hearings*. The Polish delegation dissented.

[4] *Aggression from the North*, 52 Dep't State Bull. 404, 424 (1965).

[5] 31 Dep't State Bull. 162–63 (1954).

[6] 101 Cong. Rec. 1060 (1955).

[7] 6 U.S.T. & O.I.A. 81, T.I.A.S. No. 3170. The treaty is reproduced in 101 Cong. Rec. 1049 (1955) and in Staff of Senate Comm. on Foreign Relations, 89th Cong., 2d Sess., Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam 70–74 (Comm. Print 1966).

[8] Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific, Article VIII.

[9] Execution of the treaty by the United States was "with the understanding that its recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and its agreement with reference thereto in Article IV, paragraph 1, apply only to communist aggression . . .". *Supra* note 7, signatory clause.

[10] The protocol is annexed to the treaty.

[11] Prefatory clause.

[12] IC/43/Rev. 2, July 21, 1954; reprinted in Background Information, *supra* note 7, page 66.

[13] Because of the North Vietnamese aggression against South Vietnam, the contemplated elections were never held: "A nationwide election in these circumstances would have been a travesty." Memorandum, *The Legality of United States Participation in the Defense of Viet Nam*, Department of State, Office of the Legal Adviser, March 4, 1966, page 33.

[14] See, for example, *Hearings* 463–465 and Joint Southeast Asia Resolution, 78 Stat. 384, approved August 10, 1964.

[15] Memorandum, *supra* note 13, page 12. See also *Vietnamese-United States Relations*, a joint statement issued at Washington by the President of the United States and the President of Viet Nam, May 11, 1957, White House Press Release. 36 Dep't State Bull. 851–852 (1957).

[16] The principle that members of the United Nations are legally entitled to participate in collective self-defense of nonmembers is sustained by leading authorities on international law. Bowett, Self-Defense in International Law 193–195 (1958); Kelsen, The Law of the United Nations 793 (1950).

[17] Oppenheim, International Law, 297 *et seq.* (8th (Lauterpacht) ed. 1955); Jessup, A Modern Law of Nations 163 *et seq.* (1948).

[18] See footnote 16, *supra*.

[19] 110 Cong. Rec. 18470–18471, 18555 (1964).

[20] 78 Stat. 384, approved August 10, 1964.

[21] 40 Dep't State Bull. 579–581 (1959).

[22] 46 Dep't State Bull. 13–14 (1962).

[23] 51 Dep't State Bull. 261–263 (1964).

[24] *Hearings*, Appendix 704–705.

[25] *Supra* note 20.

[26] 51 Dep't State Bull. 272–274 *passim* (1964).

[27] 52 Dep't State Bull. 240–241 *passim* (1965).

[28] *Hearings*, Appendix 695.

[29] In a letter of July 30, 1965, from Arthur J. Goldberg, who succeeded Ambassador Stevenson as our Representative to the United Nations and the Security Council, to the President of the Security Council, he repeated, in substance, this statement. Ambassador Goldberg said: "It is especially unfortunate that the regime in Hanoi . . . has denied the competence of the United Nations to concern itself with this dispute in any manner, and has even refused to participate in the discussions in the Council." United States Mission to the United Nations, Press Release 4610, July 30, 1965.

[30] 52 Dep't State Bull. 403, 419 (1965). It is interesting to compare this statement by Ambassador Stevenson with the assertion of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam that "Ho Chi Minh can compare his position in demanding union of Vietnam with that of Lincoln, when Britain and France were threatening to intervene to assure the independence of the Confederacy". *Hearings*, Appendix 692.

[31] United States Mission to the United Nations Press Releases 4798 and 4799, January 31, 1966.

[32] Id., No. 4798.

[33] Memorandum, *supra* note 13, page 20. On February 2, 1966, the Security Council did put the Vietnam question on its agenda at the request of the United States. The vote was nine in favor (Argentina, China, Japan, Jordan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay); two against (Bulgaria and the Soviet Union); four abstentions (France, Mali, Nigeria and Uganda).

Ambassadors Fedorenko of the Soviet Union and Tarabanov of Bulgaria stated that their governments "supported the position of" North Vietnam "that the question be settled within the Geneva Accords", and the former added that the United States "was trying to throttle the struggle of the people of South Vietnam for freedom and independence". Ambassador Seydoux of France insisted that the United Nations "was not the proper framework for achieving a peaceful solution".

No further action has been taken by the Security Council, but by a letter of February 26, 1966, the president of the council advised its members that the differences of opinion among them as to the problem of Vietnam had "given rise to a general feeling that it would be inopportune for the Council to hold further debate at this time", but "that the Council, having decided on February 2 to place on its agenda the item contained in the letter of January 31 from the Permanent Representative of the United States, remained seized of the problem of Viet-Nam." UN Monthly Chronicle, March, 1966, pages 3–10 *passim*.

[34] *Hearings*, Appendix 702.

[35] 2 Oppenheim, *op. cit. supra* note, 17, at 136, 137. See draft Article 42 of the Law of Treaties by the International Law Commission in the report of its fifteenth session, May 6 to July 12, 1963. U.N. Gen. Ass. Off. Rec. 18th Sess., Supp. No. 9, (A/5509).

[36] 2 Farrand, Records of the Federal Convention 318–319.

[37] See *State Department Position Paper* prepared for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, November 19, 1965, Background Information, *supra* note 7, at 254.

[38] *Hearings*, Appendix 693.

[39] S. Rep., 84th Cong., 1st Sess. 15 (1955). Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, as a member of the committee, concurred in this report.

[40] *Supra* note 6. The negative vote was that of Senator William Langer of North Dakota. Senator Morse voted for ratification of the treaty on the floor of the Senate where he stated, after ratification of the treaty, that "there is no doubt in my mind that the treaty is in conformity with the United Nations Charter". 91 Cong. Rec. 1060 (1964.

[41] *Hearings*, Appendix 693.

[42] *Supra* note 20.

[43] *Hearings*, Appendix 710.

[44] 51 Dep't State Bull. 261–263 (1964).

[45] S. Rep., 88th Cong., 2d Sess. (1964).

[46] 110 Cong. Rec. 18409 (1964).

[47] *Id.* at 18427.

[48] *Id.* at 18443.

[49] "When I use a word", Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean,—neither more nor less." Carroll, Through the Looking-Glass.

[50] 110 Cong. Rec. 18443 (1964).

[51] 112 Cong. Rec. 4192 (1966).

[52] *Hearings* 591.

[53] 118 Cong. Rec. 4192 (1966).

[54] *Id.* at 4217.

[55] *Id.* at 4192.

[56] *Id.* at 4226.

[57] *Id.* at 4233. Only Senators Morse and Gruening voted against the appropriation. It was announced that five Senators, necessarily absent, would each have voted "yea"; so that a full vote would have been 98 to 2. *Id.* at 4232.

[58] *Hearings* 593. On May 4, 1965, President Johnson had requested "the Congress to appropriate, at the earliest possible moment, an additional $700 million to meet mounting military requirements in Vietnam". He explained in his message to the Congress, that "this is not a routine appropriation. For each Member of Congress who supports this request is also voting to persist in our effort to halt Communist aggression in South Vietnam. Each is saying that the Congress and the President stand united before the world in joint determination that the independence of South Vietnam shall be preserved and Communist attack will not succeed." H.R. Doc. No. 157, 89th Cong., 1st Sess. (1965). The appropriation bill (79 Stat. 109) was passed in the Senate, 88 to 3, and in the House, 408 to 7. 111 Cong. Rec. 9210, 9435 (1965).

[59] 112 Cong. Rec. 4297–4298 (1966).

[60] *Hearings*, Appendix 713.

[61] 112 Cong. Rec. A-410 (1966).

[62] 52 A.B.A.J. 392 (1966).

[63] 112 Cong. Rec. 4853–4954 (1966).

Kansas Fourth Congressional District 1966 Opinion Poll Results

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice since coming to Congress to send to my constituents in the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas a questionnaire on several of the major issues facing our Nation on the foreign and domestic fronts. It has been very helpful and enlightening to me to receive the opinions and additional views of thousands of citizens. It is gratifying to observe a genuine and growing interest in representative government and legislative affairs.

This year my 1966 opinion poll was sent to approximately 94,000 citizens in the 7 counties of the new Kansas Fourth District. This was done with the assistance of interested volunteers who aided me in addressing envelopes from telephone directories. More than 16,000 questionnaires have been returned; and tabulations have been completed. Hundreds included personal letters or notes in which they explained their positions, and many informed me of other alternatives to such crucial questions as Vietnam. Following is a sampling of some of the comments and excerpts from letters which accompanied the questionnaires from constituents:

ON VIET NAM

I sometimes think we would have been much better off to train missionaries, doctors, etc. to be sent to help these people, rather than guns and ammunition.

On the question of Viet Nam, it is impossible to quit now without showing the world that we are an undependable nation, not to be trusted when the going gets rough. Whether we should have become involved in the first place or not has no bearing on that. We are now in and must not desert those we have engaged to protect. We should be willing to negotiate—but only from strength—and with no thought of giving away as few as possible of the rights of those we protect—but rather of securing to them full enjoyment of those rights.

It is becoming increasingly evident that we are supporting a corrupt Saigon government which does not have the support of the Vietnamese people. The best choice is not to have gone in the first place. But withdrawal is no answer at this point.

I feel more bombing of North Viet Nam should be done on the lines of communication and I feel we should mine its big harbor, I believe it is in the Bay of Tonkin.

I think the war effort in Viet Nam should be continued and increased if need be to the point of forcing the Viet Cong to seek a negotiated settlement.

ON FISCAL POLICY

The deficit spending that is now going on should be sharply cut back or deferred. What good is a Great Society if it is a Bankrupt Society?

The expression, "threatened inflation" is getting to be a sick theme. Inflation is rampant; is here now and growing momentarily worse.

If we are to increase our strength and help the poverty people of our land, then I suppose we will have to continue our deficit spending and raise taxes. However, there surely should be some way to cut out unnecessary spending. The biggest saving could come from eliminating our foreign aid program in its entirety

ON THE GREAT SOCIETY AND OTHER MATTERS

As a widow with a small business it seems to me that this Administration is making it very difficult to make a living.

Out here, the anti-poverty war, seems to be so much the boon-doggle, and too expensive for the good it does, we certainly feel it cannot be expanded without too much abuse.

My middle class status has about had it. All my insurance savings are depreciated to a 40 percent level. I saw World War I, served in World War II, missed Korea by a hair, and the mess in Viet Nam leaves me cold.

"The Great Society overwhelms me. I've heard these two words now for quite a while and am still not sure just what they mean."

ABOUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE

I have very little faith that this letter will ever arrive at the Congressman's desk and would imagine the favorable odds on his reading it would be more astronomical than the number of dollars being spent on both the Viet Nam fiasco and the Space Program combined.

I got your letter asking for my assistance. I am afraid I can't tell you what to do. I think we are in an awful mix up.

My thanks for your opinion poll. Without its gentle nudge I would have confined myself to grousing to the fellows at work, and never had the experience of writing to my Congressman. Thank you for doing your job so that I can do mine.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following completed tabulations of 16,084 questionnaires which were returned to my office:

ANNUAL 4TH DISTRICT OPINION POLL RESULTS

[Answers in percent]

VIET NAM

1. Do you favor continuing U.S. participation in the Viet Nam war effort at present levels while keeping the door open for negotiated settlement?

Yes	61.7
No	24.8
No answer	13.5

2. Do you favor escalation of the war in Viet Nam to seek military victory?

Yes	49.4
No	33.8
No answer	16.8

3. Do you favor withdrawal from Viet Nam under any conditions?

Yes	7.7
No	75.0
No answer	17.3

FOREIGN POLICY

4. Do you favor increasing U.S. food shipments to hungry nations abroad?

Yes	58.7
No	31.3
No answer	10.0

5. Do you favor an International Education Act to aid education of children in foreign lands?

Yes	46.5
No	43.2
No answer	10.3

6. Do you favor an International Health Act to fight disease abroad?

Yes	51.1
No	37.5
No answer	11.4

7. Do you favor reduction or elimination in U.S. foreign aid to countries that continually have failed to support U.S. foreign policy objectives?

Yes	85.1
No	11.5
No answer	3.4

FISCAL POLICY

8. Do you favor continuing deficit spending in order to meet rising defense costs and funding of Great Society domestic programs?

Yes	15.1
No	73.5
No answer	11.4

9. To counter inflation, should Congress—

(a) Defer and/or cut back spending?

Yes	78.7
No	11.8
No answer	9.5

(b) Raise taxes?

Yes	18.5
No	61.2
No answer	20.3

(c) Increase government authority to regulate wages and prices?

Yes	24.6
No	58.6
No answer	16.8

GENERAL

10. Do you favor increasing the minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.75 per hour, extend minimum wage to farm labor and others not presently covered?

Yes	45.9
No	48.9
No answer	5.2

11. Do you favor additional income tax credits or deductions for parents of college students?

Yes	63.9
No	32.8
No answer	3.3

12. Do you favor increased appropriations for the anti-poverty program?

Yes	19.1
No	75.9
No answer	5.0

13. Do you favor the Shriver Bill to provide for automatic increases in Social Security payments based on the cost-of-living index?

Yes	76.4
No	19.2
No answer	4.4

14. Do you favor the Human Investment Act which would encourage business and industry to train the unemployed and underskilled through a program of tax credits?

Yes	74.1
No	20.1
No answer	5.8

15. Do you favor sale of wheat and general expanded trade with the Soviet Union and other communist bloc nations?

Yes	44.0
No	50.9
No answer	5.1

Project Headstart in 19th District of Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GALE SCHISLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. SCHISLER. Mr. Speaker, a great deal that has been highly complimentary has been said and written about the success of Project Headstart nationally. This is one of the brightest spots in the war on poverty, and it ranks as one of the most successful Government programs at a reasonable cost.

We are now engaged in the launching of similar programs for the summer of 1966 in large and small communities throughout the Nation. The program will be broader in scope and coverage this year than last. It will involve more students and the expenditure of more funds.

But whatever is accomplished in 1966 will be based on the initial successes achieved last year when Headstart projects were undertaken in the midst of a lot of predictions that they would not work. They did work, and the critics have long since been silenced. As a matter of fact, many of the critics are now in the forefront with cheers because they, too, recognize that much of the success of Headstart stems from the enthusiasm and energy of local citizens, schoolteachers, and administrators, and other public officials.

Because what we do this year with Headstart will be measured against what was achieved during the program's first year, I thought it might be wise to pause a moment to look back at last year's pioneering effort. It is the work of these educational pioneers that pointed us in the direction of success. My wife, Carolyn, visited the Headstart projects in the 19th Congressional District last summer while the program was still in full swing. From August 2 through August 5, 1965, she, along with Mrs. Leo F. O'Brien, wife of the State representative from Galesburg, toured the Project Headstart programs in the district. Mrs. Paul Rink, wife of the State representative from Rock Island, joined Mrs. Schisler and Mrs. O'Brien in Moline and Rock Island.

I have asked my wife to write a report on their findings. Her report follows:

Report of Mrs. Gale Schisler on 19th Congressional District Head Start Projects

Four cities, with a total of 10 centers, were involved in the Head Start projects in the 19th Congressional District. They were Monmouth (Warren County), Galesburg (Knox County), and Rock Island and Moline (Rock Island County).

Following is a general review of the projects Mrs. Leo O'Brien, Mrs. Paul Rink, and I visited:

Monday, August 2, we visited Monmouth Project Head Start whose sponsor was the United Presbyterian Church, with Dr. Jay Ebersole serving as the principal officer. The project was held at one center, Harding School. There were 60 children enrolled. Total cost of the program was $11,087.00, financed by a non-federal share of $1,187.00 and an OEO grant of $9,900.00. The school board donated most of the school facilities as an in-kind contribution. The community gave full support to the project by contributing time and talent during the actual school hours, and the mothers helped by making such supplies as paste, aprons, paints, etc. Business houses gave discounts on toys, supplies, and food as their contributions. The distant students were transported to and from the school by taxi since this proved to be the cheapest mode of transportation. The school was located in the center of the area where most of the eligible students resided, and there were not enough living far enough away to hire a school bus to transport the distant students.

The ages of the children ranged from 3½ to 5½ years. From their budget, the program director paid custodial fees, staff salaries, food bills, and some bills for school supplies. Breakfast and a hot lunch were included in the morning's schedule for each child. A typical menu included: for lunch—chicken casserole, creamed peas, celery and carrot sticks, peaches, fruit drink, bread and jelly; and for breakfast—milk and cinnamon rolls. Listed below are some of the persons responsible for Monmouth Head Start:

Staff director-teacher: Mrs. Carol Bowman.

Teachers: Mrs. Margaret Bratton, Mrs. Karen Milliron, Mrs. Karen Squire.

Parent-teacher coordinator: Mrs. Agatha Gummerson.

Nutritionist: Mrs. Ruth Bunn.

Secretary: Mrs. Jean Kistler.

Part-time teachers: Music, Miss Linda Miller; physical education, Miss Judy Anderson.

Speech therapist: Miss Carroll Innskeep.

Assistant teachers: Miss Phyllis Wallace, Mrs. Jean Wallace, Miss Alice McClanahan, Miss Fadia Merkham, Mr. Rodger Kelly, Mrs. Ada Gaskill, Miss Diane Lemmerman, Mrs. Mary Valentin.

Principal officer: Dr. Jay Ebersole.

Tuesday, August 3, we visited Galesburg Project Head Start, whose sponsor was the Community Unit School District No. 205 with Dr. Orval L. Trail serving as the principal officer. The in-kind contributions by the school board included the four centers and most of the school facilities. This project was operated as a pre-school rather than prekindergarten because there is no kindergarten within the school system. Therefore, most of the play equipment had to be purchased, although some things were donated. A mid-morning snack was provided for the children. There were no transportation problems since each center was located in the area where the students lived. There were 103 children enrolled, with an approximate daily attendance of 90. There were 14 professional staff members, a few paid volunteers and many volunteers. The total cost of the program was $15,036.00, including $1,520.00 as the nonfederal share and a $13,516.00 OEO grant. Following is the list of personnel in the Galesburg project:

Director: Mr. Donald Lohmar.

Secretary: Miss Nancy Olson.

Teachers: Mrs. Carol Hare, Mrs. LaVerne Johnson, Mrs. Marlene Riley, Mrs. Betty Wallis, Mrs. Willabell H. Williams, Mrs. Judy Wilson.

Assistant teachers: Mrs. Geraldine Anderson, Mrs. Janice Downard, Mrs. Dorothy Hanna, Mrs. Bernadine Harris, Mrs. Carol Hinkson, Miss Martha Way.

Teacher aides: Mrs. Alberta Bettisworth, Miss Joyce Gohlinghorst, Mrs. June Lewis, Miss Kay Watkins, Miss Diane Wetherford, Miss Kay Zuck, Miss Judy Ryberg.

Principal officer: Dr. Orval L. Trail.

Wednesday, August 4, we visited Moline Project Head Start whose sponsor was the Moline School District No. 40. The principal officer, Mrs. Ardath Scott, had correlated a similar program the summer before which proved to be quite successful. The format for the 1964 summer program was used as a basis for the 1965 Project Head Start. There were 105 children enrolled, averaging 97 daily attendance. There were three centers, 11 professional staff members, 6 paid non-residents, 14 volunteer residents, and approximately 8 other volunteers. Since there is a kindergarten within the school system, the program centered around pre-kindergarten age children.

The school board furnished the centers and most of the play equipment. The total cost of the project was $16,887.00, which was comprised of a non-federal share of $2,000.00 and an OEO grant of $14,887.00. There was also an adult program in connection with this project. The mothers met once a week for "coffee" and listened to doctors, ministers, nutritionists, educators, etc., discuss religious training and problems, legal problems, goals of the Head Start program, meal planning and preparation, home planning, psychological problems, medical problems, and physical health of the children. Following is the list of personnel responsible with the Moline Head Start Project:

Director-principal officer: Mrs. Ardath K. Scott.

Teachers: Mrs. Verna Gail Johnson, Mrs. Jewell Higdon, Mrs. Helen Byrne, Mrs. Sara Jane DeLeon, Mrs. Ruth Peterson, Mrs. Elsie Hagberg, Mrs. Eunice Bennett.

Social worker: Mrs. Betty Reeves.

Psychologist: Mr. Robert Johnson.

Nurse: Mrs. Frances Lawless.

Clerk: Mrs. Ruth Rosenberg.

Doctors: Dr. J. R. Goran, Dr. Earl H. Clark.

Thursday, August 5, we visited Rock Island Project Head Start, sponsored by Rock Island for Head Start, whose principal officer was Mr. Raymond P. Botch, City Manager. The city hall kept books for the project and the school board provided the two centers and most of the facilities for the program. There were 105 pre-kindergarten (ages 4½ to 5½) children enrolled. The total cost of the program was $18,418.00, with $1,855.00 as the non-federal share and $16,563.00 as the OEO grant. The children were served a breakfast snack and a hot lunch before going home. There were no transportation problems since the schools were located in the area where the children resided. Listed below are the persons and organizations who helped with the Rock Island Head Start Project:

Principal officer: Mr. Raymond P. Botch.

Director: Mrs. Eloise Smith.

Teachers: Mrs. Jane Adams, Mrs. Helen Bellinger, Miss Bertha Dexheimer, Miss Judy Hunigan, Mrs. Dorothy Nelson, Miss Judy Varner, Miss Nancy Stone.

Nurse: Mrs. Florence McLaughlin.

Social worker: Miss Mabel Lawler.

Secretaries: Miss Marilyn Becke, Miss Rene Nelson.

Cafeteria staff: Mrs. Kathryn Stechalin, Mrs. Mamie Jones, Mrs. Lydia Morrison, Mrs. Roselle Jackson, Mrs. Pauline Woods.

Paid workers: Mr. William Eye, Mr. William Nelson.

Neighborhood volunteers: Mrs. W. A. Flanagan, Mrs. Max Heber, Mrs. R. A. Kemble, Mrs. Herbert Lowry, Mrs. Muriel McElrath, Miss Carolyn Moore, Miss Linda Moore.

Other volunteers: Miss Marguerite Downing, Miss Maxine Frye, Mrs. Howard Goff, Miss Pamela Good, Mrs. Lloyd Hance, Miss Merrill Harris, Miss Fern Hawks, Mrs. Clarence E. Hodson, Miss Edna Horst, Mrs. Lester King, Mrs. W. S. Mellish, Mrs. Henry Miles, Miss Marcia Moore, Mrs. Eugene Moses, Mrs. Louis Orwitz, Miss Sally Pierceson, Mrs. Evelyn Schroeder, Mrs. E. R. Sundquist, Mrs. Robert Wellman, Mr. Walter Kolloff, Mr. Wilbur Lartz, Mr. Paul Sulser, Mr. and Mrs. John Good, Mrs. David Isaacson, Mrs. Lois Mitchell, Miss Virginia Cale, Miss Kit Dizotell, Mrs. Charles O. Austin.

Custodians: Mr. Arthur Anderson, Mr. Sylvester Fluegel, Mr. Richard Kaskadden, Mr. Dean Paulson.

Volunteer nurses: Miss Frances Downing, Mrs. Gerald Sutton.

Volunteer social worker: Miss Margaret Brooks.

Volunteer teachers: Mrs. Joan Bryant, Mrs. Bonnie Griffith, Mrs. Ruth Kettering, Mrs. Eugene Morris, Mrs. Roseen Rapley, Miss Betty Schreitling, Mrs. Betty Peal.

Volunteer medical assistants: Mrs. Richard Edwards, Mr. Paul Hawthorn, Podiatrists' Association, Visiting Nurses Association, Polio Foundation, Public Health Office.

Stores who donated: The Book Nook, Engman's Drug Store, McHugh Pharmacy, McPike Drug Company, Schlegel Drug Store, Schneider's Drug Store, Athletic Shop.

Junior volunteers: Tom Adams, Sharon Allen, Stephanie Allen, Gail Andich, Kathy Cain, Wilda Cannon, Linda Golden, Brenda Jones, Mary Kemble, Tom Kemble, Janet Lockhart, Vicki Marshall, Jill Robbons, Sheryl Walkup, Marilyn Workheiser, Ruth Ann Morris, Colleen Kelly.

Headstart committee members: Miss Mary Hill, Miss Johanna Casey, Miss Louise Deckers, Mr. Ken Koch, Mr. David Willming, Rev. Henry Warkentin, Mr. Robert Sinnett, Mr. Frederick Patton, Mr. Pete Pappas, Mr. Dale

Holmgrain, Mrs. Gary Hodson, Mayor James H. Haymaker, Mrs. Walter Congdon, Mr. Raymond P. Botch, Mr. Vernon Winters, Mrs. Walter Kimmel.

Rock Island Board of Education: Mr. William C. Bell; Mr. Ted Arnold; Mr. Max Larson; Mr. Earl H. Hanson, Superintendent; Mr. Charles Austin, Assistant Superintendent; Mr. Virgil R. Helms, Assistant Superintendent.

Others who helped: Mr. Jack Mosenfelder, Niabi Zoo, Stone's Apple Farm, Mr. Lee Saylor, Mr. James McMillan, Rock Island County Department of Public Aid, Arsenal Courts Office, Mrs. R. E. Cale, Central Fire Station.

Listed below are some general comments based on observations in each city:

1. Much of the success of each project derived from the marvelous staff involved in each project. Everyone showed much enthusiasm toward the goals and work with the children and with the program.

2. The length of the program varied from seven to eight weeks. In some cases, the staff had an orientation week before actually starting classes.

3. Recruitment of the children was achieved through the school principal, school nurse, Department of Public Aid, ADC lists, etc.

4. Attendance was very good, which was very encouraging to the staff.

5. Good community and area response resulted whenever help was solicited.

6. There was lack of time to acquaint the entire community with the local projects. In some cases, news media did not have time or the staff to tell the story as fully or as often as they could have. However, we notified radio, television and newspapers in each of the four cities when and where we would be. Generally speaking, our visits were received very well by the news media.

7. Some problems were created when supplies and forms were late in arriving. Some items arrived several weeks after the program had been started.

8. Field trips included visits to farms, orchards, airports, fairs, zoos (where available), business establishments, restaurants, and dairies. Some trips included the fire station, and in some cases the postmen visited the centers to explain their duties.

9. Some professional medical skills were donated in part, and children were given dental and medical examinations, often for the first time.

10. Professional staffs are hopeful that more communities will avail themselves of the opportunities offered by Head Start. They were so grateful and pleased with the records established by children in this particular age group and economic background.

11. The continuing enthusiasm of staff members was demonstrated by their plans to make talks and show slides throughout the 1965–66 school year before community groups to tell the story of their achievements and the children's progress during the summer of 1965.

12. On the basis of our tour, we can predict a bright future for Project Head Start, both in the 19th Congressional District of Illinois and throughout the country.

Mrs. GALE SCHISLER.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to call attention to a letter I received from Mrs. LaVerne Johnson, of Galesburg, who was one of the teachers in the Galesburg, Ill., Headstart project. Mrs. Johnson's summary conveys the enthusiasm and interest of all who were engaged in making these programs successful throughout the 19th District. Her letter follows:

The Honorable GALE SCHISLER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHISLER: I was very happy and fortunate to have been a part of the Headstart program. I feel both the pupils and the teacher were benefited. By the time school started, the pupils were oriented for a classroom situation and their horizons had been broadened due to this program. They could participate in class discussions and school would be more meaningful.

This program also afforded an opportunity to detect cases needing special testing, both physical and mental. If need be, students could be tested in advance for special education classes for early placement, preventing a development of discipline problems in the regular classroom. This approach could perhaps prevent some potential dropouts.

However, the teachers felt the program should have ended the last of July. The weather was hot and the pupils were bushed. We felt if there were a local workshop for the teachers, rather than a week in college, the program could start sooner. After all, the problems in Headstart differed very little from the problems in our regular classroom.

All "deprived" children were not attending. By that, I mean: children of well-to-do parents who go off by themselves and leave a sitter in charge. The families where only the father is left in the family, and he works to maintain a life for four or five children. The instances where both the mother and father work and do not have time to give their children the proper head start. The children from these are deprived of the simple experiences that mean so much to a child. These little experiences mean a lot in the classroom for peer acceptance.

All in all, Project Headstart is a tremendous idea, and it represents an advance in our educational policies and programs.

Sincerely,

Mrs. LAVERNE JOHNSON.

Mr. Speaker, as a former schoolteacher and principal, I would like to add my personal endorsement for Project Headstart. I have always been convinced that the early years of training are the key to effective educational programs. For that reason, Project Headstart ranks at the head of the list in importance because it has advantage of training children who are most likely to need additional help in order to bring them up to a par with more fortunate children.

It has been said, Mr. Speaker, that a teacher's influence never stops; it affects eternity. Everyone engaged in the pioneering Headstart projects of 1965 have a right to be proud of the influence their contributions will have in the future as the children they trained move into the mainstream of our educational system.

Lower Colorado River Basin Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the report of the Pacific Southwest Water Committee of the Irrigation Districts Association of California in support of legislation to authorize the Lower Colorado River Basin project. I am one of the cosponsors of this legislation.

The proposed legislation directs the Secretary of the Interior to investigate present and future water supplies and needs, possible importation plans and other means to augment water supplies in both the Upper and Lower Colorado River Basins, and water conservation and quality.

The report by the Irrigation Districts Association is an excellent analysis of the present water crisis and the need for legislative remedy.

REPORT OF THE PACIFIC SOUTHWEST WATER COMMITTEE IRRIGATION DISTRICTS ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA, IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 4671, AND IN OPPOSITION TO SINGLE-PURPOSE PROJECTS

In the controversy which has arisen between the builders of multi-purpose projects throughout the United States and those who emphasize solely the preservation of our scenic resources, the consequences of pursuing one course or the other are sometimes submerged in the heat of debate. The United States, as a builder of water projects, is charged with the responsibility of developing and conserving all of the country's natural resources, including its natural beauty. The record shows, as in the case of Glen Canyon Dam, Flaming Gorge Reservoir, Hoover Dam, and every other major multipurpose project in the West, that this has been the goal and achievement of the Department of the Interior.

Congress is now considering H.R. 4671 which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to plan a vast interregional water development program which requires the construction of Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams as part of that entire project. Both structures will be constructed with an eye to enhancing the natural beauty of the Grand Canyon and making this dramatic landmark available to the many hikers, campers, fishermen, boatsmen and nature lovers who savor this American treasure as much as the few well-to-do and sometimes daring outdoor enthusiasts who would preserve the national heritage for themselves alone.

The Department of the Interior views the Colorado River as a resource of many facets. The preservation of its natural scenic beauty is only one of the many important aspects of the system. The development of recreation areas, fish and wildlife preserves, and boating opportunities are equally important. But the River has another value which can be developed in harmony with all these potentials; namely, the use of its falling water to produce power needed during peak periods to augment the base supply of thermal power required throughout the southwest to light our homes, water our crops, and energize our factories. Power can be generated as a part of the whole undertaking, so that the physical requirements of people, as well as their aesthetic and recreational sensibilities, can be met from the same resource. This is the multi-purpose object of Federal water policy. And the revenues from the sale of power and water will pay for all of the reimbursable features of the project.

The oft repeated contention that Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams will inundate the Grand Canyon is preposterous. Nothing man can build can do that. On the contrary, only two stretches of the river will be converted from rapids to smooth water, still leaving 104 miles of virgin river. Where the Colorado River emerges from the Grand Canyon National Park, the water will be a maximum of 89 feet above stream bed. Upstream, the elevation of the reservoir will steadily decrease until it merges with the flowing stream. The effect will be indiscernible against the massive cut of the Grand Canyon. It will provide a scenic and negotiable waterway, opening up this national heritage to millions of Americans.

Construction of Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams is a conclusion reached after exhaustive consideration of all conceivable alternatives. The most feasible means of providing peaking power is by intermittent operation of hydroelectric plants. This power, needed only at intervals of high demand, cannot be provided economically by the construction of larger base load thermal plants. Furthermore, it would be wasteful of our limited fossil fuel resources to use an unreplenishable resource while permitting the constant flow of the Colorado River to spend itself unused, or only partially used, on its journey to the sea.

Without doubt, the great rivers of this Nation will be developed to their full potential. The only question is when, how, and by whom. Multi-purpose projects should be built now when all their benefits are desperately needed by a whole region of our country. The alternative is to defer and perhaps default their construction in favor of a single purpose project serving less than an entire region and licensed by the Federal Power Commission for the sole and single purpose of generating power. We can no longer afford the luxury of single purpose projects.

H.R. 4671 will accomplish with maximum efficiency the full, integrated and scenic development of a beautiful reach of the Colorado River. The Irrigation Districts Association has previously endorsed the principles contained in H.R. 4671. This Committee now reaffirms that endorsement.

Let this statement and all factual data dealing with the whole of resource development on the Colorado River be made available to all United States Senators and Congressmen, the Governors and legislators of all the States, administrative officials—both Federal and State, and all public agencies, organizations—public and private, and to those individuals concerned with the development of our country's resources.

Letter to a Dairy Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, Mel Laird, has written a letter to a dairy farmer friend of mine which I commend to the attention of all my colleagues.

Mel Laird represents the district that produces more milk and cheese than any other district in the Congress. Therefore, he is particularly well qualified to discuss the very critical problems the dairy farmer—and, indeed, all farmers—face in this country as a result of recent Johnson-Freeman administration actions.

Under unanimous consent, I insert Mel Laird's letter to my dairy farmer friend in the Record at this point.

The letter referred to follows:

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C, May 12, 1966.

Dear Bob: One out of every nine workers in our state makes his living in agriculture. Our district leads the nation in the production of whole milk, cheese and other milk products while statewide, we grow more hay, alfalfa, sweetcorn and peas than any other state.

The farm policies here in Washington are set by a Democratic Administration that controls not only the Executive Branch of our Government but also the Congress by a two-to-one majority. Many feel that the Johnson-Freeman farm policies of recent months are part of a program that will liquidate the dairy farmer in Wisconsin.

Today, contrary to the glowing reports we often hear from Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, many farmers are suffering. As the trend continues toward larger and more efficient farms, the smaller farmer without the capital or the ability to expand is being squeezed out of business. Moreover, the return that the family farmer gets on his investment and labor is generally poor.

Let's look at the situation that our dairy farmers and processors are facing today thanks largely to ill-advised government policies. In recent weeks there have been seven major indications that the dairy farmer has become the "whipping boy" of this Administration.

First, the President's proposal in his budget message to cut back drastically the School Milk and School Lunch Programs for fiscal 1967.

Second, the Democratic Administration's decision to put substitutes on Army and Air Force menus instead of butter.

Third, President Johnson's press conference last month in which he urged the nation's housewives to stop using dairy products as one way of curbing the rising cost of living.

Fourth, the unrealistic price support level of $3.50 per hundred-weight for 3.7 percent butterfat milk ($3.31 for 3.5 milk). This will not insure an adequate supply of milk for Wisconsin dairy plants but it will insure that many dairy farmers will continue to leave the land.

Fifth, the opening up of the U.S. market to foreign cheese which is produced under substandard conditions abroad. Our own dairy farmers and producers are required by law to meet certain sanitary standards and cannot compete with cheap, foreign imports produced under unsanitary conditions which sell for at least 10 cents below the U.S. price.

Sixth, the Johnson-Freeman decision to ask the Tariff Commission to allow even greater foreign imports of cheddar cheese into this country in the 1966–1967 marketing year which begins on July 1, 1966.

Seventh, the decision to restrict exports of cattle hides, calf and kip skins which caused lower domestic livestock prices.

I have received many letters from our dairy farmers. Many of you have called me long-distance. On my visits back to the District, much of our discussion has focused on the problems you are facing.

If you asked me to summarize the main questions you have raised in our discussion, it would go something like this: "Mel, just what are those boys in Washington doing to us farmers and why? Don't they realize we are paying higher prices every year for our farm equipment? Don't they know we are getting a lower return on our investments because of inflation and because a lot of the rise in food prices doesn't find its way back into the farmer's pocket? What are they thinking of in Washington, anyway?" These are the kinds of questions you are asking, and they are good ones.

There is no justification for this Administration to single out our farmers as the "whipping boy" for inflation. Yet, this is precisely what the Administration here in Washington is doing. I testified late last month before the U.S. Tariff Commission in opposition to the increased quotas for cheddar cheese that the Administration has proposed. I urged the Commission not to go along with making our farmers the "whipping boy" for inflation, pointing out that because these foreign producers do not have to meet the same sanitary standards you do, they will bring this cheese in at a lower price than the U.S. price and that this will drive our prices down.

These recent policies of the Democratic Administration can only increase the number of our farmers who are leaving dairying for more promising ways of making a living. I have tried repeatedly to impress on the Secretary of Agriculture the necessity for taking a fairer and more realistic attitude toward this country's farmers. I will continue to do so. My own program for improving Wisconsin's farm income is enclosed with this letter.

Best regards,

Melvin R. Laird,
Member of Congress.

Alice in Washington-Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, if Lewis Carroll's Alice had been visiting in Washington yesterday, she would have felt right at home. Her native wonderland has no dizziness of logic more calculated to prompt her famous exclamation, "Curiouser and curiouser" than we have right here.

For the benefit of anyone blessed with a short memory, let the Record show that Easter Monday, thousands of Negro teenagers rioted in the Glen Echo Amusement Park. It was a terror-filled evening reminiscent of the mass mayhem of the Watts District of California. Thousands of young people looted and smashed the concessions of the park and then roamed the residential area until well into the night, stoning automobiles, hurling bricks and debris through the windows of the terrified residents whose only sin was living in the neighborhood.

As was right and proper, a number of investigations were subsequently begun. If, however, anyone had the idea that the end result of these investigations would be some kind of punishment for the rioters who smashed the park or assaulted the neighboring residences, they just don't understand how things are done in Washington-land.

A story in yesterday's Star has the byline of James Welsh, but I suspect that Lewis Carroll wrote it. The result of the investigations are now in and instead of punishing the rioters, the amusement park is going to be punished.

Curiouser and curiouser.

This should be a warning to all bankers in Washington-land. If the money in their vaults tempts a robber in the future the bank will probably be closed down and the president of the bank sent to prison for tempting thieves.

Welcome to Washingtonland, Alice. I regret, however, that you feel at home here. I wish it were otherwise.

CURBS LIKELY ON GLEN ECHO—ACTION INDICATED AS HEARINGS END

(By James Welsh)

Stringent regulations are likely to be imposed on Glen Echo Amusement Park as a means of preventing a recurrence of the Easter Monday outbreak there, it was indicated today.

The Montgomery County Council, which last night heard residents of the upper Massachusetts Avenue area describe in terror-filled terms how thousands of young people surged from the park, attacking cars and stoning homes, is expected to act on the Glen Echo issue soon. Last night's hearing in Rockville was the last of three in an inquiry the council voted April 18.

Council President Kathryn Diggs expressed belief that the idea of closing the park, a move strongly endorsed by persons testifying last night, undoubtedly will come up. She added that she believes if the question is put to a vote, it will pass easily.

However, Miss Diggs and county attorney Robert Tobin said it is doubtful that an abrupt closing of the park would hold up in court.

CLOSING UNLIKELY

"This is not a clear cut question," Tobin said. "Whether we have sufficient cause, whether such an action would be considered arbitrary in court, is something I will have to study. The way I figure now, we can't close the park."

The alternative, Tobin said, is for the council to require the Glen Echo management to take steps to lessen the probability of rioting. Failure to meet these demands, he suggested, would provide sufficient cause to lift the park's operating license. Miss Diggs said she believes the council will follow Tobin's advice.

"Something will have to be done," Miss Diggs said. "I've been in favor of closing the park for a long time. But if we can't do that, I think we ought to have stringent regulations."

Among possible regulations that have been discussed are a ceiling on attendance, strengthened private police protection, rules governing the sale of ride tickets and refunds and closing of a beer establishment which the park operates.

Last night's hearing was devoted entirely to listening to Glen Echo area residents. Many of them expressed the belief that what they underwent was largely ignored in the investigation and news coverage of the riot.

The strongest testimony came from Mrs. Wallace Barlow of 6210 Massachusetts Ave. NW. She said she was alone in her home when the outbreak began at about 6 p.m., reached its height at about 7:30 p.m. and continued until after 9 p.m. Describing the movement of teen-agers and young adults, most of them Negro, toward the District line, she said:

"The crowd was so thick I could not see the pavement. They were milling and shouting and running up the hill."

Later, while on the phone to a neighbor, Mrs. Barlow said a "shower of rocks" struck the home, breaking windows. "For a moment I was in panic because I thought they were coming in."

She told the council that the most frightening thing about the young people outside the house was the good time they seemed to be having. "There wasn't anger," she said. "It was excitement. They were thrilled by this thing."

URGES PARK CLOSING

Telling the council that vandalism has increased steadily on weekends and holidays in the last four to five years, she urged that the park be closed and the land used "for low-rise apartments."

The park's operators, Sam and Abe Baker, tried for a high-rise development on the site early this year but were turned down.

Following Mrs. Barlow's presentation, Councilman John Henry Hiser and Cleatus Barnett assailed a Washington Citizens Committee's assessment of the outbreak. The committee, headed by Sterling Tucker, said what happened at Glen Echo was not a riot in the generally used sense of the word.

"It wasn't just exuberance or spring fever," Hiser commented.

"I'm sorry Sterling Tucker, who seemed to want to whitewash this thing, could not be here to hear you, Mrs. Barlow," Barnett added.

RIOT, M'AULIFFE SAYS

He called on Police Supt. James S. McAuliffe to state once again whether he thought the incident qualified as a riot.

"It was a riot," McAuliffe replied. "The conduct, expression on the people's faces, were typical of a riot. No question about this."

Another Glen Echo area resident, Mrs. Cecil E. Byers, of 6202 Massachusetts Ave., NW., characterized the milling young people as "the most awful mob I have ever seen."

Glen Echo, she said, is "not the place for a park like that. Let the District provide recreation for these people."

Maverick Republican

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, this evening our good friend and colleague Silvio O. Conte, of Massachusetts, will be honored as the outstanding alumnus of the year by the Boston College Club of Washington. I can think of no more distinguished recipient of this award. Congressman Conte has been a credit to his university throughout his long career of public service, 7 years as a State senator from Berkshire County, and now in his fourth term as a Member of Congress.

"Sil's" receipt of this award is a tribute not only to his achievements since graduation, but a recognition of the exceptionally hard work that went into his college and law school education. Upon his graduation from high school, he worked as a machinest before entering the Seabees in World War II. Following the war, "Sil" prepared himself for Boston College from which he was graduated in 1949.

His entire career as a legislator has been marked by an independence of spirit and an integrity of judgment. As he himself has said:

> I refuse to let somebody else do my thinking for me—let alone tell me what my convictions should be.

This attitude is in the highest traditions of public service.

Under unanimous consent I include in the Record following my remarks a story which appeared in the New York Times in 1964 outlining "Sil" Conte's outstanding contributions to the Congress. I know I speak for all my colleagues in congratulating him on this fine award from the Boston College Club of Washington.

The story follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, June 26, 1964]

MAVERICK REPUBLICAN: SILVIO OTTO CONTE

Washington, June 25.—Despite the lack of any physical resemblance, people are always talking about Representative Silvio Otto Conte as the nearest think to Fiorello H. La Guardia since the former New York Mayor left the House of Representatives. One reason for the comparison is his insistence that his Republicanism as a member of the House from Massachusetts will always take second place to his personal integrity and convictions. Another is that few third-term members of that body have been able to become a burr under the saddle of the Democratic majority and a thorn in the side of his own party leadership.

Mr. Conte was the only Republican member of the Appropriations Committee who sided with President Johnson this week and defied the Republican leadership's demand for a party-line vote to cut $515 million from the foreign aid money bill. On the same day he voted with the Democrats on the floor in support of the mass transit bill while Republicans were voting 3 to 1 against it.

EXPLAINS HIS ATTITUDE

"It's not that I take any pleasure in voting against my Republican colleagues," Mr. Conte remarked afterwards. "It's only that I refuse to let somebody else do my thinking for me—let alone tell me what my convictions should be."

At 43 years of age, the sandy-haired, short-statured Representative from the First Massachusetts District, has a reputation for "possessing more guts than any House member twice his size."

When the minority leader, Charles A. Halleck, insisted this week that all Republicans vote for the big cut in the foreign aid money bill as a matter of party loyalty, Mr. Conte's friends thought he was in real trouble. When Mr. Halleck and his aides demanded to know, "Are you with us or against us," they reckoned that his political days were numbered.

Mr. Conte's reply was that "I'll have to think about it." But anyone who had watched him over the years knew that, whatever the consequences, he would vote his convictions for the simple reason that he thinks that's the only way to legislate.

When one of his sharpest critics on the Appropriations group asked him today, "Why don't you go over there on the Democratic side and sit with them as long as you're voting with them?" Mr. Conte quickly retorted with a question of his own. "Why don't you put that question to my constituents?" he asked.

His constituents are in the Western counties of Massachusetts.

Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois once told him: "You probably have the highest concentration of intellectuals of any Congressional District in the United States."

He was referring to the many educational institutions in the district—colleges, universities and preparatory schools.

The future representative was born in Pittsfield on Nov. 9, 1921. He was 19 and had just completed his apprenticeship as a machinist when he enlisted in the Seabees. After five weeks in boot camp, he was shipped out to the South Pacific.

"After that I never saw as much as a lathe or a grinder," he recalls. "The bunch I was with spent the duration busting coral rocks and pushing bulldosers to build landing strips and plug the holes the Japs made in them."

After the war he used his G.I. bill benefits for education. He was accepted by Boston College after an entrance examination for which he prepared himself for six months. By attending classes during all summer and other vacation periods he qualified for law school.

He entered politics in 1951 as a Republican State Senate candidate in a normally Democratic district.

He won and was re-elected three times, the last as the nominee of both parties.

He won his House seat in 1958 and in [illegible] he received the highest percentage of Republican votes of any opposed candidate in the nation—74.4 per cent of the total vote cast.

Mr. Conte does not consider himself an athlete. But he says of himself: "I think I'm a pretty good bowler but better at hunting and fishing although a lousy golfer."

He was runner-up a year ago in a Congressional bowling competition.

He also fancies himself something of a cook. His specialty is polenta—a kind of corn meal mush—and a chicken stew to go with it.

Mr. Conte is married to the former Corinne L. Duval of Pittsfield. They have four children—three of high-school age.

Flagrant Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR. Mr. Speaker, many Americans are seriously concerned about the flagrant spending by the Johnson-Humphrey administration. Every day I receive letters expressing dismay over this situation.

Under unanimous consent I would like to insert in the Record a letter I have received from Katherine D. Kalinos of Springfield, Ohio. I believe Mrs. Kalinos voices the fears and frustrations of millions of American taxpayers:

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown, Jr.,
Representative, Seventh District of Ohio,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brown: In the past few months the news from Washington has been most disturbing to me. I feel that the time has come to let my Representative in Washington know how I feel about some of these things, since I still have the right to express myself.

One of the most disturbing things is the way the Government has been spending money. I feel that with a war going on in South Viet-Nam we cannot afford the flagrant use of my money. I show more prudence for it than does Mr. Johnson. A War on Poverty sounds like a fine idea, but I wish that some way could be found that the monies intended for the needy found their way to the needy and not to people who are to administer the money and not to people who feel that they are too good to work for less than $1.25 an hour. In fact, there are those who do not have jobs and are on public welfare who feel that $1.25 is not enough for them.

Another thing that has recently been a thorn in my side is the recently published fact that Mrs. Kennedy has been receiving $50,000 for the maintenance of an office to answer letters of condolence in connection of the death of her husband. I can understand one year of this, but not three. Now Mrs. Kennedy has informed Congress that $30,000 is adequate. For myself, I feel that no thousand is adequate. The Kennedy fortune was waved to us for a rather long period of time, and I feel the family should take care of her, not me. I truly am all broken up for her, since she can go to many places that I can only dream about, and unfortunately I have to do my own grocery shopping and if I had a dog I would have to walk him myself. I am sorry that she had to lose her husband and if she was really destitute I would say that she had the right to the money to raise her children, but she is not destitute and I do no feel my obligation to support her with my money.

I recently heard on the news that we had sold 500 pound bombs to West Germany for $10,000 and that we are now in the process of buying back these same bombs for over $100,000. This is totally ridiculous I would like to know how much the bombs cost the Government originally, how much did it cost to store them before we sold them, and why now we have to pay ten times as much to get them back. Also, would you please tell me what Mr. McNamara is talking about when he says that there is no shortage of bombs? I recently heard him say on a newscast that we are now at 60 percent of need and by the fall we would be at near 100 percent of need. It seems to me, then, that right now we are 40 percent below need and that there is a shortage. Could you kindly inform the Defense Department that I think that they are being very careless with my money?

It also seems to me that the proliferation of so-called "good deed" projects is beyond the pale. We have instituted Medicare which is going to be an unholy mess, but now I see that we are in the process of setting up a Denticare. Is Mr. Johnson serious? How are the lower class and middle class income people to absorb all of these projects?

In 1964, we were promised tax cuts, which I have to admit we got, BUT our Social Security (this is a laugh, too, since by the time I get there, the money will have run out) was raised and there is serious consideration of increasing our taxes. Inflation is rampant in all of our goods and services and we are told that there is a mild inflationary trend. There is no trend, it is here right now, today. I do not understand how you can spend more money than you have, give away money that you do not have, and not be in serious trouble. I know nothing about high finance, but I cannot understand how the Government can do this and get away with it. All I know is that I cannot run my finances in this manner.

Mr. Brown, I love my country and I am with the guy who said "My country, right or wrong", but I don't want to see my country destitute. This country has been wonderful to us. My parents came here from Macedonia to get away from tryanny and poverty, and with neither money, backing, or knowledge of English they managed to raise us, to establish a home, send us to school, and to give us a college education. They did this by hard work and by being frugal when the situation demanded it. They did all of this and left us with a good name and reputation. Today it seems the trend is: don't work, don't be frugal for some Sugar Daddy from Washington will give us all. But I have one question: "Who is this fabulous Sugar Daddy?" The answer is, of course, me and thousands like me. It is not Mr. Johnson or some Senator or Representative who wants to get re-elected, but ME who has to get out to the job everyday and work so that I can buy those necessities and save for my old age and try for the good life by the sweat of my brow. And on top of all of this I have to support people who are either too lazy to work or are too good to work, I have to support the very rich and I also have to support some dead head in the Defense Department who can't even turn a few bucks on some bombs.

I am tired of working and giving my money to a Government which has no respect for my achievements.

I hope that I have not taken too much of your time. I hope you know where I stand on spending the tax dollar and that you will be able to do something about it. Thank you for reading my letter.

Sincerely,

KATHERINE D. KALINOS.

Does the Post Office Department Believe in Democracy?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, some time ago I protested the shortsighted objection of the Post Office Department to my bill which would require that first-class handling be given to sample ballots and other official election material which is mailed under third-class permit by election officials.

With the millions of dollars in subsidies which are allowed second-class mail users, I cannot understand why the Post Office Department has so ruled. Certainly, in a democracy, no mail should be treated more favorably or as any more deserving of preferential rates and handling than official election material.

But now the Post Office Department has again shown its complete disregard and disrespect for the elective process which is the backbone of free representative government. It has ruled that sample ballots prepared with the use of electronic equipment must be sent as first-class mail.

Mr. Speaker, the Assembly of the California Legislature recently passed a joint resolution protesting this shortsighted attitude of the U.S. Post Office Department. I believe the text of this joint resolution, No. 24, should properly be included in my remarks at this point:

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 24—
RELATIVE TO MAILED SAMPLE BALLOTS

Whereas, The Post Office Department has recently ruled that mailed sample ballots that are prepared with the use of electronic (I.B.M.) equipment must be sent as first class mail; and

Whereas, The effect of this ruling on registrars of voters, county and city clerks, and other public officers who are authorized by law to mail sample ballots will be to almost double mailing costs to the taxpayers, since sample ballots not electronically prepared may be sent by cheaper third class mail; and

Whereas, These increased election costs to the public will necessitate additional budgetary augmentations by local governmental bodies, since their budgets have already been adopted on the basis of lower mail rates for electronically prepared sample ballots; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Post Office Department to change its ruling with respect to registrars of voters, county and city clerks, and other public officers who are authorized by law to mail sample ballots, so that the rate for electronically prepared sample ballots for such officials will be no more than that for third class mail; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly is hereby directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Sentor and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, and to Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General.

Mr. Speaker, these actions by the U.S. Post Office Department raise the question: Does the Post Office Department believe in democracy?

School Project Pays Tribute to American Soldiers in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, a wonderful group of kindergarten children in Orlando, Fla., in my congressional district, have paid what I consider a truly great tribute to our young American soldiers who now are fighting in far-off Vietnam.

Since I have been serving in Congress, I cannot remember an example, by any group of my constituents, of a keener awareness of a great national issue affecting the lives of all of us, the future of the Nation, and indeed of our world.

Those boys, thousands of miles from home, fighting their way through jungles in a strange land, must often wonder whether their sacrifices are being appreciated. Especially they must do so when they read of draft-card burnings, student protests, peace marches on Washington, and even some of the debate here in Congress.

As Memorial Day approaches, this is a time to remember and honor; for the end of the bitter conflict in Vietnam is not in sight. For the mothers and fathers, the wives and sweethearts, the families of those who are fighting, this is a sad and anxious time.

I now am in possession of an expression of faith and appreciation for all that every man in a U.S. uniform is doing in distant Asia. It comes from the hearts of a group of boys and girls, 4- and 5-years-old, who have been reading about sacrifices made in the past by brave Americans who are fighting and dying in the swamps and jungles of southeast Asia.

These pupils at Temple Israel Nursery-Kindergarten, 331 Cathcart Street, Orlando, have sent to me a large, bound booklet with pictures, prayers, and messages of cheer to be forwarded to our troops in Vietnam.

I wish each and every Member of this body could visit my office and see this moving and inspiring work by these pupils. It is unfortunate that it cannot be shared by all Americans.

I place two letters and a prayer from the booklet into the Record. The first gives a brief history of how this notable project developed and shows a good deal of keen insight by these pupils into the workings of democracy and freedom.

It is signed by Joyce Srour, director, and Teddy Meister, kindergarten teacher.

Second only to one's parents, teachers mold, shape, and build the character, personality, and motivation of young people. At no time of life is this of greater importance than in the formative preschool ages, in the nursery-kindergarten years.

Rabbi Morris Feldman and the teachers Joyce Srour and Teddy Meister, deserve the highest praise for motivating and guiding the children of the Temple Israel Nursery-Kindergarten in this most unusual and worthy school project. It is indeed an example of teaching in the finest tradition of this noble profession.

Means of communication and ability to travel are making our planet smaller with each passing day. The problems of all races and creeds are becoming intertwined and interrelated. No nation is too small or too remote not to be a potential source of trouble to the rest of the world and its peace and well being.

There is not the time or space, nor is it appropriate here, to relate the importance of the project of these schoolchildren to the commitment of this Nation to the preservation of peace in our troubled world. But there is an important relation. For the teachers of this school are motivating their pupils in an awareness of the commitment of this great Nation to the cause of freedom and the preservation of world peace.

I can think of no greater contribution that these teachers can make to these great goals of the United States.

I just wish we had hundreds of thousands of similar teachers in our schools everywhere throughout our land.

Temple Israel Nursery-Kindergarten has been in existence for 9 years. Our school is available to the children of member of our congregation, and is also open to any others who wish their children to attend.

During the year, our curriculum contains areas of study in science, art, literature, social studies, music, physical education, as well as a readiness program to prepare children for entering first grade.

During the month of February, one such study was in relation to Lincoln and Washington. We discussed how hard they had to work to keep our country free—and—of the Presidents coming after them who also had this same great task. Many of the children were quite aware of the struggle in Vietnam and told us about our servicemen fighting now. This lead to a comparison of similarities of history—that we have had to work at peace in the past, that we do it now in Vietnam, and will always have to defend it in the future. Several children brought newspaper photographs and articles, many others drew their own pictures of what they thought Vietnam was like. The children realized how hard the soldiers are working and fighting for us and wondered if we could do something for them. Several suggestions were made, and it was decided to send a book of bright happy pictures to cheer them up. This is the result of our work. We as teachers, are proud and delighted with our 4 and 5 year olds, and know that this has been a most rewarding and enriching experience for them.

The second letter is to our fightingmen from the children themselves and is accompanied by a prayer on the first page of the booklet.

Orlando, Fla.,
April 1966.

Dear Servicemen: We are only 4 and 5 years old, but our teachers have told us all about you and the wonderful job you are doing.

We know you are in Viet Nam to help the Vietnamese people be free. Just as other servicemen have done before, you are protecting us now. We learned that Freedom is our most important (gift) heritage. Ever since our Pilgrim fathers came to our country, we have fought to keep freedom, and help other nations keep theirs.

We hope our pictures will make the days happier for you. We want you to know how very proud we all are of you, and we pray that you will all come back home safe and sound very soon.

Here is our special prayer for you:

O God, May the time soon come when people in all the lands will live in peace, and will show the whole world the way you want men to live with one another.

O God, let there be peace. Be kind to our men in service. Help them to live happily. Amen.

The students who participated in this project are:

Barbara Albertson, Andrea Behn, Craig Coenson, Teddy Chira, Lisa Graham, Robin Grant, Ben Lefkowitz, Howard Levy, Elise Levy, Jeffrey Lieberman, Loretta Maslanick, Howard Meister, Aaron Oser, Robert Pasamanick, Bruce Roberts, Scott Roberts, Kyle Roth, Stephen Tresser, Roger Spitzer, Gregory Van Torne, Sharon Weinrauch, and Joshua Weinreich.

These pupils have several small photographs of their classroom activities and many very good paintings and drawings of their individual interpretation of the war in Vietnam.

There are many poignant reminders, throughout this touching salute to our servicemen, of the monumental struggle going on so far away in miles, so near to all of us in consequence.

I am sending this volume to the Department of Defense, asking that it be brought to the attention of Gen. William C. Westmoreland, who is doing such a fine job in leading our troops in Vietnam.

There can be no doubt that our servicemen who turn the pages of this booklet will be reminded and comforted that their countrymen of all ages, even the little children, are keenly aware of the great sacrifice and contribution our soldiers are making in behalf of our Nation and the peace of the world.

Frustration in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend to the membership the following editorial written by David Jacobs of the Long Island Press. It clearly delineates the problem we face in Vietnam:

Frustration in Vietnam

Viet Nam, seen from here on a sweet day in May, is a ludicrous "happening," a crazy-quilt explosion of events fitting no sensible, controlled pattern. It would be laughable—if the theme in this madness weren't death.

It's a strange, shifting war-within-a-war, an Oriental puzzle that doesn't seem to have an answer, which appears differently to everyone who looks at it.

Sly, slick and ambitious Premier Nguyen Cao Ky of South Viet Nam has embarrassed the United States terribly. Last week, he said there'd be no elections until 1967. State Secretary Rusk immediately said Ky didn't mean what he said. But over the weekend, Premier Ky demonstrated how much he did mean what he said, no matter how Mr. Rusk said it. By moving against dissident forces in the North, Ky is clearly making a bid to grab personal control over this torn and embittered little nation.

And so, the turmoil-within-the-turmoil grows and feeds on itself. Buddhists prepare to burn themselves; Red terrorists step up activities; Catholics demonstrate against Buddhists; dissident commanders prepare to fight against Ky while proclaiming friendship for the U.S. and rebuffing invitations by Red infiltrators to come over to the Ho Chi Minh side. Behind the looking glass, the war against the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese infiltrators drags on, inconclusively.

It is enough to make even "hawks" here at home begin to wonder, aloud, if we ought to just pull out some dark night.

Ky's conduct is enough to leave a bad taste in anyone's mouth; the bewildering "happening" called Viet Nam may be beyond our comprehension. But pulling out would not only fail to solve the larger questions raised by this little war, it would seal the doom for thousands of ordinary Vietnamese.

To pull out because of disgust over Ky's politics or Viet Nam confusion—as attractive as the prospect is in the face of the frustrations—would not only leave Viet Nam to the not-so-tender mercies of insurgent and invading communists; it would be a surrender to aggression and an open invitation for the communists to carry their wars of "liberation" wherever they choose.

The Stakes in Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, WDSU–TV and radio in its editorial on April 20 states very succinctly the stakes in southeast Asia beyond South Vietnam. The editorial commented on testimony by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. It deserves wide circulation and I am asking permission to include it in the RECORD. It follows in full:

THE STAKES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

(The following editorial was broadcast over WDSU–TV and WDSU–Radio on Wednesday, April 20, 1966.)

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, testifying today before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made a telling point in explaining this country's presence in South Vietnam.

Mr. McNamara pointed out that the Communist sphere of influence in Southeast Asia would have been considerably widened had we not taken action in South Vietnam. Thus, by coming to the aid of South Vietnam, the United States made it clear to all of Southeast Asia that we would not let Red China's influence be extended by aggression.

This point, WDSU believes, has too often been overlooked in discussions about South Vietnam. It's only natural, because it's difficult to think about a war in one country in terms of the long-range balance of power in a whole area of the world.

Yet, there's recent evidence that, because of our presence in South Vietnam, Red China's influence has been weakened in other areas of Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, for example, the new government there has taken a strong, anti-Communist flavor after years of anti-Americanism under the Sukarno regime. Would there have been such a turn of events if the United States had not underlined, in South Vietnam, its commitment in Southeast Asia? We doubt it.

Thailand, a prime target for Red China's subversion, is another example. It's doubtful if the Thais would provide us with air bases and depots for Vietnam operations unless they were convinced of our determination to contain Red China.

In other words, the stakes in South Vietnam involve more than the future of that country itself. In the long run, they involve America's position in Southeast Asia—a position which prevents Red China from absorbing her weaker neighbors.

The Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the National Park Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, about one-half of the beautiful Great Smoky Mountains National Park is located in the State of Tennessee, and approximately 80 percent of this Tennessee land is part of my district.

Through the years, this park has been a wonderful recreation area for the people of our area.

To commend the National Park Service for their administration of the park, and to salute the Service on its first 50 years, I am inserting the following editorial from the Knoxville Journal.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal, May 16, 1966]

NATIONAL PARK BENEFITS

Tourists who camp in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park or tramp the grass at historic Gettysburg have something in common with visitors and reporters who are led about the White House grounds by President Johnson. The paths they follow and the grass they tread upon are under the care of the National Park Service, a bureau of the Department of the Interior which is marking its 50th anniversary this year.

The park service maintains nine historic areas and 11 battlefields and cemeteries, as well as the 31 national parks and various sites in Washington, D.C., under its supervision. Of the more than 62,000,000 tourists who visit national park areas each year, probably only a small percentage are aware of the extent of services provided. They include, among other things, protecting conservation areas, arranging exhibits and guided tours, ensuring safe and plentiful supplies for trails and campsites, and maintaining historic buildings.

Queen of the national park system is our own Great Smoky Mountains National Park. It is not the oldest of the areas set aside for federal protection, but with an annual attendance of more than 5,000,000 it is easily the nation's favorite park. For example, Yellowstone Park, the oldest of the areas set aside for federal protection, draws only something better than 1,250,000 tourists each year even with the advantage of possessing geysers which are among the more spectacular of nature's wonders.

Of course for magnificence of scenery there is no park in the system which can even approach that with which the visitor is blessed within the confines of the Great Smokies.

We note that in celebration of the National Park Service's anniversary, a covered wagon and water cart is traveling 1,800 miles from Death Valley, Calif., to Wessington, S.D. The symbolism in this journey is effective. However, the patronage of the millions who visit the national park system is the real tribute to the success of its administration.

Milwaukee Realtor Says Strong Fair Housing Bill a Must

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY S. REUSS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Judiciary is now holding hearings on a civil rights bill.

I enclose a copy of a letter from Edward W. Smith, of the Wycliff Realty Corp. in Milwaukee on the need for a fair housing provision in the new law. I commend Mr. Smyth's letter to my colleagues' attention. The text of the letter follows:

This letter is precipitated by a recent humiliating and condescending experience had by myself, as a Realtor, and Mr. and Mrs. X, buyers, who are employed as school teachers in the Milwaukee School System.

In 1958 our office sold Mr. and Mrs. X their present home, which is a 3 bedroom, one-family home located in the so-called "inner-core" area. Mr. and Mrs. X came to our office a few weeks ago desiring to sell their present home and buy another home in an area more suited to their increased economic capabilities.

We have secured a buyer for their home, arranged the financing and are proceeding to close this transaction, contingent upon finding another home for Mr. & Mrs. X on or about 60 days after the date of closing.

Then began the arduous task of finding a home that would meet their requirements. Several homes in suburban areas were inspected by Mr. & Mrs. X without apparent difficult. They were not denied the opportunity of inspecting these homes.

As a member of a co-operative listing service, we have available a far wider selection of desirable properties than would be available under one brokerage roof. We received, several days ago, a listing on a property that appeared to meet all the specifications demanded by Mr. & Mrs. X. A call was made to the listing broker inquiring of particulars concerning the property and whether any deals were pending thereon. This broker immediately informed me that the home was available and that he would call the owner to arrange an appointment for inspection. He was to call me back only if an appointment could not be arranged. Later that same day the listing broker told us that he did identify our firm as Negro, and that the seller did not desire to show this home to Negroes. He then pointed out to the seller that there was no reason to be presumptuous and refuse to show the property when in fact, there was no guarantee that Mr. and Mrs. X would want to buy the property. She then indicated she would show the property to the prospective buyers. The listing broker maintained that a short time later he received a call from the seller's attorney indicating that she would be out of the city and therefore would not be available to show the property to Mr. and Mrs. X.

It was rather obvious that the listing broker felt compelled to point out to the seller that our firm was Negro, and therefore the badge of color became the prime reason for rejection and repudiation. Furthermore, this undemocratic and antichristian and immoral attitude obviates, underestimates and precludes my ability to sell homes to anyone other than Negroes.

Could not my buyers have been white? Or, is my black badge of identification to prevent me from serving those whites who come to me for service? The State of Wisconsin has granted me the privilege of being licensed only after having been duly satisfied of my competence in the field of real estate brokerage. Therefore, I submit to you this question; How can I or any Negro realtor reach his fullest potential if unnatural barriers such as skin color hinder maximum development and economic achievement? This kind of treatment is nothing more than psychologic emasculation.

Therefore, this is one more inescapable reason why an Effective Comprehensive Fair Housing Bill is a Must!

Posture of Our Maritime Industry—Statement of Mr. Paul Hall, President, Seafarers International Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union of North America, AFL–CIO, testified before my Merchant Marine Committee this morning on the posture of our shipping industry. I feel that his excellent statement is worthy of the attention of all Members of the Congress, and I insert it in the RECORD.

STATEMENT BY PAUL HALL, PRESIDENT, SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL–CIO, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 18, 1966

My name is Paul Hall. I am president of the Seafarers International Union of North America, which represents unlicensed seamen aboard American-flag merchant ships, and I am also president of the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department, which consists of 32 unions representing nearly half a million American workers in seagoing and related shoreside industries. I am appearing before this Committee as a representative of both of these organizations.

It is my understanding that this Committee is interested in virtually all aspects of American shipping policies and practices, and I am here today to present the positions of the organizations I represent on those matters which are of particular concern to us.

To begin with, this Committee opened its deliberations by hearing a number of witnesses testify with respect to the role being played by American shipping in the present Vietnam situation, and we concur with the views of those witnesses who indicated that the Vietnam situation has exposed the inadequacy of our present merchant fleet.

As all of us know, this nation—even though the war in Vietnam has been limited in scope so far—has nevertheless had to turn to foreign-flag ships, not only to carry military supplies to Vietnam, but also to enable American shipping companies, whose vessels have been diverted to military use, to fulfill their commercial commitments.

Last September, for example, at least two subsidized American steamship companies were permitted by the Maritime Administration to time charter foreign-flag vessels to meet their commercial requirements. These were Farrell Lines, which was permitted to charter the Norwegian-flag freighter *Tungus* for a voyage from Australia to the U.S., and Moore-McCormack Lines, which was allowed to charter the British-flag freighter *Polgate* for a run from the Great Lakes to South America.[1]

Thus the Vietnam situation has made clear the fact that our present merchant fleet is deficient both with respect to its defense and commercial abilities, although the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 states that this nation shall have a merchant fleet capable of meeting both its defense and commercial needs.

Moreover, the Vietnam institution, in our view, has exposed the unreliability of the Defense Department's attitudes toward our merchant marine.

Time and again, within the councils of the President's Maritime Advisory Committee and elsewhere, we have heard representatives of the Defense Department express the view that our merchant fleet is presently adequate because we can rely on foreign-flag vessels, particularly the runaway-flag vessels and the vessels of our NATO allies.

Yet numerous events that have transpired—not only during the Vietnam crisis but prior to it as well—have convinced us of the fallibility of the Defense Department's judgments.

Both the runaway-flag ships and the NATO vessels, of course, are manned by foreign seamen, whose allegiance to the United States is at least open to question, and all of us know that there have been a number of instances in which these foreign crews—including some from NATO countries like Greece—have refused to carry our supplies to Vietnam, and have delayed and hampered our war effort by forcing the transfer of their cargoes to American-flag ships.

In August, for example, the crew of the Greek-flag freighter *Stamatios S. Embiricos* reportedly turned down a bonus of $10,000 to carry Army supplies from California to South Vietnam, and this 9,000-ton shipment had to be reloaded aboard the American-flag freighter *Bay State*, of States Marine Lines.[2]

Again, in September, the crew of the Greek-flag freighter *Marilena P* refused a bonus to deliver tanks, artillery and other military supplies to South Vietnam from Tacoma, and the Moore-McCormack freighter *Mormacregal* had to be diverted from San Francisco to take on this cargo.[3]

Now the two examples we have cited in each case, of instances in which foreign-flag ships have been chartered to carry our commercial cargoes, and of instances in which foreign crews have refused to carry our military cargoes, may not seem to be determining factors in themselves.

There are some who may say that these are isolated episodes which do not and will not affect either the commercial or defense posture of our merchant fleet to any great degree.

But we must recognize that there is an interrelationship between these events. We must recognize that they constitute, in fact, a vicious circle in which the American fleet becomes the chief victim of its own deficiencies. Because the American fleet is inherently weak, its foreign-flag competitors are able to exploit it in this emergency situation. And because its foreign-flag competitors are able to exploit it, the American fleet becomes even weaker than it was before.

We must remember that when these foreign crews, like the Greeks, refuse to carry our military cargoes, they not only place the entire burden of this effort on the American fleet, but at the same time put themselves in a position to carry off the commercial cargoes which these American vessels, diverted to military use, themselves cannot carry.

There is certainly a possibility—even a probability—that commercial cargoes lost to American vessels in this manner may never be recouped. This is a tragedy and it is made more tragic by the fact that the chief danger here is to the only real fleet we have—the subsidized fleet, which is the only fleet of modern and efficient vessels we have in being, and which is the fleet on which we must rely the most in any war effort.

Our fleets of dry cargo tramps and independent tankers, largely because of Government apathy and neglect, have been allowed to deteriorate to a point where the foreign flags, including the runways, are now carrying about 95 percent of our commercial foreign waterborne cargoes in these categories.

Only our subsidized fleet of some 318 vessels has been carrying anywhere near the percentage of our cargoes envisioned when the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 was passed—about 30 percent of our liner cargoes—and if we permit our commercial cargoes in this area to be carried off by the foreign flags, then we will be suffering a blow from which we may never recover.

And so, when we look at the matter from this standpoint, we can see that we face a genuine danger. The weakness of the American fleet which we have allowed to develop tends only to generate increased weakness, and we face the real threat of becoming the principal prey of our own ineptitude and lack of vision and planning—of our failure to create the strong and adequate American-flag merchant marine which this country needs.

The Vietnam situation has taught us—or should have taught us—a number of important lessons.

First, it has shown us that our present American-flag merchant fleet is inadequate to meet either our commercial or defense needs—and certainly not both at the same time.

Second, it has shown us that the deficiencies in our merchant fleet cannot be overcome by reliance on foreign flags, and that the Defense Department is in error in so believing—as are other agencies such as the State Department, which has always been a champion of the foreign flags, even though many of these have not only been seeking to grab off even the small share of cargoes which American ships still carry, but have at the same time been profiting from trade with the enemies of democracy in North Vietnam, in Cuba, and in Red China.

Finally—and most important—the Vietnam situation has shown us that the only way we can ever achieve real strength and security on the seas, in either the defense or commercial areas, is through the creation of a strong and adequate merchant fleet which flies the American flag and which is manned by American seamen.

How do we go about obtaining such a fleet? We do not believe we have to provide a detailed answer because such an answer has already been provided by the President's Maritime Advisory Committee, and we believe that implementation of the recommendations made by it would go far toward restoring the American merchant marine to its rightful place upon the seas.

As we all know, however, a set of proposals regarding the future of our merchant marine has also been put forth by the Interagency Maritime Task Force, and to those of

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Footnotes at end of speech.

us who are concerned with the well-being of the merchant fleet and the maritime industry, the recommendations of this Task Force can only be described as shocking.

What are some of the major differences between the Task Force and Maritime Advisory Committee proposals?

First, the Advisory Committee has recognized the urgent need for building American-flag bulk carriers and has called for the building of bulk carriers sufficient to carry at least 30 percent of our bulk cargoes—or about 250 bulk carriers in the next 20 years. The Task Force, however, has called for the building of only five bulk carriers a year—or 100 in the next 20 years.

Second, the Advisory Committee has recognized the need for preventing our presently unsubsidized fleet of over 100 cargo liners from sinking in seas of obsolescence, and has called for the replacement of this entire fleet in 5–8 years, as well as for the extension of operating subsidies to it. The Task Force, however, would extend subsidy aid to only 30–40 of these presently unsubsidized cargo liners.

Third, the Advisory Committee has recognized the value of maintaining U.S. passenger liners and has called for their retention. The Task Force, however, has recommended phasing out all pasesnger ship services.

Fourth, the Advisory Committee has recognized the need for retaining the cargo preference requirements. The Task Force, however, has called for phasing out the cargo preference program.

Fifth, the Advisory Committee has recognized the need for maintaining the American shipbuilding industry and has called for all ships constructed under its program to be built in American yards. The Task Force, however, would permit ships to be built abroad and operated under American registry in all trades, including the domestic trades.

Sixth, the Advisory Committe has recognized the need for maintaining an independent American-flag tanker fleet and has called for Government action in this area, including the imposition of a mandatory oil import quota program, if necessary. The Task Force, however, has made no recommendations for assisting the tanker fleet; and, on the contrary, has opposed an oil import quota.

Seventh, the Advisory Committee has recognized the significant role in our total fleet capability played by proprietary carriers, and has recommended the inclusion of such carriers in Government aid programs. The Task Force, however, has recommended that Government aid be denied to proprietary carriers.

Finally, the Advisory Committee has condemned runaway-flag ships and the theory of "effective control" and has called for action to replace runaways with American-flag vessels. The Task Force, however, has recommended no action against the runaways.

Summing up, our studies of the Advisory Committee and Task Force reports have convinced us that the Advisory Committee recommendations would rseult in a larger and more effective American-flag merchant marine while the Task Force proposals would have the opposite effect.

Moreover, our own views, we believe, have been substantiated by studies made by the Andrew Furuseth Foundation for Maritime Research, an industry-supported research group which, utilizing the cost figures and other statistical data estimated by the Task Force itself, has prepared a series of charts indicating the relative impacts of the Advisory Committe and Task Force proposals on the maritime industry.

These charts were first published in the Foundation's monthly Maritime Newsletter for February, 1966, and—with the Foundation's permission—are appended as part of this statement.

Chart No. 1—entitled "Projections of the Interagency Task Force"—indicates that the percentage of our foreign commerce carried by American-flag ships will decline from 8.5 percent at present to about 7.5 percent by 1985, although the total value of our foreign commerce will double in this period.

Chart No. 2—entitled "U.S. Foreign Trade"—indicates the manner in which the participation of our merchant fleet in our foreign trade would be increased under the Advisory Committee proposals, both in terms of ships and in terms of deadweight tonnage. The graph also indicates the considerably steeper decline of employment opportunities in this area under the Task Force proposals.

Chart No. 3—entitled "U.S. Fleet Production in Foreign Trade"—indicates that American-flag tonnage employed in our foreign trade would increase by six times under the Advisory Committee proposals, but would remain at a virtual standstill under the Task Force recommendations. In the tanker segment, the Advisory Committee proposals would increase American tonnage in this trade by some 12 times, while the Task Force recommendations would decrease it.

Chart No. 4—entitled "U.S.-Flag Participation in Foreign Trade"—indicates that under the Advisory Committee proposals, American-flag participation would rise to about 30 percent in all areas of foreign trade—in the general cargo, dry bulk and tanker trades—while under the Task Force recommendations there would be declines in all of these areas.

Chart No. 5—entitled "Ships in the Fleet"—indicates that the Advisory Committee proposals would increase the size of the fleet by 162 ships in the next 20 years, while the Task Force proposals would decrease it by some 185 ships.

Chart No. 6—entitled "Expected Costs of Cargo Preference"—indicates that the cargo preference rate differential between American-flag and foreign-flag ships will disappear under the Advisory Committee proposals by 1970, while under the Task Force proposals this rate differential would not vanish until 1985. This, of course, is due to the more rapid building of competitive bulk carriers under the Advisory Committee program.

Chart No. 7—entitled "Cost of Federal Input"—indicates that the cost of the Task Force program would be lower than that of the Advisory Committee program. In this connection, however, it must be noted that while the Task Force program has obviously been designed as an economy measure which enable the Government to reduce its expenditures for maritime purposes, the fact is that the Advisory Committee program would not increase the cost to the taxpayer of maintaining the merchant marine.

Considering the anticipated growth of our gross national product during the next 20 years—as shown in Chart No. 1—as well as the increase which may be expected to occur in our Federal budget, maritime expenditures would remain just about what they are now—that is, at about 40 cents out of every $100 of our Federal budget, and at about 6 cents out of every $100 of our total national wealth. Certainly, this would be a small amount to pay for the improved and expanded American-flag fleet contemplated by the President's advisory panel.

Chart No. 8—entitled "Private Capital Input"—indicates that the Advisory Committee proposals would encourage a considerably greater influx of private capital into the maritime industry than would the Task Force recommendations.

Chart No. 9—entitled "Shipboard Employment"—indicates that, while both programs would decrease job opportunities for seamen, the decreases would be considerably greater under the Task Force proposals. The Advisory Committee proposals, for example, would decrease the number of seamen's jobs by about 9,000 during the next 20 years, while the Task Force proposals would decrease them by about 20,000—or about half of what they are now.

Chart No. 10—entitled "Shipyard Employment"—indicates the manner in which the Advisory Committee proposals would maintain a considerably higher level of shipyard employment than would the Task Force proposals. This, of course, is due to the Task Force proposal for building ships abroad—a proposal which would not only reduce the reservoir of skilled shipbuilding manpower which should be available to this country, but which would also have a detrimental impact upon our balance of payments position.

[Charts not printed in Record.]

We believe that the facts cited above make it obvious that all of us who are concerned with the future well-being of the American merchant marine and maritime industry should reject the recommendations of the Interagency Maritime Task Force and exert all of our efforts to see to it that the Advisory Committee proposals are implemented and become the basis of the new national maritime program pledged by the President in his State of the Union message in 1965.

We believe that America needs the kind of merchant marine envisioned in the Advisory Committee report.

(Note.—The charts which are appended were prepared by the Andrew Furuseth Foundation for Maritime Research and are based upon data compiled by the Interagency Maritime Task Force and contained in a document which was distributed to all members of the President's Maritime Advisory Committee at their meeting of November 30, 1965, and which is entitled "A Comparative Analysis: The Public Members' Subcommittee Report to the Maritime Advisory Committee Compared with the Task Force Paper".)

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[1] *Congressional Information Bureau*—Oct. 18, 1965: "Subsidized Lines Which Charter to MSTS Will Be Permitted to Charter Foreign Ships".

[2] *N.Y. Herald Tribune*—Sept. 7, 1965: "Viet Shipping: More Woes".

Hearings Held in Minneapolis on War in Vietnam—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a while ago I held hearings in my congressional district to bring out all viewpoints on our involvement in Vietnam. The discussion was most stimulating.

I believe that some of the material presented at those hearings deserves broader distribution and will be placing it in the Record from time to time.

Events of the past 2 months in Vietnam have clearly indicated the need for our Government to continuously examine its commitments and the assumptions underlining these commitments. The urgent questions of what can we do for the Vietnamese people, what should we do for them, and what do they want us to do for them must be answered.

Two expert witnesses at the Vietnam hearings in Minneapolis were Burton

Stein, associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota, and Wesley St. John, professor of political science at Hamline University.

I call attention to their analyses in the hope that they will be helpful at this time:

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA,
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
Minneapolis, Minn., December 7, 1965.
DONALD M. FRASER,
432 House Office Building,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: I am sure that I speak for many of my colleagues at the University of Minnesota as well as others in your constituency in applauding your decision to hold open hearings on Vietnam. It is to be profoundly hoped that others in the Congress are doing the same thing in order to probe more deeply than opinion polls do the attitudes of American citizens on this important and dangerous issue. In this letter I want to set before you, in very brief form, my responses to your queries of 19 November.

You will appreciate, of course, that it is very difficult to provide even the beginning of an answer to the five searching questions which you posed. Indeed, in a statement of this length, none of the five questions can be satisfactorily discussed, as I am certain that you and the panel are aware. Because I consider it first in significance and precedence, I direct the principal portion of my remarks to question 4: "What should be an acceptable basis for settlement of the conflict in Vietnam?"

However, any discussion of the question of settlement of the conflict in Vietnam must consider the three questions which you raised prior to that question. I assume that most of us would agree that there is an important role for the United Nations in any conflict which threatens the peace of the world in such a direct way as that of Vietnam. I also assume that we would all agree about the importance of the role of the United States in any political, social, and economic development which could occur in Vietnam as it would with most of the emerging nations of the world. Finally, I think that we would all agree that there can be no effective United Nations participation nor can there be any effetcive United States participation in political, social, and economic developments as long as an intensively military solution is sought in Vietnam. In fact, any question of constructive U.N. or U.S. operations there is rendered meaningless as long as the military solution is ascendant. I conclude, therefore, that your queries 1 through 3 are tragically irrelevant in the short term, while, in the long term, and with an end to military operations, or their drastic reduction, these points become the most important that one could consider. It is absolutely vital for the United Nations to take a central place in the solution of the conflict in Vietnam as a condition of its continued viability as a peace-preserving organization. The longer the U.N. is denied this place by the military efforts of the United States, the more damaged the U.N. will be in its capacity to deal with that matter or any other similar matter. Similarly, it is absolutely vital for military operations to cease so that the United States can do what it, and it alone, can do through technical assistance and loans to provide for the political, social, and economic development of that unhappy land. Each day that the United States is denied its position as prime contributor to the development of Vietnam—and we are denied this by the war conditions there—we offer the communists of Asia an incredible advantage, for we are thereby preventing ourselves from fulfilling our unique mission of contributing to the maintenance of freedom in the world by helping to establish viable, relatively open societies.

The central objective of American policy in Asia generally, and Vietnam in particular, should therefore be to regain a perch from which we can directly contribute to political, social, and economic stability. This seems to me to require a fundamentally different diplomatic posture than we have had for the last decade in Asia. The objectives of this modified posture should be the following three:

1. *Long term.* To establish and help to maintain a stable state system and peace in Southeast Asia for at least thirty years in order to permit these yet unstable states to achieve viable political structures and economies. Such viability cannot come sooner, and may not come at all; but that much time is assuredly necessary.

2. *Middle term.* The achievement of an umbrella of peace cannot be attained unilaterally by the United States but must represent a condominium of the U.S. and the Communist Chinese. Any stable and peaceful state system in Southeast Asia requires the participation of the Peoples' Republic, hence minimal cooperation with them must be effected in which the U.S. and Communist Chinese agree to support a U.N. supervised peace in Southeast Asia.

3. *Short term.* The U.S. must move to end military operations in Vietnam and move to establish effective diplomatic relations with the Communist Chinese. These desiderata may be approached separately or simultaneously.

I plan to suggest a series of steps for the partial realization of the short term objectives I mention above, but from experience I know that what I have already stated above and what I will say below requires a set of arguments that must be seriously examined.

A. There is no genuine solution of the Vietnam conflict through military means, for, as I have stated above, a condition of war prevents the United Nations from participating, it prevents the United States from playing the developmental role for which it is uniquely qualified, and war directly serves the communists of Vietnam and China for it prevents any amelioration of the conditions upon which they depend for success.

B. There can be no genuine or long term solution of the Vietnam conflict, nor general peace in Southeast Asia without negotiations and agreement with Communist China whose growing power and aspirations, propinquity, and traditional importance in this part of the world are beyond dispute or reverse.

C. United States prestige will not suffer as much diminution by conscientiously seeking to develop a more effective, if less heroic, position in Southeast Asia as it will by holding to its present seemingly inflexible position. Prestige is, of course, an important component of foreign policy, but it is not the most important component, nor should it be a determining element in Southeast Asia or elsewhere.

D. The interest of the United States in Vietnam, as an aspect of our national interest, has never been carefully defined, and, like our other commitments in the world, it is changing in its character and in its relationship to other interests. Since our escalation in February, it has seemed to many that our commitment has come to exceed our interest so much as to raise the question of whether a full war with North Vietnam or Communist China are costs which yield commensurate benefits to our security and interests. Recalling the way in which war aims during World War I had to be altered to correspond with the high costs of that war by 1915, the question should seriously be raised of whether, when the number of American dead begin to mount, as it shows signs of doing, we will not be forced to "discover" aims equal to these losses. War has a way of justifying itself through its very destructiveness.

E. We have consistently minimized the extent to which Vietnamese nationalism may be considered as a partial counterpoise to Chinese domination. This nationalism is real and it is important; but it is also perishable as an element upon which we might depend. We should be in the position of protecting the nationalism of Vietnam against Chinese domination, not permitting the Chinese to protect it against us which is what we are doing today.

F. "Wars of National Liberation" sponsored by the communists need not succeed. We should not be fighting a war in Vietnam in order to oppose a doctrine, any doctrine, but especially one that has been proven demonstrably false. Since 1948, these "wars of national liberation" have been suppressed by free governments all over Southeast Asia largely by their own will and with their own resources. It happened again in Indonesia last month. The "domino theory" about which much has been said is but a variant of the "war of national liberation" doctrine and is thus equally falacious.

I conclude from the arguments that I have advanced above that there are three bases for an acceptable settlement of the conflict in Vietnam. These are:

1. *Immediate* termination of the war because it is dysfunctional with respects to United States interests however these may be defined and because a state of war prevents the U.S. from having a maximal effect upon the development of free societies in Southeast Asia;

2. Recognition of and negotiations with the People's Republic of China seeking to establish an extended period of peace in Southeast Asia;

3. Immediate involvement of the United Nations.

The steps which appear to be necessary to realize a settlement are the following:

1. Ending, immediately and unilaterally, the bombing of North and South Vietnam as palpably counter-productive.

2. Replacing the South Vietnamese military clique by a broad, civilian coalition, including the National Liberation Front, with the charge of negotiating for the reunification of Vietnam and elections within two years.

3. Reducing U.S. armed forces to a number, which, with forces contributed by other states recruited through the United Nations, would serve as a peace-keeping force in South Vietnam under U.N. supervision. The total withdrawal of U.S. troops should occur as soon as possible though the United States should be prepared to bear the major cost of the U.N. mission in South Vietnam. The terms of U.N. supervision should assure that there be no troops in South Vietnam except those under the U.N. (including Chinese and U.S.) and that all efforts be made to permit political factions to operate openly and peacefully to organize supporters for the elections to take place in two years.

4. Providing for the relocation of any South Vietnamese persons and their families who desire this because of the removal of U.S. protection. Efforts should be made to determine where, besides the U.S., such persons would desire to relocate and what countries would be willing to offer asylum.

Respectfully and sincerely submitted,
BURTON STEIN,
Associate Professor.

STATEMENT BY DR. WESLEY ST. JOHN, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, HAMLINE UNIVERSITY, AT CONGRESSMAN DONALD FRASER'S HEARING ON VIETNAM, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1965, MINNEAPOLIS AUDITORIUM

The military involvement of the United States in the Vietnamese conflict presents one of the most perplexing problems in international relations which this country has faced since World War II. The basic objective of our military presence in Vietnam is to prevent the expansion of Chinese military power. The problem is one of finding the course of action best suited to meeting that objective.

Because of the dangers inherent in further escalation of the war, in an intensification of military activity, the United States should explore every possible avenue to a negotiated settlement which would make it possible to cease military activities and, over a period of time, to withdraw our military forces from Vietnam. The alternative to negotiation is in all likelihood continued escalation with every additional military effort increasing the danger of reaching the point of no return from large scale war, even nuclear war. The willingness and indeed the desire to negotiate is present United States policy and it should be pursued with all possible vigor and determination.

Our many interests in Southeast Asia are both significant and legitimate and our interest in the area in terms of strategic considerations is very great indeed. Therefore the removal of United States military forces from Vietnam in the absence of negotiated agreements prescribing the conditions of withdrawal would be unwise and not in the national interest of the United States.

As an acceptable basis for settlement of the military conflict the United States should seek an arrangement which would call for cessation of military operations and withdrawal by both sides of military forces in accordance with an agreed time schedule to be followed by elections for the establishment of a government for all Vietnam. Elections properly conducted, conceivably under United Nations supervision, would hopefully result in a relatively stable government. Our national interest calls for a strong, independent Southeast Asia of which Vietnam would necessarily be a major part. Our interest therefore is in creating a strong, stable and independent Vietnam.

We should not conclude that a Vietnamese government created as a result of free elections would be a government closely tied to China or that it would be dominated by China in the form of a Chinese satellite. The Vietnamese are not Chinese and historically Vietnam and China have been enemies. This fact coupled with other considerations such as Vietnameso nationalism and the natural suspicions generated on the part of small powers toward their larger neighbors could, and in all likelihood would, produce division between the two regimes. Under present conditions Hanoi is being drawn into closer cooperation and union with Peking but under different conditions, such as those suggested above, this would not necessarily be true. United States influence—political and economic—might well be used in such a way as to aid and support Vietnam's historical desire to be independent of China. In this effort we would in all likelihood have the support of our non-Communist allies and also of the Soviet Union—support arising from a common desire to provide barriers against expansion of the military power of China.

While military operations quite naturally attract the major portion of our attention, the problem is by no means military alone. We must make every effort to strengthen the social and economic structures of the Southeast Asian nations. The proposal announced by President Johnson in his speech April 7, 1965 in Baltimore is most significant in persuance of this objetctive. The Administration should be commended for the emphasis which the President placed upon the need for economic and social development. The proposal immediately aroused considerable interest throughout Southeast Asia and we should give it full support. Hopefully the Congress will act favorably upon it when it is submitted to the next session. The program is based upon a realistic appraisal of the problems which lie at the root of many of the difficulties plaguing Southeast Asia, including Vietnam.

Plans for the development of the Mekong Basin offer many far-reaching and significant possibilities for agricultural, industrial and commercial advancement. Much effort has already gone into basic feasibility studies of the Mekong Basin over the past five to seven years and a large number of nations and international agencies have participated. Even more significant, the four riparian powers, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam have shown enthusiasm for the venture and a willingness to cooperate. The President's announcement envisions economic and social programs and projects designed to strengthen all of Southeast Asia and it is to be hoped that plans for effectuating the proposals will proceed as rapidly as possible. The establishment of the Asian Development Bank is an important step in the right direction.

In Vietnam we are faced with the necessity of devoting our attention to a number of different tasks at the same time. Under present conditions military operations as well as programs providing maximum security for the population and plans and projects for strengthening the economic and social structures must all be coordinated and carried out together. In this difficult undertaking, everything possible should be done to prevent civilian operations from becoming overshadowed and even overwhelmed by the increasing weight of our military effort. The political task of winning the goodwill of those portions of the population which are either hostile toward us or uncommitted will require continued effort and on a scale perhaps greater than in the past. We must continue to emphasize and perhaps even to increase our efforts on programs of community development, resettlement of refugees, education and medical service. Political work carried out by the United States Embassy and the programs of the foreign aid mission and the United States Information Agency must not be de-emphasized as a result of preoccupation with increased military operations. This is perhaps one of the greatest dangers at the present time and calls for carefully considered interagency planning and action to eliminate or reduce tensions between civilian and military officials. The civilian effort must not be diminished, for the long-range solutions to the problems of Vietnam and of Southeast Asia must be framed not in military terms but in terms of political, economic and social progress.

U.S. Fiscal Policy—The Critical Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the May 1966 issue of the Financial Executive contains a thought-provoking article about our fiscal policy. I call this article to the attention of my colleagues:

U.S. FISCAL POLICY—THE CRITICAL YEARS

(By Maurice H. Stans)

The federal budget was last balanced in 1960. Since then there have been seven deficits in a row, amounting to $36 billion. This figure includes the deficit of $1.8 billion recently proposed by the President for fiscal 1967.

The budget now before the Congress illustrates so effectively some of the aspects of present fiscal policy that analyzing it provides a good start on the broader long-range considerations. After some study, I have reached these conclusions:

1. With or without a letup in Vietnam, the actual deficit at the end of the 1967 fiscal year will probably be much larger than that forecast by the President—it is more likely to be in the range of $5 billion or more.

2. Even the latter amount is a misleading base upon which to project the future. The budget relies on large amounts of non-recurring income, and it appears to underestimate the probable outgo in many categories of spending. If these abnormal elements are normalized, I calculate that the deficit base for 1967 on which subsequent budgets will have to be constructed is in excess of $12 billion.

3. The pipelines for future spending already contain enormous pressures. There is a $115 billion backlog of unspent appropriations carried over from prior years, even before the new budget is enacted. The new authorizations proposed for fiscal 1967 will raise to $236 billion the total that will be available to the Administration for spending. Beyond that, the Great Society programs have barely started and their promises involve stratospheric costs to come. And who knows what our military needs will be?

4. Under this course a balanced budget is a long way off. In the meantime, the continuing deficits are contributing to inflationary forces that even now threaten a disastrous explosion to our economy.

In the face of all this, here is how I would sum up my views on the immediate economic and fiscal situation:

The economy is now operating at a very favorable level. Employment is high and a general prosperity is evident. The economic outlook is optomistic, but only so if serious inflation can be avoided.

As the Administration has repeatedly said, these are the conditions under which the federal budget ought to be in balance or in surplus. Eliminating the deficit should be our immediate goal. A balanced budget should be achieved through cuts in spending rather than through increases in taxes.

In the face of our international commitments, no fault can be found at this time with the growing military ependitures. But, considering the uncertainties of the requirements for military escalation and the rising public concern with inflation, spending for domestic purposes ought to be curtailed much below the budget proposals. Many new programs of the last few years, enacted when economic conditions were considerably less favorable, can be held at lower levels; the money thus saved can bring the budget into balance, stop the growth of our national debt, and shrink the inflationary forces that seriously threaten us.

LONG-RANGE FISCAL POLICY

The current situation provides a good setting in which to discuss the broad subject of fiscal policy. As you know, there are many people who sincerely believe that the federal budget need never be balanced and that our fiscal policies are sound and safe. But there are many who believe that by the policies of the last seven years we have brought the country to a point of crisis in which the immediate alternatives are either increasingly severe inflation or determined restraint that would force the end of our five-year boom. Which side is right?

The first place to look for an unbiased answer is our economic philosophy. Without doubt, there has been underway in our seat of government the biggest economic experiment the world has ever seen. It is important for each of us to understand clearly what it is and what it seeks to achieve, and what risks are involved, for our personal fortunes and our national future are at stake.

The national economic policy which is now being tested so aggressively is not designed as a temporary expedient. It is an avowed way of life. If it succeeds, it will be a major turning point in the economics of government. Historians will record it as a complete reversal in direction for the science of political management. If it fails, it will be an equally historic event that may forever shatter the strength of our free democratic processes.

NEW ECONOMICS

These wide-scale experiments are popularly known as the "New Economics." They endorse and support these propositions:

1. A government can spend a nation into prosperity and assure full employment of its manpower and resources—by a process of force-feeding the economy through planned deficits;

2. A limited amount of inflation is good for the country—or, at least, it does no harm;

3. A tax cut, even when a budget deficit exists, will stimulate the economy and thereby enhance total revenues—sufficiently to achieve future surpluses;

4. The national debt need never be reduced, and should, in fact, be increased as the national output grows;

5. Once full employment and prosperous conditions are achieved, they can be maintained indefinitely by carefully reducing the economic throttle through spending cuts or tax increases.

Behind these principles is the confident belief that the future of a nation can be successfully assured through closely designed economic blueprints, enforced by a system of central control valves that regulate the economic stream to accomplish desired social objectives.

If the "New Economics" succeeds, it would without a doubt create a new era for the United States and, in fact, for the entire community of nations. Never again would a national government need to be inhibited in the scope of its services to the people by old-fashioned thinking. Central economic planning would become a major tool of progress, and all nations could have regular growth with stability.

WILL IT WORK?

It may be boldness even to question these policies when, after a few years, they seem to be highly successful. Unemployment is down, and the gross national product is regularly breaking records. Prosperity is quite general, and the standard of living has certainly advanced. But a few years of success do not insure the long-time survival of these policies in the face of the inevitable pressures and tugs of a democratic society, and it is over the long term that their ultimate value will be judged.

How will they look ten years from now—or even next year? And what is the price Americans will pay for these gains? There are questions that these propositions immediately bring to mind:

1. Can a government successfully cast out the long-accepted tenet that, to be financially strong, it must live within its income at least over a period of years?

2. To what extent and for how long can annual deficits be suffered and national debt be accumulated without imposing costly inflation, with its consequent loss of values and of security, especially harsh for those on fixed incomes?

3. Can a small degree of inflation be encouraged without serious risk that it will get out of control?

4. Do we have a sufficiently accurate measure of all aspects of the economic pulse to be able to alter the forces of fiscal policy quickly enough to meet changes in conditions?

5. Can fiscal policy be turned around in a hurry and in precisely the degree needed? In our system of politics and pressures, will the right remedies always be applied at the right time and with the right force? In the unexplored territtory we are in today, will we be able to find our way without dislocation or disaster? To put it bluntly, will political factors outweigh economic decisions?

WHAT HAPPENED IN BRAZIL

Before considering these questions, you should know about Jose Pereira.

Jose Pereira, down in São Paulo, Brazil, doesn't know much about theories of economics. Except for the complaints he hears from his fellow workmen in the glass factory about the supidity of the politicians way off in Brasilia, he doesn't understand much about his government's affairs. And he wouldn't recognize a fiscal policy at any distance. But Jose knows some things about his own income and outgo. He knows that when his wife, Maria, goes to the market she needs three times as much money to fill her basket with groceries as she did in 1964—two years ago. He knows that the medicines he needs when the doctor comes are nine times as expensive as they were five years ago. He knows that the huaraches that cost him 20 cruzeiros in 1953 went to 70 cruzeiros in 1955, to 200 cruzeiros in 1960, and that they are 2,000 cruzeiros today.

Jose has had increases in his pay during all this time, but they never seem to catch up with rising expenses. What good is a 50 per cent increase in pay when living costs have gone up 60 per cent since the last one, less than a year ago? There is nothing left to save now, and the 3,000 cruzeiros he put awayy in the big bank for a nest egg ten years ago are hardly worth going after. When they saved it, he and Maria had hoped it would buy a piano for little Marquita some day so that she could develop her musical talents. Now it will barely pay for one lesson.

Jose's meager pay must be spent quickly before it loses its value. Saving is useless, and the future is dark and foreboding.

There are some things we could tell Jose that might make him understand his plight:

1. In the last 12 years the cruzeiro has dropped from 18½ to the dollar to 2,000 to the dollar. It has lost 99 per cent of its buying power.

2. In the same period the Government of Brazil has consistently operated with large deficits, financed with borrowed and printed money. The national debt is astronomical, and foreign obligations cannot be met even with large amounts of new aid.

3. Meanwhile the cost of living has been spiraling. It increased 23 per cent in 1960, 43 per cent in 1961, 52 per cent in 1962, 75 per cent in 1963, 85 per cent in 1964—and is still going up, despite all efforts of a new reform government.

Until the present Administration the successive governments of Brazil were following exactly the same new economic philosophy that is being urged on the United States today. It started about ten years ago when a President of Brazil called the traditional economics "fuddy-duddy" and set out to use deficits and inflation as a purposeful economic device. He promised 50 years of progress in five. But, in the words of one expert a few years ago: "He achieved 40 years of inflation in four. Today the only thing behind the cruzeiro is the printing press. Fiscal irresponsibility is at the root of Brazil's present problems."

AROUND THE WORLD

Is this a typical case or is it unusual? Does this prove that our present fiscal policies will have the same consequences? Perhaps not, standing alone. But there are other places where we can look, too, for evidence.

Uruguay, a "welfare state run wild," with annual budget deficits and with two out of five members of the working force on a government payroll of some kind, has had three currency devaluations in three years. Living costs jumped 38 per cent in 1964 and even more in 1965. Since 1960 Montevideo's prices have soared more than 300 per cent. Considered for years to be a worker's paradise and an example of successful socialism, Uruguay is now broke and facing the same strict reforms that Brazil is undergoing in order to bring its economy back to a solid base.

Ecuador, Argentina, and Chile have had large budget deficits and large doses of inflation in the last decade. In Colombia the cost of living has advanced 60 per cent in the last three years. Other Latin-American countries have suffered to lesser degrees.

What has happened in Europe? France has had to tighten its belt and invoke controls after an increase of 25 per cent in the cost of living in a five-year period. In Italy the cost of living moved up 20 per cent between 1961 and 1964, and it, too, led to stringent measures. Denmark and Sweden are fighting inflationary spirals. Britain is forced to impose price and wage sanctions.

Elsewhere? Indonesia's money has fallen heavily in value in the past few years. South Korea's inflation this year is about 25 per cent. In India and the Philippines a rising cost of living is bringing bitterness, frustration, and insecurity. And so on.

Could these things happen here? It might be fatal to think they could not.

THE PRICE ALREADY

In the last two years of these fiscal policies, these are some of the results that have already occurred:

(a) A crisis in our balance of payments and a loss of $1.5 billion in gold in 1965 alone.

(b) An interest equalization tax to restrict overseas portfolio investments.

(c) A government effort to reduce bank lending for foreign purposes.

(d) A "voluntary" program to hold down business investment overseas.

(e) Guidelines to hold down wage increases honored more in violation than in observance.

(f) "Jawbone price control" from Washington, including stockpile pressures, which affect a few larger industries, but are ignored by almost all others.

(g) A sharp rise in the wholesale price index; and a 2 per cent increase in the cost of living index (many economists predict that a 3 to 5 per cent gain is likely in 1966).

(h) A withdrawal of the gold reserve against our domestic currency.

(i) Inventory accumulation now beginning on a fairly substantial scale, influenced by fear of increasing prices.

(j) Sky-high interest rates (with government 90-day bills as of today bringing 4.7 per cent and guaranteed Export-Import Bank loans 5.5 per cent), with more increases in prospect.

(k) On-again, off-again tax policy, with excise tax cuts and employment tax increases January 1, reversals of the excise cuts two weeks later, followed by a speedup of the speedup in corporate tax payments.

(l) A clearly evident decline in labor productivity, which could well bring a profit squeeze or even higher prices.

Are these twelve current events the first of a long string of chickens coming home to roost? And what will follow?

Perhaps one answer is in a recent statement from the Council of Economic Advisers:

"It is easy to prescribe expansionary policies in a period of slack. Managing high-level prosperity is a vastly difficult business and requires vastly superior knowledge."

RISKS INVOLVED

Two years ago I suggested that the "New Economics" might involve some serious risks:

1. The risk of failure—involving a high penalty in accumulated debt, loss of value of our currency, disastrous inflation, and loss of our position of world leadership.

2. The risk of temporary success, which might, paradoxically, bring about another epidemic of failures in weaker nations (tempted by the sweet smell of our achievement but unable to keep their programs in bounds) and might also tempt us to demand too much of a good thing and thereby bring about our downfall.

3. The risk of degradation of national purpose and spirit, which would inevitably accompany a reversal of the deep-seated traditions of thrift, self-responsibility, freedom of action, and driving ambition that built a great nation out of a mixture of insecure racial and ethnic strains.

4. The risk of loss of personal freedoms—a price which probably would have to be paid for the all-powerful central government that long-range economic planning and controls would bring and high spending would create.

Let us analyze two of these a bit more:

The risk of failure is the risk that, after a period of years, we will find what we have really achieved is an artificial and unsolid boom. It would be followed by a period of costly reckoning, in which the "Old Economics" would come to the rescue. In the meantime, through inflation and its consequences, the nation and its people will have been seriously hurt.

Even deeper than the impact of such failure on today's living costs or tomorrow's debts and taxes is the potential danger of weakening the national ability to meet world problems. We may be playing right into Communist hands by extravagant fiscal policies that carry such overwhelming risks. How can we preserve flexibility and reserve strength to meet emergencies if we constantly pursue a course of fiscal brinkmanship, or government by credit card? The chances for successful use of the "New Economics" depend on finding a delicate, thin line of overspending that nevertheless does not tip the balance to inflationary disaster. So far, there is no evidence that any country has found that formula.

Perhaps most serious of all, the "New Economics," right or wrong, may be risking the loss of our personal freedoms. Of all the instruments which subvert freedom, inflation is the worst. Millions of people around the world today have learned this lesson. But almost as bad are the controls that will seemingly be necessary to hold us together if the "New Economics" becomes the permanent order. Where does the new economic planning stop? We know that it includes deliberate expenditures to stir up the economy, controlled interest rates, a growing national debt, and some "acceptable" inflation.

We also know that, sooner or later, it must involve more and more government influence or control over prices or wages, over conditions of work, over investment and investment returns, over business policies and practices, over the flow of money and credit, and over economic education. And we know that the control mechanisms themselves and the bureaucracies that grow to superintend the flow of spending add up to ever-enlarging power over the lives and actions of the people.

Certainly not all government growth or government control is to be condemned. The population explosion and an accelerating pace of existence require more agencies to protect civil rights and balance out opportunities. National defense in a threatening world requires manpower and money. These are proper government concerns.

But where is the limit on encroachment on private action? Is there any certain line of guarantee against undue usurpation of central power?

Unfortunately, the trend of the recent years of growth in government gives little comfort. A proliferation of laws, regulations, bureauracies, and controls has removed more and more responsibility from our local communities to Washington, into the hands of the economic and social planners. And there is no indication that these planners are satisfied.

As more economic decisions are made in Washington, more power could be centralized with the politicians and bureaucrats. Plans, directives, and edicts could replace the composite daily judgments of millions of businessmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and laborers that traditionally have guided our endeavors. Gradually our free market system could slip away.

A PLEASANT IRRESPONSIBILITY?

In summary, the new economic theories have the attractions of promising much, providing a pleasant euphoria of irresponsibility, and always postponing the reckoning. But the strong evidence of experience is that these theories do not guarantee success. The case for the "New Economics" has never been proved. It is failing right now in many other countries. It may now be approaching a crisis here.

In conclusion, I pose this question: Is the "New Economics" a blueprint for utopia or a temporary mess of economic pottage? Of one thing we can be sure: this problem is not simply academic rhetoric. It is a situation that each of us—especially those of us who are financially oriented—must watch carefully and seek to resolve, with all the capabilities at our command.

The next few years may be critical in this test. Only history will know the long-run answer, but let me remind you again of the enormity of the stakes. Only if we maintain our long-term economic strength can we perform on our promises to achieve a poverty-free America. Only then can we marshal our full strength to meet the emergencies of an increasingly complex society. Only then can we deserve the position of leadership for the hundred weaker nations and their billions of insecure people seeking the way to comfort under freedom.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows Annual Pilgrimage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows held their annual pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Unknowns on Sunday, May 8. A large number of Odd Fellows, officers and members, were here from Canada, and most of the States.

Sovereign Grand Master James Main, of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, made the principal address, which I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Master of ceremonies, officers of the Sovereign Grand Lodge, International Association of Rebekah Assemblies and general military council, Congressman Dowdy, to all members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and friends, the privilege of appearing on this occasion is more than mere honor, it is—I believe—symbolic of the freedoms for which our Unknowns made the supreme sacrifice. That a citizen of another country should be permitted to stand on this, the most hallowed piece of ground in the United States of America and to represent approximately one million American members of The Independent Order of Odd Fellows in paying tribute to their heroes is something that should not be taken too much for granted. I doubt that any two countries, living side by side, have been the good neighbors that your country and mine have proved themselves for more than a century.

Nearby is the Canadian Memorial, erected in memory of those Americans who lost their lives while serving in the Armed Forces of Canada. And many Canadians have fought for Uncle Sam—who knows? Perhaps one of the Unkown could be a Canadian. Even now—at this moment, my nephew, Canadian born—is wearing the Uniform of an American soldier in Germany. Yes, we are good neighbors, but more than that, we are in truth friends and brothers. The best of our manhood has fought in each others armies—have been prepared to die for each other—have indeed died for us. "Greater Love Hath No Man Than This, That a Man lay down his Life for his Friends."

How grateful we should be—to be numbered as friends of these Unknowns—and all that vast horde who lay down their lives for us. Not that they actually *gave* their lives—they were mostly young—life was surely good—but they gave their *services* knowing only too well what the cost might be for them. And here within these beautiful acres we can read for ourselves *the price tag of freedom*. Here we can be fully conscious of the price that has been paid—and is being paid—for those freedoms which we profess to value so highly.

Do we truly appreciate the privileges of a free country? Are we prepared to Guard these freedoms? Do we value all that these Unknowns fought and died for? Or has their sacrifice been for naught? The privileges which we enjoy are worthy of the responsibilities which they entail. If those we honor today cared enough to risk their lives, is it too much to ask that we be good citizens? That we accept the responsibilities of our Citizenship? That we guard our freedoms and a way of life which is peculiar to a Democracy?

Perhaps I talk as if our Countries are one—to all intents and purposes we are integral parts of one united whole, believe me, we in Canada are most happy to have Uncle Sam as our next door neighbor—and you in the United States must be equally pleased to know that the vast territory to your North is peopled by good friends who love their freedom just as much as do all Americans. But world conditions demand that we be more than neighbors—for the welfare of both Countries we must be Partners and this in truth we are: Partners in defence; partners on the Dew Line which stretches across the vast Northern wastes; partners in the very nerve center of your defences manned by both Americans and Canadians.

Yes—we have more than a country to guard—we must defend a Continent if we would protect the way of life for which our Unknowns died. Is it worth the Price? We surely agree that it is—but are we prepared to do something about it? There are—in this world—other forms of Government—there are other ways of life—there are different ideologies—the proponents of which have openly boasted that they will crush us. It is unthinkable to believe that this might ever come to pass—the only possibility of such a happening—would be the result of apathy on the part of the peoples of our two great Nations. Such a catastrophe can only come about if we fail in our responsibilities as Citizens. Following the First World War, a Canadian, Col. John McCrae, wrote these lines:

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

"We are the Dead, Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie,
In Flanders fields.

"Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields."

Yes—we must not break faith with those who died. Let us not forget those things for which they died—for if we do, our very way of life is in jeopardy. Your land (and mine) was settled by those who sought political and religious freedoms, and a better way of life, they too should be included in those we honor today. They also fought a war: They battled the hardships of an underdeveloped wilderness; they resisted the oppressor and won their freedom and many made the same sacrifice as these who lie buried here in Arlington Cemetery. They died for the same things as did the Unknowns.

As we pay tribute to our dead, let us rededicate ourselves to work with renewed effort to protect the freedom that make our way of life so meaningful—to insure those who follow a life they can enjoy to the full.

The price tag of freedom is not only the lives of three Unknown lying in these tombs, but the lives of all of those who have been sacrificed through the years in both our countries.

It behooves us to carry high the torch—thrown to us by the failing hands of the dying—and never, never to lose Faith with those who died: Though poppies grow In Flanders fields.

Prayer Amendment: A New Cloak for Rightwing Extremists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most ridiculous campaigns now going on is the one which claims that to support the proposed amendment to the Constitution to permit prayers in public schools is to be in support of religious freedom.

The exact opposite is, of course, true. The following article from the American Examiner of May 12, 1966 describes how the rightwing fanatics are supporting this movement:

Prayer Amendment—Extremists' New Cloak

(By James H. Sheldon)

After two defeats, advocates of the "prayer amendment" have again introduced it in Congress.

It is hard to tell whether the most vocal propagandists behind this move are more interested in prayer or in undermining the Supreme Court of the United States, or just in getting new funds for their extremist organizations.

The issue arises, of course, as a result of Supreme Court decisions saying that certain types of prayers said in schools are contrary to the principles of religious freedom established in the Frst Article of the Bill of Rights contained in the United States Constitution. Advocates of the amendment would like to reverse this decision by changing the Constitution itself.

The Liberty Lobby, a highly financed Washington outpost of the far-out right wing, devotes the entire front page of its May bulletin to a call for passage of the "prayer amendment," in the name of "religious freedom." This is one of the most ridiculous perversions of the words "religious" and "freedom."

It happens that many Americans do not wish to have their children taught to pray in the precise way that some other Americans would prefer. Americans adhere firmly and conscientiously to many different religious doctrines. The right to exercise these preferences is one of the basic freedoms set forth in the Constitution, and supported in the decision of the Supreme Court on this subject.

To try to hamstring the Court and undermine the Constitution's guarantees in the name of "freedom" is about as misleading a propaganda campaign as one might imagine. The rest of the Liberty Lobby newsletter spells out some of its other strange ideas about "liberty": It would like to revoke U.S. membership in the United Nations, stop the Food Aid Program, and recognize Ian Smith's racist regime in Rhodesia.

Gerald L. K. Smith, America's most notorious anti-Semitic agitator, is as usual on the firing line wherever he can peddle his prejudices under a religious-sounding cover, and perhaps make a dollar in the process. The April issue of Smith's Cross and the Flag magazine devotes its first page to an open letter to Congressmen announcing that a delegation will call on each of them to support the "prayer amendment" in order to overcome the "edict," of the Supreme Court.

Obviously, these delegations will require a lot of money.

Smith, the preceding month, had praised himself for being "the first to organize a campaign to impeach Earl Warren"—a project later taken over by the John Birch Society. Both Smith and the Birchites, as well as right-wing radio evangelist Bill James Hargis, have been making use of the circulation of anti-Supreme Court petitions as a device for getting thousands of people to put their names and addresses on paper.

Even the Ku Klux Klan is in on the act—and I can think of nothing which comes so near being outrightly blasphemous. For these hooded gangsters to pose as the defenders of prayer (to any one except Satan, perhaps) seems unbelievable.

The National States Rights Party, a widespread hate organization in the South, operated along openly neo-nazi lines, has also been engaged in circulating "prayer petitions." The Thunderbolt, a monthly publication of this outfit, carries on its masthead the "thunderbolt" insignia which so long identified the infamous Hitler Youth organization and other official nazi units. The NSRP has been linked with some of the more violent outbreaks aaginst civil rights for minorities, and currently advertises "high powered military rifles" for sale on a "strictly confidential" basis, for "patriots only"—which is about as near as you can get to offering the makings of violence.

Of course, not all supporters of the prayer amendment belong in the hate mongers category. Many of its advocates are sincere, religious people, mainly of fundamentalist background. These supporters of the amendment have simply not thought the issues through.

The venerable Justice Hugo Black who wrote the original decision in the school prayer case is one of the most humbly religious men in American public life and one of our truest patriots—but he and his fellow justices realize that true religion can never be imposed upon free citizens by a public authority, and particularly not by misusing schools which are supported through public tax funds.

Readers of the American Examiner might do well to note a phrase in Gerald Smith's article, mentioned above, in which he charges that the pending amendment has been "delayed and sabotaged by the Judiciary Committee headed by EMANUEL CELLER."

An attack by a man like Smith is high praise indeed, and some of my New York readers might like to drop a note of appreciation to Congressman CELLER, now the senior member of the House of Representatives and one of the its wisest statesmen.

By Civitan Club—28 Receive Citizenship Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BASIL L. WHITENER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, every year the Gastonia, N.C., Civitan Club honors the outstanding high school seniors in Gaston County. I have always been interested in this spendid project.

Gastonia is my hometown. I am very proud of the young men and women who received the annual citizenship awards. Their outstanding qualities of citizenship and their excellent scholastic records reflect great credit upon themselves and their community.

Twenty-eight of Gaston County's high school seniors received Civitan Citizenship Medals this year. In recognition of their fine work and excellent character I include an article concerning their activities, which appeared in the Gastonia Gazette of May 12, 1966, in the RECORD.

BY CIVITAN CLUB: 28 RECEIVE CITIZENSHIP MEDALS

Twenty-eight of Gaston County's outstanding high school seniors were honored Wednesday at the Masonic Temple at the annual Citizenship Awards day program sponsored by the Gostonia Civitan Club.

A boy and a girl from each of the high schools in the county were given Civitan International Medals for citizenship. The students were chosen from 1,750 seniors in the county.

On hand to greet the winners and to give them a few words of advice was Dr. Bonnie E. Cone, vice chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Miss Cone, who nurtured the Charlotte institution from struggling infancy to university status, told the students that "you have two obligations. One is to yourself as a citizen. The other is to society."

She said: "You look to me like you are willing to work. If you are willing to work, then I would recommend four things."

She then suggested the following:

1. Continue your education. Go to college or a trade school. Take night courses.
2. Keep your religious faith strong.
3. After employment, participate in constructive work of one or more organizations. Churches and government cannot do the work alone.
4. Participate in politics and in good government.

The speaker was introduced by Civitan Robert Miller Howard.

Winners of this year's Citizenship Awards are the following, listed according to school:

Ashley—Rebekah Lou Howell and John Robert Darwin.

Belmont—Cynthia Leonard and Steve Barkley.

Bessemer City—Vicky Thornburg and Billy Kincaid.

Cherryville—Bennette Tillman and Darmont Beam.

Cramerton—Rebecca Reece and Jim Van Pelt.

Dallas—Boyce Ann Harris and Paul Black.

Highland—Yvonne Gary and James Wright.

Holbrook—James Griffin and Bill Grice.

Hunter Huss—Lula Lail and John Alexander.

John Chavil—Reba Johnson and Robert Brooks.

Lincoln—Betty Starnes and Cornell Mauney.

Reid—Mary Diane Neal and Edgar Sherwood Grier.

Stanley—Jill Bumgardner and Ed Thompson.

Tryon—Barbara Jean Kiser and Henry Phillip Rudisill.

(Mt. Holly's winners will be announced later.)

Principals, school superintendents and representatives from Gaston College attended the meeting as guests of the Civitans.

An Analysis From a Housewife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE SKUBITZ
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Fifth Congressional District have been most generous in replying to my questionnaire this year. In addition, nearly 1 out of over 5 respondents has included a letter with their completed questionnaire outlining in detail their views on the many subjects covered.

Some have included letters detailing their views on subjects about which they have strong feelings. One such letter came from a housewife of Coffeyville, Kans. I especially appreciated her sincere and frank viewpoint after completing the family income tax return. The questions raised in her letter are thought provoking and affect the future of all Americans.

Under unanimous consent I include her letter in the RECORD and encourage my colleagues to read it carefully:

DEAR SIR: I've had my questionnaire filled out for several days but felt it was such a serious obligation that I've spent some time studying it.

As an American taxpayer who has just finished our tax return, I've discovered some startling facts. With a gross income last year (earned by spending about 14 hours a day for 7 days a week) of about $10,000, a net income of $4,600—I've discovered the two of us have paid more than $1,200 in local, state and federal taxes (with more hidden, I expect). With this in mind is it unreasonable of me to resent most vigorously the continuous stream of "dole", "welfare", "charity", "give-away" programs flowing from Washington to every corner of the United States and all parts of the world? When will we learn that we can't buy respect, friendship, and integrity. With the untold billions we as taxpayers have been forced to pay and watched our government shovel out to foreigners who more or less demand it, we still find ourselves with very little influence in the United Nations. The little "postage stamp" countries admitted like flies these last years will one day soon force us to accept the cruel, vicious regime in Communist China. Thus they will also be eligible for all the welfare, give-away programs of the U.N. (financed by American money) and we will be giving aid to one more enemy, helping one more enemy to grow strong, so that one day she will be able to cut our throat. Added to the list of Russia, Cuba, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Red African puppets, this list is growing very long.

Another item not mentioned in your questionnaire is the cruel treatment we are a party to in Rhodesia and Mr. Goldberg's proposed treatment of South Africa. Since both governments are friendly to us and don't require bribes I suppose it is only natural that we forsake them and help deliver them to the enemy. This is another sample of the diplomacy that makes us insult our friends and give aid and comfort to those who would destroy us. We worry about increasing our trade with the ungodly rulers of Russia and her friends while they ship instruments of death to be used against American soldiers fighting in service of their country. We feed our enemies while they grow strong in military might and look for new countries to conquer. I guess I should know by now that logic and common sense is too much to expect.

What has happened to a once proud, beautiful land where a citizen, proud of his freedom and independence, worked to support his family, provided for his own, glad to lend a hand to a neighbor in distress, educated his children by thrift and prudent living, worshipped God and reared his children to love God and country, taught his children by example to obey the law and accepted the responsibility of raising them to be law-abiding, God-fearing patriotic Americans?

Sincerely yours,

——— ———.

Toward a Review of the Draft—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon's Washington Evening Star carries the headline: "All Youth Should Serve, McNamara Says." The story reports:

> Every young person should give two years of service to his country, either in military service, the Peace Corps, or some other volunteer development work at home or abroad, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara said today.

The need for review of our draft system has been evident for some time. Secretary McNamara's suggestion will have wide support. The National Service Conference of May 7, 1966, in New York City, discussed this same suggestion. A summary of that conference appears on page A2668 of yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I believe that the following excerpt from Secretary McNamara's speech in Montreal today deserves wide notice:

EXCERPT FROM ADDRESS BY ROBERT S. MCNAMARA BEFORE THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS, QUEEN ELIZABETH HOTEL, MONTREAL, CANADA, WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1966

With respect to a "community of effort" let me suggest a concrete proposal for our own present young generation in the United States.

It is a committed and dedicated generation: it has proven that in its enormously impressive performance in the Peace Corps overseas; and in its willingness to volunteer for a final assault on such poverty and lack of opportunity that still remain in our own country.

As matters stand, our present Selective Service System draws on only a minority of eligible young men.

That is an inequity.

It seems to me that we could move toward remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad.

We could encourage other countries to do the same; and we could work out exchange programs—much as the Peace Corps is already planning to do.

While this is not an altogether new suggestion, it has been criticized as inappropriate while we are engaged in a shooting war.

But I believe precisely the opposite is the case. It is more appropriate now than ever. For it would underscore what our whole purpose is in Vietnam—and indeed anywhere in the world where coercion, or injustice, or lack of decent opportunity still holds sway.

It would make meaningful the central concept of security: a world of decency and development—where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

Soil Stewardship Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER L. MIZE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, during Soil Stewardship Week, which is being observed this week, May 15 to 22, I feel that it is appropriate to point out the great record which the State of Kansas has made in conservation over the past 30 years. In doing this, I must pay tribute to the USDA Soil Conservation Service and to Morrie Bolline, State conservationist for Kansas, and all of the others whose teamwork has made possible the accomplishments recorded by our State. Included on this conservation team are other Federal agencies providing cost-sharing credit, education, and research assistance; State agencies, associations of soil conservation and watershed district directors, conservation contractors and equipment suppliers, and most important of all—the landowners and operators who are the indispensable people in accomplishing this job on the lands of our State.

CONSERVATION BOOSTS KANSAS' AGRICULTURE

Kansas is an agricultural State with 50 million acres of land devoted to crops, pasture or range, and a small acreage of woodland. Cities and towns occupy about 2,500,000 acres of the total land area.

There are 29,500,000 acres of cropland of which 850,000 acres are being irrigated. Kansas ranks first as a wheat State with more than 34 percent of the farm receipts resulting from the sale of that crop. Other crops in which the State holds high national ranking include sorghums for grains and forage, sweet clover seed, alfalfa seed, rye, and sudan grass.

The 18,400,000 acres of pasture and range include grasslands which have been historically in that use. These lands may contain scattered trees but the principal plant cover is such as to identify it as a permanent grazing land.

While Kansas is not a forest State, the use of trees in conservation, especially in windbreaks and shelterbreaks and in wildlife area improvement, is gaining in interest and importance. They furnish protection for livestock, wildlife, and farmsteads and are a factor in the reduction of evaporation from cropland and in distribution of moisture.

Farm income in Kansas for the 10 years from 1953 to 1962 averaged $1,057,934,000 per year. Cash receipts from the sale of livestock and livestock products amounted to 52 percent of the total for the State while receipts from crops was 48 percent.

Conservation measures used in Kansas are typical of those used in the Great Plains States.

The Great Plains conservation program is designed to stabilize agriculture in an area composed by parts of 10 Great Plains States, including Kansas. Congress authorized this program through Public Law 1021 in 1957 to minimize the hazards of farming and ranching caused by the erratic climate of this area.

The Soil Conservation Service administers the program with assistance and advice from a State program committee and local county program committees. Signup is fully voluntary by each individual. The program is based on the need for soil and water conservation practices plus planned cropping and grazing systems and land-use changes in proper combinations to solve the erosion problems of an entire farm or ranch.

The first Kansas Soil Conservation District was organized in Labette County in 1937 soon after the State legislature had enacted the enabling legislation. The Shawnee Soil Conservation District was organized in 1954. This completed the organization of 105 SCD's in Kansas. Each district is set up on a county basis.

Soil scientists have surveyed and classified 20,241,263 acres in Kansas, and standard soil survey reports of 12 Kansas counties have been published and are available. The Kansas Extension Service, Agricultural Experiment Station, and Soil Conservation Service conduct community educational meetings to familiarize local residents with the published soil survey reports.

WATERSHED PROJECTS PROTECT OUR RESOURCES, TOWN AND FARM

Many Kansas communities have water problems which are too complicated or expensive to be solved by individual farmers or even small towns acting alone. These problems may involve flooding, drainage, serious gully and channel erosion, rural and urban water supply, fish and wildlife development, and water-based recreation. For such problems the solution is provided by watershed projects developed under the watershed protection and flood prevention program authorized by Public Law 566, the Hope-Aiken Act.

Early watershed projects—built primarily for flood prevention after the floods in 1951—have yielded unforeseen byproduct benefits. Water stored in the sediment pools of floodwater retarding reservoirs and behind grade stabilization dams have provided water for use during drought, water for rural fire protection, water for livestock, and innumerable other uses. Such small lakes provide fine fishing, hunting, swimming, and boating—all valuable uses of facilities built for flood prevention.

Multiple-purpose development is taking hold in watershed projects as people see the advantages of wisely using reservoir sites for rural and municipal water supply and recreation in addition to flood prevention. The total water supply is usually adequate. What is needed—and it is happening—is to develop facilities for efficient management, storage, and distribution of the water we have.

The watershed program can and does fulfill the water needs of many towns and cities in eastern Kansas that must depend on surface water storage. It permits the upstream people to share in water-resource development as do the larger cities located on the rivers.

KANSAS LEADS IN TERRACES AND WATERWAYS

Kansas leads the Nation in miles of terraces and acres of grassed waterways established. We rank among the top 10 States in conservation accomplishments.

GRASSED WATERWAYS

The development of a grassed waterway consists of shaping or grading and establishing suitable vegetation in depressions or in natural drainageways. The purpose of this practice is to carry runoff water down the slope into a drainage channel or other outlet with a minimum amount of erosion. This practice is being employed on 230,407 acres in Kansas.

TERRACES

Three main types of terraces are used in Kansas. Broadbase terraces reduce runoff on uniformly sloping land. Gradient terraces permit the orderly disposal of water into an outlet. Level terraces are designed to hold all the water on the field, allowing it to soak into the soil. Terraces protect more than 5 million acres of Kansas soil.

This and other conservation practices which are moving ahead in Kansas to make us one of the Nation's leaders has been recognized by others. In the dedication of the Council Grove Dam and Reservoir in Council Grove, Kans., last Sunday, Lt. Gen. William F. Cassidy, Chief of Engineers, cited Kansas as one of the leaders in the nationwide effort to develop and put to beneficial use our precious and limited water resources. General Cassidy said that during recent years, the water conservation program in Kansas has been booming at a rate considerably higher than the national average and he termed this a great tribute to the foresight and energy of the State's leadership.

In presenting this summary of what Kansas has done in the conservation field, I must give credit again to Morrie Bolline, the State conservationist, for his excellent brochure, "Working With Kansans for the Future of Kansas." The facts and figures and the record of accomplishments were taken from this brochure.

Catholic War Veterans Resolution on the Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. McINTYRE

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, the Catholic War Veterans, U.S.A., is an organization of dedicated veterans of our Nation's wars made up of Americans of the Catholic faith and dedicated to patriotic activities.

Recently, a resolution initiated by Gen. Douglas MacArthur Post No. 1853, C.W.V., of Landover Hills, Md., expressing the concern of that post over the absence of any statutory protection for our American flag, was adopted by the national board of the Catholic War Veterans as the express policy of that distinguished organization.

Since this resolution concerns legislation which is now before the Congress, I believe that it should be brought to the attention of each Member of this body.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution of the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America be printed in the Appendix to the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, it has been brought to the attention of this body, through a careful investigation and through the news media, that many acts of public desecration have been inflicted upon the Flag of the United States of America, by trampling, burning, spitting and other deplorable means; and

Whereas, such acts are perpetrated by certain citizens of the United States of America; and

Whereas, there is not presently any formal Federal legislation enacted to make the mutilation or disgracing or defacing of the National Standard of the United States of America, a crime or offense beyond the District of Columbia as outlined in Title 4 of the United States Code wherein it is provided that fines of $100.00 or imprisonment of not more than 30 days, or both, in the discretion of the Court; and

Whereas, there is only voluntary rules and regulations written into the United States Code but no definite guarantee for the Flag's safety and maintenance; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States has been requested to enact legislation in the years passed, to make the mutilation, defacing, disgracing or destruction by other means than that proscribed for damaged or outdated Flags, a Federal crime punishable by fine, imprisonment, or both, and that such action was always aborted on the premise respect for the National Flag should be on a willing and voluntary basis from within each and every American; and

Whereas, as a result of the statements and policies of the Congress of the United States, the American Flag has been subject to every degradation and form of mutilation humanly possible including reproduction on undergarments, the soles of play shoes, and most recently by trampling from young adults who then burned it and dumped the remnants in the bay; and

Whereas, there is no known Statutes under which these young adults could be punished, neither Federal or State; and

Whereas, there is a definite need for Congressional Legislation to protect the National Standard and to make it a Federal offense punishable accordingly, for wantonly destroying, mutilating, defacing or degrading the National Standard of the United States; and

Whereas, it has been held under Power of Congress 1925, 34 Opinion Attorney General 483, The desecration or improper use of the National Flag outside the District of Columbia has not been made a Federal offense, but should Congress wish to assume such control, it has power under the Constitution to do so: Therefore be it

Resolved, that the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America, Incorporated, in Executive session held this 9th day of December, 1966, at Miami Meach, Florida, emphatically urge the Congress of the United States of America to legislate proper protection for the Flag of the United States of America immediately.

A Newsletter for the Blind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, we as a nation are committed to the goal of encouraging every citizen to the fullest possible involvement in our great community. Like every group which has had artificial or natural handicaps put upon them the blind also should be given the opportunity to learn of our public affairs, and participate in them. We have no right to bypass them, thus making them second-class citizens.

Frequently I send to the citizens of my district a newsletter concerning the activities of the Congress and my work. I am now beginning to extend that service to the sightless in my district by means of a newsletter in Braille. I am hopeful that it may assist its readers to enter more fully into the public life of the community.

The newsletter is composed in my office, and sent to the Clovernook Printing House for the Blind in Cincinnati, Ohio, which uses its braille printing facilities to print the letter. The printing house makes a significant contribution, not only to our metropolitan area, but to the whole Nation. Clovernook Printing House is the second largest braille publishing organization in the United States. It prints 26 monthly and bimonthly magazines for religious, governmental, and service organizations. Two of these magazines are made up at Clovernook by its own staff of workers. One of them is a magazine for blind children which is printed for Lions International. The other is a recreation magazine with news about radio, TV, the latest musical recordings, best seller books, and other news appropriate for a magazine with the title "Braille Variety News."

As an organization that does job printing, Clovernook is always ready to take on jobs that will provide additional employment for their blind workers, for example, a catalog for Hadley School for the Blind, and the annual program for the American Blind Bowling Association.

The present director of Clovernook is a social worker, Mr. Wilmer M. Froistad. In explaining how Clovernook is able to carry on its printing operations with such a large percentage of blind workers, Mr. Froistad pointed out that each new worker is given careful training under cooperative arrangements with State vocational rehabilitation organizations for the blind from the trainee's home State. Clovernook accepts blind women with multiple handicaps for training from all of the States in the midwest region. The rehabilitation program which has been built up at Clovernook gives preference to blind women who have an employment potential but have disabilities which would interfere with private, competitive employment.

The size of the printing shop has been tripled in the last 3 years and the number of blind workers has been considerably increased. This organization is an outstanding example of the ability of blind men and women to successfully do a job even in a field like printing. The braille printing done at Clovernook is of first-class quality. The blind workers there, like hundreds of others, just want a chance to be self-supporting.

There are a number of printing houses in the United States doing braille embossing for blind readers, but Clovernook Printing House for the Blind is unique in several respects. In the first place, about 75 percent of the work of printing and mailing braille publication is done by blind workers. The organization is also unusual in the extent to which blind women are used in its operations. Also, Clovernook Printing House is part of Clovernook Home and School for the Blind which provides vocational rehabilitation training for blind women with multiple handicaps. It operates a weaving shop as well as a printing plant.

It is also a residence for blind women who need a home. There are currently 43 blind women living in the home. Nearly all of these women have other handicaps besides blindness which makes it difficult for them to live in the community.

In a letter to me describing life at Clovernook, which was founded in 1903 by Georgia D. and Florence B. Trader as a nonprofit Ohio corporation, Executive Director Froistad commented on the work they do there:

> We have tried to make the employment at Clovernook a normal working situation, and have accepted men for training and employment in certain jobs, while retaining the emphasis on the training and employment of women because they are generally neglected by the State rehabilitation programs.
>
> In addition to providing employment for blind men and women, we have accepted persons with other handicaps for certain positions requiring sight. We now are employing, for example, three deaf and dumb persons in positions where sight is necessary and where there is not a need for any great amount of communication between the deaf and dumb individuals and those who are blind. We have found, however, that so far as the deaf-blind are concerned, they and the deaf and dumb can communicate fairly well with each other because they use the same hand signs to communicate.

We now have two deaf-blind women at Clovernook, and are just on the point of accepting a third person for training from Indiana. We are hopeful that Federal funds will be available to assist us in continuing to expand our services to the deaf-blind. These are among the most unfortunate of individuals in their limitations. Nevertheless, it is surprising how well the deaf-blind can adjust to workshop employment and to residential living. Certainly, if anything is a demonstration of the wonderfulness of the human makeup, it is the capacity of the deaf-blind to lead happy interesting lives. It is a deeply moving experience to work with those who are deaf and blind and to see how much they get out of life.

I sincerely hope that this small service to the blind in my district will prove to be helpful in permitting these men and women to be drawn more closely to the mainstream of our political and social life.

THE BRAILLE NEWSPAPER: A MESSAGE FROM OHIO'S FIRST DISTRICT CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. GILLIGAN

This "message" is intended to extend my efforts to inform all residents of the First Congressional District of my activities and views as a member of the 89th Congress. I am sending this to those who are sightless, but who can read Braille, so that they might feel more a part of the political community.

The most important thing, I think, for anyone to know about any legislator is his views of what government should be. I support efforts by government to make all our people healthier, better educated and freer to pursue their dreams with the legal framework of our Constitution and the laws of the nation.

I believe, as President Johnson said, that "a Nation's greatness is measured by its concern for the health and welfare of its people."

The record of domestic legislation passed by the 89th Congress indicates strongly that the majority of men and women in the House and Senate share this political philosophy.

I believe a changing world and nation requires changing and challenging new approaches to the solving of new problems. This has been true since the nation was founded. New problems often require new laws and programs to solve them.

If anything, I believe in these concepts more strongly now than when I first came to Washington from Cincinnati over a year ago. I voted for legislation like "Medicare," the Elementary and Secondary and Higher Education Acts, establishment of a cabinet-level office of Housing and Urban Development, the Voting Rights Act and the Cold War GI Bill.

There is another concept which I believe is vital for all of us to understand. It is the concept behind much of the "Great Society" legislation.

This concept is the creation of greater powers and initiatives at the local government levels. Critics who claim the programs will bring increased Federal control to local programs miss the point.

To be eligible for national funds the concept now is that communities must meet certain tests showing they have well-planned and locally-controlled programs. The last thing the Federal government desires to do is run the local program. The idea is one of partnership and the Federal government is to be the junior partner.

It is often said by cynics that power is what makes Washington exciting. There is power here, of course. But to me the most exciting thing about Washington is the roaring intellectual furnace of new ideas aimed at erasing old ills. There is a tempo in the Congress and in the government agencies that this nation, through its elected and appointed officials, can create a better life for people.

I am amazed at the intelligence and resourcefulness of many of the people here. I think the vigor John Kennedy's life and the tragedy of his death has had a lot to do with this sense of purpose, this idea that one man's efforts or ideas CAN be important and can, in some way, improve the quality and purpose of our national life.

I have read, as I'm sure you have, that most people in this country consider their Congressman to be the closest link to the national government.

The many visitors to my office from the District and the enormous flow of mail, I can assure you, have confirmed this as fact for me.

The proudest period of my life has been my service in the 89th Congress as the closest link between people of the First District and their national government.

If I or my staff in either Washington or Cincinnati can be of any service to you, please contact us. The phone number in Cincinnati is 684-3674 and the address is Suite 754, U.S. Post Office, Zip code 45202. In Washington, the Address is Room 442 Cannon House Office Building, zip code 20515.

The Adult Education Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. CANNON

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the adult education program is again an issue before the Senate and is presently being discussed by the Senate Education Subcommittee.

This program of raising the education of our citizens, regardless of age, is one that has paid handsome dividends to many communities in my State, and I believe this record of achievement could not be more clearly expressed than in a letter I have received from one of the beneficiaries of the program.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of that letter.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAS VEGAS, NEV.,
May 6, 1966.

CHESTER SEWELL,
President of the Board of Education.

DEAR SIR: I would like to take this opportunity to tell you how much my husband, myself, and about 7,000 others have enjoyed and benefited from the Adult Educational Program in Clark County, Nevada.

My husband, Daniel E. Thacke, a resident in Las Vegas, Nevada, since 1931 and a tax payer for the last 25 years, just received his High School Diploma in January, 1966.

He, like myself and many, many other people had to drop out of school for various reasons during our high school years. I still have one-half credit to complete before I can receive my diploma. The cost of these classes have been a real hardship to us.

I know many of our local people and taxpayers who would take advantage of this Program if the fees were not so high. It is my expressed desire to see the State Department and the School Board get behind this Program, and really back it with the interest that they should.

I think it is the responsibility of all citizens to help the Adult Education Program along. Education not only raises standards of living, but also helps keep more people off of the welfare roll.

This program does much more than teach us the written words. It teaches us how to get along with the different races, different age groups and gives us adults a better understanding of the day school problems. Also, by meeting these school teachers personally, we learn how we can help the school program, as well as the schools helping us through this Adult Education.

I would like at this time, to take the opportunity to thank the Staff of the Adult Education Program, also the wonderful teachers we have had, for the help they have given us. They have unselfishly given many hours of their time for which they are not paid.

I would also like to express my desire for further education beyond my high school diploma. I still feel I have a great deal to learn, as we all have.

So let us all pull together and work toward further Adult Education at a cheaper fee, so that more people can take advantage of this wonderful program.

There are hundreds of people who feel the same as I do about this program.

Respectfully yours,
MRS. MILDRED L. THACKE.

Transport Department in Legislative Trouble, Congressmen Hint in Traffic World Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, this week as we observe National Transportation Week it is appropriate to salute America's great transportation industry. The cooperative efforts of private industry and government have produced for the United States the finest transportation system in the world.

We are well aware of the administration's proposal to establish a new Cabinet-level Department of Transportation. House and Senate committees are conducting hearings on the several bills which have been introduced. This proposal should be thoroughly investigated and considered with caution.

Stanley Hamilton, correspondent for Traffic World magazine, has written an article in the May 14, 1966, issue of the publication, which discloses the results of a poll of Congress made by Traffic World. Mr. Hamilton points out that the poll indicates the President's proposal "appears in legislative trouble this year."

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the report on the Traffic World poll by Mr. Hamilton:

TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT IN LEGISLATIVE TROUBLE, CONGRESSMEN HINT IN TRAFFIC WORLD POLL

(By Stanley Hamilton)

President Johnson's Department of Transportation proposal appears in legislative trouble this year, a poll of Congress by Traffic World indicates.

Asked whether they intend to vote to go along with establishment of this twelfth Cabinet department, 83 members of Congress said yes and 81 opposed it. Seventeen were undecided.

But on the question whether they believe the legislation will be enacted *this year*—an election year for all House members and for 35 senators—only a total of 48 (or 26.5 per cent of the respondents) said they figure it will pass, while 102 said no. Thirty-one had no opinion.

A significantly meaningful 34 per cent (142 representatives and 39 senators) of the 532 members of Congress replied to Traffic World's mail poll, in which they were asked to answer the two questions anonymously and to add any comments if they desired.

In light of the closeness of the results—and keeping in mind that there's a great deal of difference between anonymously answering a questionnaire and having to stand up in Congress to be counted—perhaps the overriding factor was expressed best by an unidentified Republican House member who wrote: "If LBJ pushes for it, it will be passed."

Interestingly, the aspect of party line support or opposition—not yet made an issue by congressional or Administration leaders—did show up strikingly in the poll of the House members. (There are 293 Democrats and 140 Republicans in the House, 67 Democrats and 32 Republicans in the Senate.)

House Democrats who replied favor the legislation by the wide margin of 56 to 19, but House Republicans were only 11 in favor and 41 against. However, on the question of probable passage, only 27 House Democrats and 10 Republicans predict its enactment, while 40 Democrats and 35 Republicans say it won't.

In the Senate, 11 Democrats favor the department and 10 others oppose it. Five Republicans are for it, 11 against. Eight Democrats and three Republicans believe it will pass, while 14 Democrats and 13 Republicans take the negative view.

The poll developed other data. Twenty House Democrats, three Senate Democrats, five House Republicans and three Senate Republicans favor the department while at the same time saying they do not believe it will make it through Congress this year. Conversely, two Democratic House Members and four GOP House Members say that although they oppose the proposition they believe it will win approval this year.

Then there are the 17 undecided members and the question as to which way they eventually will lean and the 31 members who had no opinion on the question of passage. But even if all those 31 are added to the 48 who state flatly that the bill will pass this year, the total of 79 still falls short of the 102 who see failure this year.

CONCESSION BY ADMINISTRATION

In a space for "comments," appended to the questionnaire, one member who identified himself was Representative Evins (D-Tenn.). He called the department "both needed and desirable in the public interest" and suggested modification of the section on evaluation of Corps of Engineers projects could remove one of the main stumbling blocks. [Note: Since the Traffic World poll began, the Administration has offered to water down this section to enhance passage (T.W., May 7, p. 9.)]

Another member, Representative Gallagher (D.J.), commented: "Projecting ourselves into the future and the problems of our expanding population, there is certainly a need for such a department in order to meet the needs of their transportation."

Here are all the other comments (note that it was mostly opponents who spoke out):

"I believe there is a good chance for enactment of the legislation this year, either with or without an amendment, as I would like to see, removing the Coast Guard from the transfer"—A House Democrat who noted that he would vote no if the Coast Guard is to be absorbed in the department.

"I do not believe that enough information has been developed on this issue as yet and changes may be made in the committee before a final bill is presented to the House. For this reason, I am unable to give an unqualified answer. I am afraid, however, that the time element is against its passage this session."—A House Democrat.

"Do not believe the bill is too important."—A House Democrat who did say he favors the proposal.

"Inclined to feel it is not necessary, but want to see final bill and listen to debate"—A House Republican.

"I am not in favor of the bill as presently written and do not believe it will be passed in its present form."—A House Democrat.

"It appears that this bill was hastily drawn. Already the Administration is making concessions and appears willing to make more. I believe Congress, under these circumstances, will want to take a longer look to find out why."—A Senate Republican.

"I think we should absorb what has been done by this Congress before setting up new programs or departments."—A House Democrat.

"More study and revision required."—A House Republican.

"Very little mail on the subject, but my questionnaire responses were largely opposed to creation of this new department"—A House Republican.

"Depends on committee pressures."—A House Democrat.

"I am particularly concerned about the status of the Federal Aviation Agency, which Congress set up as an independent agency only eight years ago for very good reason"—A GOP Senator.

"Government has gotten so big, much from necessity, I guess. Am therefore inclined against new and big departments. However, my decision will be made on the basis of need as I see it."—A House Democrat.

"Have to see final bill and report before deciding"—A House Republican.

Walter J. Tuohy Kept the Common Touch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, supplementing my extension of remarks of May 16, 1966, concerning the late Walter J. Touhy, chief executive officer of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, and chairman of the board of the Baltimore & Ohio and the Western Maryland Railroads, who died in Cleveland, Ohio, May 12, 1966, I now call attention to additional editorial comment.

It seems especially pertinent to note the editorials in the Cleveland newspapers—the Plain Dealer and the Press—the New York Times, and the Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser, which were not available at the time of my May 16 remarks.

The New York Times credits Walter J. Tuohy with having "brought the railroads from an arrogant position of stubborn aloofness to one of constructive participation in economic affairs," and it noted:

> When there are two great railroad systems in the East it will be to a significant degree Walter Tuohy's doing. . . . And still later, when the nation reaches the sensible arrangement of perhaps a dozen great railroads with rational physical and capital structures, that, too, will be Walter Tuohy's heritage.

And I know, Mr. President, that the Huntington Advertiser editorialized accurately in the three opening paragraphs of its May 13 editorial:

> The death of Walter J. Tuohy, chief executive officer of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, gave a painful wrench to thousands of the company's employes and more thousands in Huntington and elsewhere who knew him.
>
> Those associated with him in the far-flung operations of the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Baltimore & Ohio affiliated system will feel a deep sense of loss in the removal of his skillful guiding hand.
>
> Those looking forward to a new era of railway history in the hoped-for merger of Chesapeake & Ohio with Norfolk & Western to meet the competition of the giant new Pennsylvania-New York Central system will greatly miss his astute and buoyant presence in preparing for hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission and likely subsequent implementation of the union.

But it was in Cleveland where Mr. Tuohy, the astute railroad executive and generous humanitarian was best known, because it was there that he maintained his residence and headquarters. The newspapers there memorialized him for having "kept the common touch" and for having earned the Horatio Alger Award in 1961 through manifestations of "individual initiative, hard work, and honesty in the tradition of the Horatio Alger novels."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, May 13, 1966, editorials on the passing of Walter J. Tuohy from the Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and the Cleveland Press, and a May 14, 1966, editorial from the New York Times.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Advertiser May 13, 1966]

CITY MOURNS PASSING OF WALTER J. TUOHY

The death of Walter J. Tuohy, chief executive officer of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, gave a painful wrench to thousands of the company's employes and more thousands in Huntington and elsewhere who knew him.

Those associated with him in the far-flung operations of the Chesapeake & Ohio and the Baltimore & Ohio affiliated system will feel a deep sense of loss in the removal of his skillful guiding hand.

Those looking forward to a new era of railway history in the hoped-for merger of Chesapeake & Ohio with Norfolk & Western to meet the competition of the giant new Pennsylvania-New York Central system will greatly miss his astute and buoyant presence in preparing for hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission and likely subsequent implementation of the union.

Mr. Tuohy's expertness in directing the intimate details of railway operations, along with his extensive experience in bringing the C & O and B & O together, would have been of inestimable value in the meshing of the C & O and N & W.

He had conceived and carried to virtual completion the C & O-B & O consolidation as a historic stride in meeting the difficulties of the entire eastern railway transportation system.

He yielded the C & O presidency to Gregory S. DeVine and became chief executive officer. In that position as well as chairman of the board of the B & O he was the key figure binding the lines together into an affiliation using new electronic and other scientific developments for greater efficiency and better service.

Great as his ability was for conceiving and directing such gigantic new advances in the field of transportation, however, his genius for friendship and for genial relations with associates was of at least equal importance in his personal success and in the progress of the two lines he brought together.

He numbered his warm friends from top echelons of government, finance and industry to employes in the most lowly positions whom he knew and called by their first name.

He was the kind of genial, warm-hearted man who could leave the heavy duties and responsibilities of his position and have as much fun as anyone at the annual meeting of railway veterans.

During the years of his association with the C & O since 1943, when he became vice president in charge of coal traffic and development, he had made many warm friends in Huntington as well as in other cities along the line.

The friendships developed into the observance of C & O Appreciation Day suggested by The Advertiser and sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce in connection with the annual stockholders' meeting here in 1959.

The C & O guests were welcomed to Huntington in an Advertiser page one guest editorial by Raymond Salvati, at that time president of the Island Creek Coal Co., the railroad's biggest customer.

At the dinner meeting in the Hotel Prichard the company announced plans for a new office building in Huntington. The plans later materialized in the purchase and reconstruction of the Sylvania plant into the C & O Headquarters Operating Building.

After that an Advertiser guest editorial by Mr. Tuohy sent to President Johnson by Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D.-W. Va.) resulted in a meeting of high level government officials with railway and mine representatives in the White House and a presidential order for going all out for helping the development of the coal industry.

Mr. Tuohy never forgot such Huntington cooperation in meeting joint problems.

These business associations strengthened the ties of friendship between him and the city. Although since the affiliation with B & O transfers of employes had taken place, he was still concerned with the interests of the city while working out the most efficient operations for the companies.

These business and warm friendships deepened the sense of loss of Huntington people at his untimely passing. The public generally will join with members of the C & O and B & O family in mourning for him.

The community too will hope that in future consolidations of the transportation lines those at the top will give equally understanding consideration to West Virginia in the location of offices not only out of personal friendships but out of consideration of the tremendous amount of coal traffic originating in the state to their common advantage.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, May 13, 1966]

Tuohy Kept the Common Touch

Walter J. Tuohy had the common touch. He was born in modest circumstances and he pulled himself up by his own bootstraps to a grand position in the world of railroading and business. But he remained a modest, friendly man whose employes, almost litterally, would have walked through fire at his request.

Now Tuohy is dead at 65. His passing casts a sad note on the current negotiations between Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. and Norfolk & Western; Tuohy was chief executive officer of C & O. He also was one of the prime movers for this proposed amalgamation of railroad giants which was suggested to counter to the Penn-Central merger.

Tuohy's life was a typical Horatio Alger plot. He was the son of a policeman in Chicago; he had to leave school early to help support the family; he kept augmenting his education until he won a bachelor of commercial science degree and then a law degree. It was this training, plus natural talent as an organizer and administrator, that propelled him into the coal business and then upward in the railroad business.

Yet, Tuohy always was one to emphasize the value of teamwork in business. He was lavish in praise of his subordinates while personally shunning the limelight.

He was a small man, 5-foot-6 and weighing only 125 pounds, and a fashionable dresser. A liberal in fact and in spirit, Walter Tuohy will be remembered for a long time by businessmen for his acumen in meeting rooms and in direction of rail enterprises. His acquaintances and employes will recall him fondly as a regular fellow, pixie-like in appearance but a staunch friend.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press, May 13, 1966]

Walter Tuohy

It was natural for judges to name Walter J. Tuohy as a 1961 winner of the Horatio Alger Award. The award is presented annually to recognize "Americans whose careers typify individual initiative, hard work and honesty in the tradition of the Horatio Alger novels."

This was surely the story of Mr. Tuohy, Chicago-born son of a police sergeant who died yesterday after 65 eventful years, most of it spent as a railroader.

It was ironic and yet characteristic that the slight, dynamic leader of the C&O and B&O railroad system collapsed on the threshold of a new and dramatic turn in U.S. railroad history.

He was about to preside at a meeting where his stockholders approved another rail merger—the C&O–B&O with the Norfolk & Western. Even as he lay dying, the large events that Walter Tuohy helped shape were taking place.

But Mr. Tuohy, man of railroad destiny, also had the uncommon gift of the common touch. High in the councils of the mighty, he also was able to put himself in the other fellow's place.

His origins were modest and he achieved success by really trying. And in achieving it he learned a good deal, most of which he never forgot.

[From the New York Times, May 14, 1966]

Walter J. Tuohy

Walter Tuohy grew up in palmy days for railroads. He was proud to be a railroad man, but he proved more flexible than his contemporaries. He brought the railroads from an arrogant position of stubborn aloofness to one of constructive participation in economic affairs. Walter Tuohy's talent was that he saw what had to be done to relieve what for decades was called the "plight of the railroads." More important still, he persuaded the industry to follow the path he marked out. When there are two great railroad systems in the East it will be to a significant degree Walter Tuohy's doing. And later still, when the nation reaches the sensible arrangement of perhaps a dozen great railrodas with rational physical and capital structures, that, too, will be Walter Tuohy's heritage, although corporate records will gravely recognize other men as the architects.

Military Chaplains of the Jewish Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues an article which appears in the April 1966 edition of the Chaplain, a publication of the General Commission on Chaplains and Armed Forces personnel.

The article gives an excellent history of rabbis in the American Military Establishment as well as describing the fine service they render to our Armed Forces today.

The article follows:

The Jewish Military Chaplaincy

(By Aryeh Lev)

The Jewish military chaplaincy is here to stay as a permanent agency on the American scene. The military and the Jewish communities have made this decision. This article dwells on the Jewish military chaplaincy service in recent years, but a few historical facts are pertinent.

BACKGROUND

On July 17, 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed into law an Act of Congress which stated that a regularly ordained minister of any religious denomination may be commissioned as a chaplain. Until then the law had required that a clergyman ministering to the military must be of the Christian faith. All told, three Jewish chaplains were commissioned under the law during the Civil War.

During World War I, 23 rabbis served their country as chaplains in uniform. Between 1918 and 1940 a small number of rabbis maintained reserve commissions, but none served on extended active duty. In August, 1940, just before the Second World War, some of these reserve Jewish chaplins were called to active duty. It was then that JWB established a Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy.

The Department of Defense grants a chaplaincy commission only when a religious endorsing agency certifies a candidate to be a properly ordained clergyman and a fit representative of his denomination, and a chaplain holds his commission only as long as he continues to have the endorsement of his denomination. The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy was designed to be the recruiting, endorsing, and service agency for the Jewish religion. It parallels the (Catholic) Military Ordinariate, the (Protestant) General Commission on Chaplains, and about 30 other Protestant endorsing agencies.

By the end of World War II, 311 Rabbis had been commissioned and had served in the armed forces [AJYB, 1945–46 (Vol. 47), pp. 173–200]. Many retained their reserve commissions, but at the outbreak of the war in Korea in 1950, only 18 were on active duty.

The outbreak of the Korean War in late 1950 presaged the expansion of the military establishment to approximately three million men. It was anticipated that about 100 Jewish chaplains would be required to service the Jews among them, and the three major rabbinic bodies: CCAR (Reform), Rabbinical Assembly (Conservative), and RCA (Orthodox) accepted the responsibility for meeting this requirement. The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy was designed to coordinate and administer the undertaking and in August, 1950 it called an extraordinary session to launch the program. Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, chairman of the commission, enunciated the commission's policy:

> The American Jewish community is anxious and ready to do everything within its power to aid our government to combat and overthrow those world forces which are seeking to destroy the democratic way of life. Jewish soldiers, sailors, and airmen are serving side by side with brave men of all faiths to achieve this common objective. As in World War I and II, the rabbis of America may be counted on to respond quickly and generously to the need for additional Jewish military chaplains. Wherever our men are summonded to fight and, if need be, to die, there, God willing, our chaplains shall go with them.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL COOPERATION

There is fundamental harmony in the operation of the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy, but no uniformity of faith or ritual is imposed upon chaplains. The commission includes outstanding leaders of the three rabbinic bodies, who without compromising the positions they represent, have managed to work out a *modus vivendi* on the basis of respect for each other's views. Often agreement is achieved even in areas where the three groups are seemingly far apart and maintain their differences in civilian life. This cooperative spirit stems from an agreement that it is the purpose of Jewish chaplains to meet the religious needs of the serviceman, not the chaplain's nor his denomination's. Rabbis are no more free to impose their particular brand of Judaism on their military congregants than Christian chaplains theirs. Concomitant to a chaplain's right to observe the Jewish religion according to his convictions is his duty to help Jewish servicemen observe and strengthen theirs. Most chaplains have accepted this concept and their guiding principle has been unity amid diversity.

In the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy itself, the three rabbinical groups exercise common sense and ordinary courtesy in the interest of fulfilling their joint task. There is so little ideological bickering that a visitor to a meeting would have difficulty identifying the affiliation of those present.

The following are examples of activities in which seemingly irreconcilable views have been resolved:

Responsa

Religious practices under military conditions would seem to raise questions on which the three groups would be hopelessly divided. But the following quotation from the preface to the booklet, "Responsa In War Time," published by the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy in December, 1947, is still valid.

"Although in many aspects of Jewish life in America the achievement of unity of action has been difficult, here harmony was achieved on religious practices, the most controversial of all subjects in Jewish life. The dictum, *Ellu we-ellu divre Elohim hayyim* was used not only to acknowledge respect for the view of others but also to go on from there to a common decision which would be helpful to the men under arms in each particular circumstance of war. It is to the glory of the American rabbinate that without the power and approval of an established ecclesiastical hierarchy, it was able to create such a set of responsa. The final decision was always based on *Halakhah* but the interpretation was broad enough to permit the word of God to be truly *hayyim*, "living," and livable even under war conditions."

Agreement was reached for responsa to such a variety of situations as the saying of Kaddish without a *minyan* at an isolated station overseas, burial in a national cemetery, determination of the Sabbath in Arctic and Antarctic regions of total daylight or total darkness, loss of a Sabbath or holy day when crossing the international date line, use of a paper scroll of the Torah in areas where parchment tend to rot, and solutions to problems of *kashrut* and Sabbath observance.

Prayer books

It would be impossible to run separate services in the military for Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform personnel, each with a different prayer book. In recognition of the realities of military life, a single Jewish prayer book was published in 1941 by JWB which met the needs of each group and violated the conscience of none. It is used in a different manner of each chaplain and his congregation and has won the complete approval of all segments of the Jewish religious community.

Religious publications

Though the Jews are the People of the Book, the Christians seem to be the people of the missionary pamphlet. Religious literature of all faiths abounds in the military establishment. The Jewish community has a twofold obligation in filling its section of the literature racks: to provide inspirational material for Jewish personnel and to provide information about Jews and Judaism to interested non-Jews.

The preparation of the Jewish pamphlets, therefore, has been another challenge to the ingenuity and integrity of the various Jewish religious groups. Pamphlets dealing with Jewish history are comparatively easy to prepare, as are those on the subject of Jewish ethics. Dealing with the Sabbath, the holy days, and the festivals is more difficult, but was successfully accomplished by a publication committee representing the rabbinic groups. These publications have proved useful to Jewish personnel and have served as excellent expositions of Judaism for non-Jews.

Self-imposed draft of rabbis

The three rabbinic bodies agreed that they would assign the armed forces priority on rabbinical manpower. They voted to impose a form of "selective service" on all members who met the military age requirements of, and had not already served in, the armed forces, and on all seminary students upon graduation. Each of three groups agreed to furnish an equal number of rabbis to meet military quotas. Each rabbi would be expected to serve for a minimum of two years before being replaced. Most draftees responded with enthusiasm. A Jewish chaplains' conference in February, 1962, sent "warmest greetings" to their "civilian colleagues":

> We want them to know that we have found in our chaplaincy service a meaningful extension of our rabbinic service. We have found that our ministrations are answering a critical need in the lives of the men we serve. The importance of this work in all its emotional and intellectual significance can be clear only to those who are now serving as chaplains or who have so served previously.

Almost 15 years have passed since the self-imposed draft was instituted. Year in and year out, with few exceptions, the requisite number of Jewish chaplains has been made available to serve Jews in the armed forces the world over. A total of 399 chaplains entered service between August, 1950, and June, 1964.

When quotas were not met, it was for one or more of the following reasons. Sometimes it was due to an insufficient number of ordinations. Sometimes it was because not enough graduates met physical requirements. Often, newly ordained rabbis were nationals of other countries, or had had previous military service, or were exempted for other weighty reasons.

When the military establishment expanded suddenly, as at the time of the Berlin and Cuban crisis, some rabbis in the reserves were recalled to duty; when the crisis passed, they returned to civilian life.

THE CHAPLAIN

Areas of service

Jewish military personnel are dispersed throughout the world at more than a thousand stations. It is not possible to assign a Jewish chaplain to every installation where there are Jewish personnel, but they are assigned to all reception centers and large training centers having a considerable concentration of Jews. They are also assigned to cover Jewish personnel dispersed among the three services over large geographic areas overseas. For example, a Navy Jewish chaplain in Hawaii serves Jews in the three forces there, an Air Force Jewish chaplain in Turkey serves all Jewish personnel there, and since 1964 an Army chaplain has had a similar responsibility in South Vietnam. Some of the areas are very large. One chaplain stationed in France covers American bases in Spain, Morocco, and Libya. Jewish chaplains in Germany have served installations in Italy. From the Philippines they cover Taiwan and used to fly into Vietnam before a Jewish chaplain was assigned there full-time. Almost all chaplains overseas ride a circuit. They are itinerants, meeting with their far-flung congregations as often as is humanly possible. In the United States the efforts of the full-time chaplains are supplemented by those of a dedicated group of 250 civilian part-time chaplains. They serve approximately 600 installations, including Veterans' Administration hospitals. More than 800 civilian rabbis have served as part-time chaplains during the past 20 years.

Although this report is primarily concerned with the military chaplaincy, at least passing reference should be made to the extensive and important work Jewish chaplains perform in connection with nonmilitary Federal agencies. VA has an active chaplaincy program at all of its 155 hospitals in every State of the Union; full-time or part-time chaplains serve every such hospital. (The present director of the chaplaincy service for the entire VA is Rabbi Morris A. Sandhaus, the first rabbi in American history to serve as chief of chaplains in a branch of the Federal government.) The commission also provides chaplains to every United States Public Health Service hospital, to St. Elizabeth's, the Federal mental hospital in the District of Columbia, and to the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, L.I., New York.

Activities

Basically, the chaplaincy serves as microcosm of the multitudinous functions performed by the agencies of Jewish civilian communities. Jewish military community life revolves around the chapel. It provides religious services. Jewish education for children and adults, social events for married and bachelor personnel, and Jewish cultural programs. The chaplain himself serves as a counselor, moral leader, character builder, and food processor. In Passover he runs billets and mess halls, solves transportation problems, arranges for leaves, and concerns himself with making available the right food for the entire eight days. He may teach women how to bake *hallot* and bagels in the States or overseas. He builds a *sukkah* and electrifies an outdoor menorah. He organizes sisterhoods and inspires their loyalty and support. He trains a choir as well as teachers for his religious school. He celebrates the joyous occasions in the serviceman's family such as births, *bar mitzvahs,* confirmations, and marriages. He is also there for the tragic events—accidents, ill health, and death. He counsels on marriage, intermarriage, divorce, home problems, adjustment to military life, broken home ties, court martial offenses, questions of faith, accusations of antisemitism, etc. He interviews Jewish GIs as they come on post and as they leave the post. He represents the Jewish community at command functions and at chaplains' meetings. Along with the non-Jewish chaplains, he gives character-guidance lectures to the entire command and conducts orientation lectures. He requisitions religious supplies, attends to the beautification of the chapel, raises funds for social and religious programs, and conducts year-round special events. He also finds time to prepare sermons and talks, to attend chaplaincy and rabbinic conferences, and to spend time with his family.

Resources

To help him he has the many military resources which are available to all chaplains. These include well-equipped chapels, religious-school facilities, meeting rooms, clerical assistance, etc. The JWB provides him with many specifically Jewish items, such as canned kosher foods for personnel who observe the dietary laws, Torah Scrolls, *megillot* for Purim, *shofarot* for the High Holy Days, *etrogim* and *lulavim* for Sukkot, pamphlets and greeting cards for the holidays, tracts on subjects of general Jewish interest, program materials for discussions, bulletins, procedure guides for handling Passover problems, *kashrut,* publicity, attendance. The Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy provides guidance through orientation sessions, field visits, correspondence, training conferences, newsletters, overseas retreats and Torah convocations. The Women's Organizations' Services of JWB helps establish sisterhools and provides gifts for children and military personnel on various holidays, as well as pictures and books for the chaplain's office and the chapel library.

In the United States the chaplain receives further aid locally from scores of JWB Armed Forces and Veterans Service committees in communities near military installations, which make available every possible community resource. He is also assisted by local communities. Jewish community-center and synagogue facilities are made available to the Jewish serviceman, as is home hospitality, on appropriate occasions. Servicemen are invited to concerts, lectures, and other special events off the post, and provided with entertainment, refreshment, and—that indispensable element in the life of happy and contented young men—the opportunity to meet girls on post.

The more the chaplain draws upon the resources made available to him by the military, Jewish Welfare Board, and the Jewish communities, the richer the content of his program and the more successful his ministry.

Reactions to chaplaincy experience

In 1964 the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy sent 400 questionnaires to Jewish chaplains on active duty and to civilian rabbis who had served in uniform since 1950 to obtain their reactions to the chaplaincy experience. On hundred and ninety-three replies were received, an unusually high response to a one-time mailing. The questions were deliberately slanted against the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy. To insure a thoroughly objective response, signatures were not required. Replies were analyzed by a study group composed of the presidents and recruiting chairmen of the three rabbinic organizations and the officers of the commission. Rabbi Max D. Davidson, of Perth Amboy, N.J., former commission chairman and former SCA president, was chairman. The study revealed that:

1. An overwhelming majority considered that their chaplaincy experiences compensated for the physical risks, the separation from families, and the financial sacrifice involved.

2. Patriotism furnished the primary motive for entering the chaplaincy. Other reasons were, in that order, respect for the requirements of the chaplaincy draft, responsiveness to the needs of Jewish servicemen, and recognition of opportunity for new experience.

3. Respondents were in agreement that the service performed by full-time Jewish military chaplains in uniform could not be handled by civilian rabbis making periodic visits to the posts.

4. Respondents would unanimously advise their younger colleagues and students at seminaries to enter the chaplaincy.

5. The chief objections to entering the chaplaincy were that it caused delay in beginning civilian rabbinical careers and offered relatively low pay. Some respondents had reservations because of the separation from family that was entailed and the opposition of wife and family.

6. Almost all respondents felt "better," not "worse off because of * * * service in the chaplaincy."

Effect of service

The two or three years which rabbis spend in the service immediately after ordination serve as a valuable internship for the rabbinate. They give young graduates the opportunity to learn administrative procedures and subtle personnel skills that are not taught in the seminaries and are normally acquired only after long years of experience. Moreover, newly graduated rabbis, educated in the philosophy of one particular group, often get their first real opportunity to meet representatives of other rabbinical groups and thereby gain an insight into different philosophies of Jewish life. In addition, young rabbis, often reared in all-Jewish environments and sometimes quite ignorant about the various Christian denominations, are confronted with the need and opportunity to learn about Christian thought and practices and to relate to Christian colleagues. This is obviously good preparation for establishing proper interreligious relationships in the civilian communities in which they will later serve.

The military experience has offered rabbis a good opportunity to observe Jewish youth and the effect of the synagogues' religious training programs upon them. (They have found that in military congregations, at least, most Jews are not committed to Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform Judaism, as such, but consider themselves to be simply Jews, without any denominational label, and that most of these unlabeled Jews know very little about Judaism. But this is beyond the scope of this article.)

The chaplaincy experience leaves its mark on the rabbi when he returns to civilian life. Former chaplains of different schools of thought get along better with each other than other rabbis and tend to be less deeply involved in denominational conflicts.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

There are a number of day-to-day problems which the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy has not yet solved and which, perhaps, may never be solved satisfactorily.

Career chaplaincy

Through its self-imposed draft system, the commission has furnished the armed forces with enough rabbis to meet annual military quotas. However, most of the men thus drafted serve for only two or three years and then return to civilian pulpits, leaving an insufficient number of career chaplains to insure proportionate Jewish representation in the higher ranks. There are simply not enough Jewish chaplains with rank, maturity, and experience to serve as faculty members of the chaplain school and on high-command levels at strategic headquarters the world over.

Although many rabbis have relished the chaplaincy experience and have been encouraged by the military as well as the commission to remain on duty, most have rejected a career. Two reasons are cited most frequently: the limited possibilities for providing children with an adequate Jewish education and the comparatively low salaries offered by the armed forces—several thousand dollars a year less than what civilian rabbis often receive. While the salary problem is not insoluble, the possibility of providing children of Jewish chaplains with a proper Jewish education and a Jewish milieu seems remote.

Jewish education for children

In 1965 half of all military personnel were married. Even a minimal Jewish education program for the children of these servicemen was a rarity. Where there are full-time Jewish chaplains, they manage, in most instances, to organize and supervise satisfactory religious schools. But at domestic installations having no full-time chaplains, particularly those which are removed from established Jewish communities, and overseas, especially if there is no Jewish chaplain, there simply are no Jewish educational facilities.

To help remedy this situation, the Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy in September, 1964, published a unified Jewish curriculum, which the military distributes to installations throughout the world. Jewish chaplains make periodic visits to all installations to urge parents to establish religious schools and to train teachers. As a consequence, scores of schools have been set up and dedicated parents and other interested individuals study manuals, books, and teachers' guides in the interest of their children. Many technical, administrative, and financial difficulties have been encountered, but the program is gaining ground.

The Women's Organizations' Services of the JWB has helped organize military sisterhoods to support this program, furnishes holiday gifts for the children, and provides information and publications explaining holiday and other traditional practices.

Dispersion of Jewish personnel

The blessings of integration have not been unmixed. Jewish personnel are dispersed in military installations around the world. Groups of 10 or 15 men at weather stations, radar sites, and small depots, aboard ships and in special task forces, etc., need service even more than those at large installations boasting full Jewish programs of activities. A complicated and costly Jewish "logistical" system is employed to maintain communications with such isolated personnel. The commission provides guidance and furnishes religious supplies to non-Jewish chaplains and selected Jewish officers and enlisted men to help them serve their religious needs. An intense effort is made to reach everyone on Passover and the High Holy Days, but, given the limitations of JWB resources, there are undoubtedly many who are missed.

CONCLUSIONS

Judaism is one of the three major faiths in the United States. In the military this recognition is more clearly translated into positive terms than anywhere else on the American scene.

Military chapels are non-denominational and thus available to all faiths. Military hymnals contain sections of hymns and music for each of the major faiths. Bibles, prepared especially for each of the three faiths, are provided. Religious educational facilities and supplies are made available to all. No missionary efforts are countenanced. Each faith is respected. More than that, each chaplain is concerned that each man in his unit is afforded the opportunity to worship, or even not to worship, according to the dictates of his conscience. Anti-semitism is just not tolerated in the military. A man can ruin his career and even be court-martialed for such an offense. Far more than in civilian life, the Jew is considered as an absolute equal.

The chaplain school offers a unique experience for clergymen of all faiths. Chaplains reared in their own denominational seminaries, each of which stresses the differences between religious groupings, and emphasizes its own favor with God, wear the same uniform, eat, sleep, study, and train together, and separate only for religious worship. Mutual respect develops; friendships are formed across denominational lines and appreciation of the spiritual chain which binds them all comes to the fore. During and since World War II, at least 15,000 American clergymen have shared this experience, and Jewish chaplain-school students have been effective representatives of Judaism to them.

All of this augurs well for the Jewish community of America. The rabbinate long ago acknowledged the importance of the military chaplaincy by giving it first call on rabbinic manpower. The Jewish community itself does not yet sufficiently appreciate the contributions made by the chaplaincy to the welfare of Jewry in America, but the future historians undoubtedly will.

Howdy, Monsieur: France Goes Wild About Wild West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have asked consent to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following article appearing in the Wall Street Journal, May 17, 1966, on France's interest in the American Indians and our western towns.

I think it is so good I want all of the Members to have an opportunity to read it. It is encouraging to know that people from other countries are waking up to our tourist attractions here in the United States and, in particular, that the vacationers are finding the lore and traditions of the Indian people here in America especially attractive. The article is as follows:

HOWDY, MONSIEUR: FRANCE GOES WILD ABOUT WILD WEST: COWBOY AND INDIAN FASHIONS, TEEPEE CAMP-OUTS THRIVE; BOOM FOR BIG WHITE CROW

(By Roger Ricklefs)

PARIS.—Barrez la route au defile!

That's cowboy and Indian talk, podner. It means "Head 'em off at the pass!" and it might be a useful phrase to learn if you're coming to France. For this nation has gone wild about the Wild West.

The Western motif is everywhere here. There is a Paris Western Club where Frenchmen do the Big Howdy square dance. There's l'Association Western de France, whose president frequently wears cowboy boots and a Western hat while driving his Peugeot through Paris. Opening soon will be La Vallee des Peaux Rouges (The Valley of the Redskins), a replica of a Western town and several Indian villages. And, of course, there's the Crazy Horse Saloon, a famous strip joint with old West decor.

"Frenchmen have been interested in the West for years, but now they have the time and money to live like Westerners on weekends," says Gilbert Gunhold, the 35-year-old president of l'Association Western. The association estimates that France now has 50 dude ranches, half of them started up in the past year

BUFFALO BILL & LOUIS XVI

For some Frenchmen, such as Daniel (Dad) Rinqueberck, the Wild West is a serious and absorbing adult hobby. Mr. Rinqueberck is a school-supplies salesman who organized the Paris Western Club last year. At his apartment here he has an Indian rug, a framed portrait of Buffalo Bill, eight Western rifles and, hanging over his gilded Louis XVI desk, a cow skull.

"After the war I played drums and washboard in a New Orleans-style jazz band here in Paris and got fascinated in the West through music," says Mr. Rinqueberck, who sometimes wears blue jeans and a belt with a big silver buckle. His club, which meets several times a month for lasso practice, square dancing, riding and practicing of Western music, has few members who speak English or who have been to America.

One reason more Western-style promotions are being opened is because more and more promoters apparently are realizing there's gold in them thar hills. La Vallee des Peaux Rouges, for instance, expects 400,000 paying customers this year, says Robert Mottura, the project's technical director.

In addition to the Western town and Indian villages, La Vallee has a 60-foot-high totem pole, a saloon with swinging doors and hitching post and a sheriff's office with a poster offering a $5,000 reward for Billy the Kid, "Dead or Alive." There is even a U.S. cavalry log fort, manned by 15 Frenchmen dressed in blue American Army uniforms of the post-Civil War era.

"People say de Gaulle is kicking the American Army out and we're bringing it back in," quips Mr. Mottura.

Mr. Mottura, 37, also is president of a French club whose members imitate the American Indian way of life, camping in teepees, starting fires without matches and using porcupine quills to sew replicas of Indian deerskin clothes. "I first got interested in the West 20 years ago after I bought a pair of Indian baby moccasins at the Paris flea market," says Mr. Mottura, who is known in his club as Big White Crow.

PILGRIMAGE TO DEADWOOD

The interest in the West of old is so keen that many people here are planning pilgrimages to America to see what remains of the gold-rush days. L'Association Western plans its first group trip to America this summer. Among the stops: Cheyenne, Wyo., and Deadwood, S.D.

Says Mr. Rinqueberck of the Paris Western Club: "My wife and I dream of seeing the USA some day—especially Montana and Wyoming."

The interest of Frenchmen in America and things American isn't limited to the West, however. "A gadget generally sells better here if it's American than if it's French," says Beatrice Desouches, manager of La Gadgetiere here. "Americans are recognized as the kings of gadgets. They have such a reputation for being really practical and modern."

Among other things, the store recently has sold about 1,000 electric back-scratchers and 500 battery operated card shufflers, all from the U.S., says Miss Desouches.

Last month, 250 small department stores from Bruay-en-Artois in the north to Beaulieu-sur-Mer in the south featured American merchandise exhibitions, selling goods from Aunt Jemina pancake mix to recorded "Songs of the Old West" by the Oklahoma Wranglers.

Not all Americana, however, is successful here. Les Jouets Rationnels, S.A. (Sensible Toys), a Paris toy distributor, says one notable flop has been the noise-making devices that U.S. youngsters attach to their bicycles. The reason: French parents fear angering their neighbors or "getting a headache," says a company official.

Refreshing Spectacle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, James J. Fitzpatrick wrote an article in the Washington Evening Star, Tuesday, May 17, reporting on the fifth anniversary dinner for Young Americans for Freedom, held at the Shoreham Hotel last week.

Recognizing that contention exists within the various political parties on basic philosophies and that sloganism seems to be the order of the day, the report by Kilpatrick is worthy of the consideration of the Members of Congress, not merely as a report of a social event in the Nation's Capital, but more important because of the nature of the participants in this affair.

Publicity seeking, unwashed, kookie, self-professed intellectuals passionately display themselves before the communications media for all types of causes. This group, however, is in sharp contrast, according to the description offered by Mr. Kilpatrick, and he was impressed because he could "tell the girls from the boys" particularly because—

> The boys had short hair, crew-cropped, and the girls had long hair, curled at their shoulders; they radiated hot water, good soap.

He further stated:

> There wasn't a kook in the crowd. These were healthy, wholesome, intelligent, young people, well-mannered, politically aware, proudly reverent.

This is indeed a refreshing spectacle, particularly because of the marked difference between another group described by Mr. Kilpatrick, who were recently televised as students of the University of Chicago and—

> They paraded before the cameras, pimpled, bearded, slack-jawed, dirty, a rabble of pusillanimous slobs.

The article by Mr. Kilpatrick follows:

GOLDWATER AT HIS BEST BEFORE YOUNG AMERICANS

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Barry Goldwater turned up in town the other night, standing as sentinel-straight as one of his giant Saguaroes—and just as needle-sharp. He had come to speak to a dinner at the Shoreham of Young Americans for Freedom, and it was good to have him back.

By all the ordinary rules, this should have been a forgettable affair—fruit cup, roast beef, parfait, a couple of furlongs of head-table guests. Yet the coincidence of other events, especially at the University of Chicago, added a special poignancy to the ritual occasion. And Goldwater was at his best.

This was a fifth anniversary dinner for Young Americans for Freedom. Formed at

Sharon, Conn., in the winter of 1960–61, the group now counts 36,000 dues-paying young conservatives across the nation.

That night, a thousand of them had convened to whoop it up for Barry and to raise a right-wing cry. Do you know the first thing that struck an outside observer? You could tell the girls from the boys. Peace, it was wonderful. The boys had short hair, crew-cropped, and the girls had long hair, curled at their shoulders; they radiated hot water, good soap, and Chanel No. 5. When Dean Manion's good-looking daughter Marilyn led them in the Pledge of Allegiance, they poured their young voices into the familiar phrases as if they were singing a favorite hymn.

Kooks? There wasn't a kook in the crowd. These were healthy, wholesome, intelligent young people, well-mannered, politically aware, proudly reverent. They had come to make noise, and they made it for their favorites—for that quiet old eagle, Tom Clark, for South Carolina's STROM THURMOND, for Florida's SPESSARD HOLLAND. But at 9:49, when Barry's turn came at last, they brought down the roof. For a couple of minutes, we were back in San Francisco.

They love him still. In their hearts, they know he was right. The mistakes of the '64 campaign, the awfulness of defeat, the crash of conservative hopes that bitter November—all this vanished in the warmth that flowed toward a leader who kept the faith.

Goldwater stood there, grinning that crooked grin, grazing good-naturedly through those big-rimmed glasses. After a while, he shut them up with one quiet-down wave of a friendly paw, and for 28 minutes he talked to them, hand in pocket, giving them the old sound doctrine. Reduced to black-and-white, his speech was probably nothing much . He said nothing he hadn't said before, but he managed to give fresh meaning to comments that might have grown stale.

Members of the federation, he noted, were proud to call themselves conservatives, and he was proud of the name. Conservatism remains today the only successful political philosophy known by man. "What's so wrong with it?" To be conservative is first of all to respect the proven values of the past—to comprehend what has worked, and what has not, and to apply these lessons of experience to contemporary needs.

"Freedom is the cause!" said Goldwater. He speaks of freedom like some Old Testament prophet calling upon his God. "Freedom! No people have ever enjoyed freedom as much as we have enjoyed it under the Constitution and under the forms of free enterprise."

Yet the old concept of freedom seemed to him in danger—not from Communists, foreign or domestic, but from the apathy and greed and indifference of our own people. He turned his scorn on businessmen, some of whom have no more morals than ladies of the night. He lashed at liberals who are dedicated to "action without thought." He remarked that many of the members of the federation would be going actively into politics a few years hence—"Think of freedom first, and second of the vote."

He wound up with a few minutes of quiet reflection on American ideals, on the rights of property, the rights of privacy, the integrity of the individual, the freedom of the marketplace. In the end, he thought, the one best way to fight communism was to convince the Communists of the worth of these ideals—"that our concept of freedom is valid, and that there can be no freedom under a centrally controlled state, whether in Russia or the United States."

It was the old-time religion. And reading this over, it sounds a little corny. Doubtless the Goldwater view, as they say, is "simplistic." Perhaps it smacks of "outmoded nationalism," or of "superpatriotism," or of "flag-waving." But it was good to hear the old bells rung again, and good to see these youngsters' hearts leap up. A day or so later, on television late at night, one gazed in revulsion upon the several hundred University of Chicago students who seized their administration building for a massive sit-in protest against the draft. They paraded before the cameras, pimpled, bearded, slack-jawed, dirty, a rabble of pusillanimous slobs. And one thought of the Young Americans for Freedom, singing out the Pledge of Allegiance, and thanked God for the hope they represent.

WJJD Radio Station of Chicago Conducts Americanism Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to your attention the superb manner in which WJJD radio station of Chicago conducted a most outstanding Americanism contest several months ago.

We as lawmakers and leaders of our Government should thank Mr. Harold Krelstein, president of Plough Broadcasting, and Mr. George Dubinetz, vice president and general manager of WJJD radio station in Chicago. The other four Plough radio stations located in Memphis, Atlanta, Boston, and Baltimore are also continually displaying fine public service and Americanism spirit with various types of radio programs and announcements.

About 6 weeks ago Edward F. McElroy, director of special events and past national commander of the Catholic War Veterans, U.S.A., brought the winner of the contest they had to my office. The title of the contest was "Why the United States Is in Vietnam." Close to 4,000 entered the contest.

A 16-year-old boy by the name of Timothy Krentz, of Addison, Ill., won the contest. His prize was a trip for two for 4 days to our Nation's Capital. They went home thrilled, tired, and amazed after the 4-day tour.

I would like to submit this young man's winning essay. It is as follows:

MY THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS ABOUT OUR AMERICAN POLICY IN VIETNAM TODAY

(By Timothy Krentz, Addison, Ill., age 16, high school junior)

In my beloved country I am guaranteed, among other things, freedom of speech, which is greatly to be prized. I have the right, therefore, to disagree with my nation's policy in Vietnam if I wish. But it behooves any citizen who values his rights and privileges to use them wisely. Along with the freedoms guaranteed me by my nation's constitution also go some responsibilities. In the case of the United States policy in Vietnam, it is my responsibility to become as well-informed on that subject as possible, before making a decision.

From my reading of the Vietnam crisis, I am convinced that the North Vietnamese committed numerous acts of aggression against the South Vietnamese over a number of years. Even small and weak countries can take only so much communistic tyranny before they decide to fight for their rights. Americans love peace as much as anyone anywhere, but not a peace maintained by hiding their heads in the sand while Communists continue to threaten and attack any small nation they want.

Our nation has followed a consistent pattern in one crisis after another from Korea, Berlin, and the Congo to Vietnam. She refuses to walk away from her obligations; she does not offer up small countries as peace offerings. She goes to the aid of the wronged and oppressed, with the idea that her force and might may cause an aggressor to see the error of his way and desist. America is not out to destroy the Government at Hanoi, but to persuade it to leave South Vietnam alone.

I believe firmly that the United States should and will continue its build-up of men and munitions in Vietnam, expecting to stay as long as a communist threat exists there. There is no other choice, really, for a nation that values freedom and human dignity. Yet while the build-up continues there, President Johnson has offered repeatedly to talk peace with Hanoi. There is no reason to suspect our President of planning to surrender South Vietnam to the North at such peace talks, if they ever develop. No one should ever value peace so highly that he would surrender decency to it.

It seems strange to us that the Viet Cong, backed by Red China, refuses to talk peace. They surely have their reasons. They may still feel that they have a chance to win. Or they may be counting on history to repeat itself, even though the war is not going so well for them now. They may be counting heavily on the comfortable Americans at home to lose their will to fight, now that they have discovered that they cannot intimidate the American soldiers at the front. When the people on the homefront in France lost their will to fight, the war over Indo-China was also lost. It could be that the Viet Cong is counting on the small but loud group of American Young people on college campuses to demonstrate and "carry on" until the whole nation is upset, and pressure is put on our leaders to get out of the war in any way possible. This would give the Viet Cong an upper hand in peace negotiations, something they lack at the present.

If they are counting on this, they haven't much hope for success. The anti-Vietnam demonstrations did not have the effect hoped for. They failed to gain momentum, because serious and thinking students all over the nation rallied to the flag when they saw such un-American activities get under way. The truth is that the anti-Vietnam demonstrations served to unit young Americans in a common cause by awakening in them a stronger sense of right, and of freedom for those that love freedom, and of loyalty to one's country and one's fighting men. Our nation will not back down from an unpleasant situation, or turn back once it has "put its hand to the plow." A few dissenting voices will not be able to change a policy that is good and noble, that of aiding another nation to be free from Communistic tyranny, even as we are free. Americans at home are just beginning to learn something that our soldiers in Vietnam have known all along, and that is: what our nation really is fighting for.

The Making of a Secretary General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appears in the March–April 1966 issue of Vista, a publication of the United Nations Association. The article is entitled "The Making of a Secretary General" and is written by June Bingham, the wife of our distinguished colleague from New York, Congressman JONATHAN BINGHAM.

It is an excellent portrait of our Secretary General of the United Nations, and is, I understand, a forerunner of her book, "U Thant of Burma."

The article is most timely, and will, I am sure, be of definite interest to all of us who are concerned with the United Nations, and the man who holds "the world's most demanding job."

The article follows:

THE MAKING OF A SECRETARY GENERAL

(By June Bingham)

Forty years ago a boy was preparing for his daily swim on the banks of the silty, warm Pantanaw River in British Burma.

With care he placed his two favorite books, a Shakespeare and a Conan Doyle, in the shade of a tamarind tree. He kicked off his sandals, removed his collarless shirt, tucked up his ankle-length sarong-like *longyi*, plunged into the water, and swam the breast stroke with more energy than form.

At fifteen U Thant took pride in keeping "fit", and, for a Burmese provincial in 1924, a well exercised, well fed body was the only form of health insurance against the dysenteries, malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, and other prevalent tropical woes. In addition to swimming, Thant and his three younger brothers enjoyed hiking and Burmese cane-ball, sports which, like swimming, need not be competitive. But Thant's greatest enjoyments were literary. His father, a cultured businessman, was the only person in the town of Pantanaw who could read and write English ("the language of the heretics," according to some devout Burmese Buddhists). At fifteen Thant had published his first article in English, in *Burmese Boy*, the magazine of the Boy Scouts. Yet the Journalistic career he yearned to follow now seemed beyond his reach.

His father had died the previous year, and the family rice-mill and other properties, instead of going to the widow and four sons, had, through a kind of legal shenanigans, been diverted into the pocket of a scoundrelly in-law.

Thant's mother, a slim, erect, devout lady, today in her eighties, turned to her eldest son for help and advice. Thant was asked to shoulder responsibility he had never thought to seek. He was already taller than his mother and, in many ways, better educated. He concluded that he should go to Rangoon University for only two years instead of the full four. He would then return and teach in the Pantanaw National (read nationalist) High School, thus earning enough for the higher education of his brothers. At the same time he would be helping his pupils to develop the cultural self-consciousness and national self-confidence necessary if the Burmese were ever to break free of British rule.

At the University Thant continued his swimming and hiking, was elected joint secretary of the Philosophical Association and secretary of the Literary and Debating Society. He also wrote letters to leading newspapers, offering simple moral solutions to complex political problems. He also made some lifelong friends. One was U Nu, who later became the first Prime Minister of independent Burma. Another, U Myo Min, said of Thant in retrospect:

"His behavior was always gentlemanly [but] he wasn't really meek or mild. He just didn't like taking part in quarrels or rough horseplay. He would be the observer rather than the participant. . . . Everyone knew he would do well in his studies but he didn't make a show of brilliance."

Had it not been for Thant's ready and not always innocent humor, he might have been a goody-good. As it was, he was known to laugh unabashedly at bawdy scenes in the Burmese *pwés* (night-long, outdoor variety shows).

Another friend of U Thant's was a Briton, J. S. Furnivall, a tall, thin retired Indian Civil Service officer who had a bookstore near the University and a passion for improving Burmese education. He tried to persuade Thant to enter the civil service. But this would have meant two extra years at the University.

Thant kept to his original schedule, returning to Pantanaw in 1928, a "senior master" at the age of nineteen.

He continued, however, to correspond with Furnivall and to win translation competitions in Furnivall's bi-monthly magazine, *The World of Books*. Thant's pen name was "Thilawa," after a 17th century Burmese noble who was reputed to have smiled only three times in his life. Thilawa symbolized the kind of serenity U Thant (despite his warm and easy smile) was hoping to attain by daily Buddhist meditation.

This meditation, he says today, involves a closing of the senses to outer reality and a concentration on inner reality: "You could set off a firecracker next to a person really meditating and he would not hear it. The result is comparable to the action of the lungs on the blood: impurities and fatigue are removed; one emerges from successful experience of meditation, Thant says, with a feeling of "give my love to everybody" (*metta pura*).

Three years after his return to Pantanaw, Thant took the nationwide Teachership Examination. He won the highest marks in the country and was appointed headmaster of the Pantanaw School. But he continued some teaching. "I like putting my ideas across," he says, and his rapport with young people today extends to the beat as well as the square. When the post above him, that of School Superintendent, fell vacant, Thant wrote to his friend U Nu who came, saw, conquered and, in time, eloped with the daughter of the head of the school board. (In Burma, a land of startling contrasts, marriages are for the most part "arranged" but romantic elopements are not uncommon.) U Thant was appointed to fill U Nu's place.

U Nu went back to Rangoon University where he became President of the Students' Union, a group of young nationalists, one of whom was Aung San, later to become "the George Washington of Burma." U Thant became acquainted with Aung San through a controversy in *The World of Books*. By the mid-thirties Thant was writing a regular column, *From My School Window*, in which he criticized Burmese politicians and journalists as readily as British methods of education. When he deplored the idea of uniforms for students Aung San wrote an emphatic rebuttal. Uniforms, Aung San said, would build discipline and a nationalist spirit. Thant answered in the following issue that freedom and individuality, not regimentation, were essential for the Burmese. Dr. Maung Maung, today Chief Judge of the Chief Court in Rangoon, later recalled that "a wordy war was fought between them, in the course of which a lasting friendship was struck."

The next time U Thant visited Rangoon he met Aung San. In time he became acquainted with all the nationalist leaders. He often approved of their plans but he deplored the violence that some of them were willing to court. He was a few years older than most of them and in 1934 be became a married man. His wife—the marriage was both arranged and mutually pleasing—is quiet, devout and domestically gifted. By the early 1940's they had a daughter, a son, and a foster son.

Pearl Harbor Day found Burma vulnerable to the Japanese invasion that shortly followed. The Japanese drove the British out of Burma into India and set up a puppet Burmese government in Rangoon. U Nu and Aung San were made Ministers and, in May, 1942, they summoned Superintendent Thant from Pantanaw to blueprint a reorganization of Burmese education.

Rangoon was chaotic; refugees were streaming in from the countryside and the allied bombers were roaring over from their bases in India. As U Thant later said:

"I was not happy at all. It was much worse than the British system. There were too many Japanese advisers. They called themselves advisers but really they ruled. Life in Rangoon grew pretty hot. Not only the bombing. I was a target of Japanese suspicion. I was thought to be pro-British."

U Thant finished his job and went back to Pantanaw. There he and four friends defied the death penalty the Japanese were enforcing against Burmese found with short wave radios. Each night they listened to news from abroad, very different from the official Japanese version. U Thant was receiving valuable training in keeping secrets. Later he was contacted by the underground Burmese Resistance and helped to store rice against the time of uprising.

Meanwhile the Japanese issued an edict making the Japanese language compulsory in the Burmese schools. Thant did not argue; he simply remained unable to find any suitable teachers. He came under such suspicion that a Japanese lieutenant warned him of imminent arrest. He and his friends destroyed their radio.

Led by General Aung San, the Burmese rose against the Japanese in March, 1945, and joined the Allies. Liberation of Burma was then followed by nationalist agitation for independence from the British. Finally after Winston Churchill was succeeded by Clement Attlee, Aung San was able to sign an agreement with the British. Burma never chose to join the Commonwealth.

In 1947, a few months before Burma's scheduled independence, Aung San and many of his top assistants were mowed down in cold blood on the orders of a Burmese right wing antagonist. As with the murder of Lincoln, the impetus toward unity, embodied in the leader of a war-ravaged land, was tragically lost. U Nu became Prime Minister in place of Aung San, and only a few months after independence in January 1948 there began the armed insurgencies by Communists and minority groups that have bedeviled Burma to this day.

In the summer of 1947 U Thant had moved to Rangoon with his family. He had raised the money to found a magazine. At last his dream of becoming a journalist was about to be realized. But after the "State Murder," Thant was summoned by U Nu and asked to serve as Press Secretary to the new government. For U Thant public welfare has ever counted more than private preference.

Thereafter he fulfilled Furnivall's dream for him by becoming a civil servant and rising to the top of that profession. Not only was he Secretary in the important Ministry of Information, but in 1954 U Nu created a special job for him, "Secretary to the Prime Minister," and then added to it the job of Secretary to the Economic and Social Board.

No one dreamed it—except perhaps the astrologer who had told U Thant's wife during her childhood that the man she married would some day become world famous—but U Thant was receiving excellent training for a future Secretary-General.

For one thing, he learned to delegate authority. Today one of his Under-Secretaries says, "He trusts us so much that we feel a greater responsibility, and we work twice as hard as we would if he were constantly checking on us."

He also learned to deal with the press. Among the media representatives at the U.N. today there is great appreciation for Thant's willingness to be frank with them (some of Thant's aides think he is too trusting and that his trust, on occasion, has been abused).

In addition, he learned many of the techniques of applying economic and social aid in a less developed country. Today 85 per cent of the UN's work is in that field.

His many duties taught him to get along with politicians who were not getting along with one another. Today at the UN when there are disputes among member nations the Secretary-General listens sympathetically to each side, works long and patiently in the background, and lets such credit as emerges go to the principals involved.

He learned about the world and its peoples, traveling widely with U Nu on both sides of the iron curtain and in the neutral countries. He also met most of the world's leaders, many of whom he is frequently in touch with as Secretary-General.

Finally, he was instrumental in the planning and holding of the Bandung Conference of 1955. This established Afro-Asian solidarity and proclaimed neutralism in its most basic form, the refusal militarily to join either side of the Cold War. Today the Bandung nations comprise more than half the UN membership, and their understanding, as well as that of the Cold Warriors, must be won if any UN measure is to succeed over the long run.

In 1957 U Nu offered U Thant the post of Burma's Permanent Representative at the UN. U Thant was enthusiastic and moved his family to New York. He spoke out frequently at the UN and at meetings throughout the United States. Chief among his subjects was Burma's form of socialism, a combination of private farms and homes with public ownership of the basic means of production; another was the importance of individual liberties. "I am against tyranny," he said, "in any form."

He was chosen to chair the UN Development Fund, the Working Committee on Algerian Freedom, and the Congo Conciliation Commission. Despite several changes of government in Rangoon he stayed at his post in New York.

On September 17, 1961 Dag Hammarskjold died on a UN mission of peace to the Congo. The Soviets tried to install their troika: three Secretaries-General, one from each side of the iron curtain and one from the neutral group, all three of whom would have to agree before action could be taken. But the nations outside the Soviet group stood firm and one Secretary-General was finally elected.

U Thant, with typical modesty, claims that he was chosen because he came from a nonaligned country in a strategic part of the world. Former Ambassador Adlai Stevenson said that Thant was "the only human being out of a hundred nations represented at the UN who was acceptable to everybody."

U Thant is like Hammarskjold in his devotion to the world organization. But as persons they could scarcely have been more different. Hammarskjold generated electricity; one vibrated in his presence like a tight wire in a high wind; U Thant defuses people when they are wrought. Hammarskjold, the Christian, was a mystic; Thant, the Buddhist, is a pragmatist (one of the UN aides who worked with both of them compares Hammarskjold to the recent Pope Pius and Thant to Pope John).

Hammarskjold liked authority centered in his own hands; Thant likes to delegate it. Hammarskjold, mercurial, was thrilling to work for but demanding; Thant, courteous, humorous, and serene, is pleasant to work for; he can correct a draft without denigrating the drafter; he can receive bad news without impugning those responsible; Hammarskjold, the trained diplomat, spoke mainly for the ear of the Foreign Office; Thant, the former teacher, speaks to the peoples of the world, the mute hundreds of millions who yearn for peace and who, except for him, have no other single voice.

In speaking out as frankly as he does, Thant has, at different times, caused anger in the White House, the Kremlin, and among the unaligned nations. But this in itself does not bother him. He knows, as did Hammarskjold and Trygve Lie before him, that a Secretary-General cannot please all of the people all of the time.

KNXT Editorializes Against Resurrection of Deceased 160-Acre Limitation in Imperial Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, some 30 years ago a decision of the Interior Department's Lawyers transported to the Elysian fields the 160-acre limitation on irrigated land insofar as the Imperial Valley is concerned. As a consequence for three decades that valley grew, prospered, and became one of the Nation's finest agricultural areas. Its crops have come to grace the tables of the Midwest, East, and South.

But the Department's bureaucrats have never ceased their mourning for this loved one. It took them 30 years of trying, hiring, and firing, but they finally came up with some lawyer on their payroll who would give them a contrary decision. They have used it to resuscitate their loved one. Somewhat worse for wear after a third of a century in the coffin, the now reincarnated loved one ghoulishly stalks the valleys like a cemeterial omen, threatening to break its agricultural economy into uneconomic 160-acre bits and pieces.

Of these dismal events KNXT–TV of Los Angeles gloomily editoralized on May 3 and 4 as follows:

TURNING BACK THE CLOCK

(By Robert D. Wood)

The Federal government is trying to turn the clock back to pre-Civil War days in Southern California.

The story is developing now in Imperial County. That may seem to be a long way off, but it's just as close as the vegetable counter of your supermarket. This is how it started:

Back in the year 1902, when a farmer could still tame a piece of wilderness with a plow and a mule, Congress passed the Reclamation Act to bring water into undeveloped areas.

The law said that no one could have the new water for a farm of more than homestead size, 160 acres.

Years later, Congress approved a canal to bring more Colorado River water into Imperial Valley. Most of that land was already farmed with Colorado River water, so Congress decided the old 160-acre limit would not apply. The Department of Interior came to the same conclusion not long after.

But now, 30 years later, the Department of Interior has reversed itself. It says the earlier ruling made by its own lawyers was wrong. It says the 160-acres limit should apply.

If the clock is turned back, ownership of land in excess of 160 acres will have to be sold. You can imagine the effect that will have on an area where the average farm is close to a thousand acres.

160 acres may have been the ideal size for a farm when the original Homestead Act was passed, but that was 1862, more than 100 years ago. It may also have made sense in 1902, but it's ridiculous today.

But that's what the government is now trying to do in Imperial Valley, and we dont think it's just or fair by any standard.

There are not many people directly involved. Probably less than a thousand property owners. But their problem is our problem when the government operates in that manner.

The same rule could be applied to the Metropolitan Water District as well and that takes in nearly all the remainder of Southern California. That may sound far fetched, but a government lawyer said its possible.

If the Department of Interior doesn't change its mind, then we think Congress should step in and review the 160-acre law. No place is safe if this type of rule from a bureaucratic cavern in Washington is allowed to stand.

Election Frauds Are Not Funny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this is an election year, and we are properly concerned with the propriety of election tabulations across the country.

Therefore, I am submitting for the RECORD an editorial which appeared in this morning's Chicago Tribune which comments on the rather persistent vote frauds perpetrated by the political machine which dominates that city. The editorial is strong but pertinent commentary on election processes in the city of Chicago.

ELECTION FRAUDS ARE NOT FUNNY

Next to President Johnson, the star performer at the Democartic dinner in McCormick Place Tuesday night was Rep. WILLIAM L. DAWSON, the veteran south side boss. He predicted that the party would not lose an office in the November election.

"In my 2d ward," he added, "we're going to vote all possible. And when I say all possible I don't mean what you all are laughing at. I mean all those who live in the ward."

The laughter which the congressmen referred to shows how contemptuous the local Democrats are toward the election process. They thought Rep. DAWSON's reference "to vote all possible" meant that he intended to use "ghost" voters registered from cemeteries, vacant lots, churches, hospitals, and other nonresidential buildings. This has been standard practice in Chicago in spite of the official canvass intended to remove phony registrants from the election rolls.

President Johnson's clacque at McCormick Place evidently thought ghost voting was amusing, and Rep. DAWSON, prompted by a pull on his coattails from Mayor Daley, hastened to declare that he meant to say that he would count votes only from people who live in the ward.

It has been standard practice to intimidate and bribe thousands of citizens of Chicago's south and west sides. Here are some excerpts from reports made by observers for the Republican Eagle Eye operation after the 1964 election:

"Much voting by affidavit claiming illiteracy tho no notation appeared in the precinct binder. Most assistance was given by one judge—Democratic, of course. Cards passed out instructing voters to pull 'A' and 'D' Democratic levers."

"Unauthorized persons were allowed in and out of polls after 6 p.m. These same people, usually cohorts of the Democratic precinct captains' organization, were allowed to count ballots and give machine totals for tallying."

"Repeatedly assistance was given to voters by one judge with the curtains closed and without affidavit. Democratic precinct captains run the polls and judges take their orders from the captains."

"Eggs were passed out to voters and, in some cases, the reward was a half-pint of gin."

"Men who appeared to be derelicts were brought to the polls in groups; they were filthy but their brand new registration cards which they had to consult when asked their addresses were pristine."

At every Chicago election, reports of fraud are made by watchers for honest election organizations, university students of political science, and newspaper reporters.

The Democrats are strongly in favor of free and honest elections in Alabama and South Viet Nam. It's too bad they don't feel the same way about elections in Chicago.

The Vital Naugatuck Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the April 29, 1966, issue of the American Banker carried an interesting article by Mr. William G. Boles on the dynamic growth and projected industrial expansion of Connecticut's Naugatuck Valley region. This vital area traditionally known as the "Brass Center of the World," is experiencing a new vigor in many other industrial fields, and we in the Naugatuck Valley are constantly heartened by this new evidence of economic expansion.

Mr. Boles, who is the president of the Colonial Bank & Trust Co. of Waterbury, Conn., enumerates the key factors which are making these projections realities, and it is interesting and satisfying to note his emphasis on the Interstate Highway System as a stimulus to economic progress.

Since the Naugatuck Valley comprises the heart of my congressional district, this instance of productive Federal-State cooperation is of special interest to me, but since it is also an example of nationwide application, I offer the article in its entirety for the information of my colleagues:

VALLEY OF VITALITY GAINS BY BETTER ACCESSIBILITY

(By William G. Boles)

With Connecticut continuing as the fastest growing state in New England, the central Naugatuck Valley region of the state finds itself facing what promises to be the most exciting economic period in its long history. This valley of vitality has been famous for generations for highly-skilled craftsmen and industrial know-how.

Waterbury, the core city of the area, has been known as "The Brass Center of the World"; but today great changes are taking place with rapid diversification and expansion in many industrial fields. Along with these changes which are causing things to happen, there's an even more significant change in another vital factor—accessibility.

The transcontinental four-lane, limited access highway known as Interstate 84 now under construction and new Connecticut Route 8 will cross in a multi-million dollar interchange on the Western edge of Waterbury.

These roads are expected to be completed through our city by the end of this year and make the valley accessible from all parts of the country bringing the nation's wealthiest markets within over night reach. Put another way, this means that 33% of the total population of the United States, 41% of the country's manufacturing firms, 42% of the total manufacturing employment of the nation are an overnight haul away.

When completed, I–84 will stretch across Connecticut from the New York Thruway to the Massachusetts Turnpike; Connecticut Rout 8 from Bridgeport on the Sound to the Massachusetts Turnpike.

The business and industrial communities of this Valley are not just sitting by and watching these transportation arteries take shape—far from it. There is a new spirit alive in the area which one can almost feel in the air while walking the streets of our cities and towns.

Both big giants and smaller giants are flexing their muscles by building new and larger plants or additions to their present ones.

We are not alone in seeing the industrial and general growth of this area of Connecticut. Last year at this time, leading national industrial brokers toured the region to see for themselves the potential of the valley and the available industrial sites in its 13 communities.

They also saw evidence of the cooperation of the towns in the region, which have banded together for organized growth in the first planning region in the United States to adopt its plan of government. We're naturally proud of this achievement, and of the Central Naugatuck Valley Regional Planning Agency which has planned our 311-sq.-mi. area.

We in the valley feel that at this moment in history we're more than ready to take full advantage of our location in the industrial heart of industrial Connecticut. With the new highway complex completed, we will be within 30 minutes of about 90% of the industry in the state, 30 minutes to the New York State line and 30 minutes to the boundary of Massachusetts to the north.

There's plenty of land on which to build the future, as only about one quarter of our 311 square miles has been developed. Business and industry each occupy about 3% of the total land area of the region.

The living space in this area of beautiful Connecticut is second to none and is readily accessible in 10 minutes driving time from Westbury, the core city of the crossroads of the state. Here you'll find history, culture, and recreation just minutes away. Waterbury offers an annual arts festival, a fine civic theatre and two symphony orchestras.

Visiting industrialists are also impressed by the fact that educational facilities are among the best in the nation.

Such famous prep schools as Choate, Hotchkiss, The Gunnery, Taft, St. Margarets and Westover are but minutes away.

This region is also next door to many universities and colleges including Yale, Trinity, Wesleyan, Fairfield, RPI's Connecticut graduate center; and Waterbury is the home of a branch of the University of Connecticut and a state technical institute.

A recent publication prepared by the Connecticut Development Commission for the Connecticut Industrial Development Council—an organization dedicated to the promotion and improvement of the economic welfare of the state through industrial development—listed these key facts to support the validity of what our state has to offer industry:

"Diversified, dynamically growing economy which includes a showcase of flourishing industrial companies.

"Favorable market locations and outstanding transportation facilities.

"The nation's most highly skilled labor force.

"Proximity to raw materials.

"Auxiliary supplies, equipment and services.

"Abundant supply of high quality water.

"Concentration of industrial research laboratories.

"Excellent living conditions—the 'Connecticut Way of Life.'

"Other basic plant location criteria such as sites, power, fuel, financing, favorable tax structure and friendly community attitudes."

According to this same report, "industrial construction in our state for a 14-year period beginning in January, 1950 totaled 42,732,000 square feet valued at $470,581,000. In the last 5 years, 18,914,000 square feet of additional plant space was added in Connecticut.

"This represents 40.1% of all industrial construction in New England and contrasts strongly with the fact that Connecticut has 24.4% of the region's population, and 29.1% of its manufacturing employment."

The "Vital Valley" of Connecticut boasts approximately 400 industrial firms manufacturing everything from heavy machinery to disposable hypodermic needles; from sailboats to space-age electronic components and timing devices to wearing apparel for the ladies.

As bankers, we're very much a part of the regional thinking which is fast becoming a major industrial development tool in this area of Connecticut.

Colonial has its own industrial development, as do several other of the larger banks in the state. This important activity of our bank is coordinated with all other local and state agencies concerned with economic development—the industrial development committee of the Greater Waterbury Chamber of Commerce, the Connecticut Industrial Development Council, the American Industrial Development Council, the Northeastern Industrial Developers Association, the New England Council, the Greater Waterbury Industrial Development Corp. and other groups with similar interest and enthusiasm for the region.

Yes, we're proud of our Connecticut way of life here in the "Valley of Vitality" and foresee unprecedented economic and industrial expansion in the years ahead.

We are pulling together as a unified region, linked together now with the most potent highway complex on the East Coast. We're ready for the future.

A Bereaved Family's Belief in Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, in the first 5½ months of this year, 12 young men from my district have been killed in Vietnam.

The average age of these fine, outstanding boys was just 20½ years—so very, very young. Yet each was old enough to understand what a great honor and privilege it is to live in freedom; and therefore, they were willing to sacrifice the supreme gift—the gift of life—in order to pass freedom on to future generations of our Nation and of our world.

The sister of one of these young men recently wrote the editor of the Johnson City Press-Chronicle of Johnson City, Tenn. Because I feel that her remarks speak for the families and friends of all the young men of my area, who have given the ultimate of themselves for their country, I am inserting her letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, together with the editor's comments.

I mourn with the relatives and friends of these men, and I extend my most heartfelt sympathy to their wives, parents, and children, brothers, and sisters, who share "a solemn pride to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

[From the Johnson City (Tenn.) Press-Chronicle, May 18, 1966]

THE AMERICAN WAY: THE WORDS OF CONVICTION

So often in these columns, we have advocated support for American policy and effort in Viet Nam.

And, yet, such eloquent and convincing words of support must really come from the heart. Elsewhere on this page, in Editor's Mailbag, is a letter from the sister of an Upper East Tennessee Marine, killed in South Viet Nam in March.

If anyone has a right to question American policy in Viet Nam or to be bitter about our efforts to stop the spread of Communism, it would be the family of an American killed in that faroff Southeast Asia nation.

But there are no questions, no bitteness. Just tremendous belief in freedom, in the American way of life, in God.

May we recommend to you the words of Wilma Wilson, sister of Lance Cpl. Harold Wilson, fallen Marine.

A BEREAVED FAMILY'S BELIEF IN FREEDOM

EDITOR: Freedom is one of the few causes I know of worth fighting for. Without freedom, life would be worth nothing.

Today our family is in sorrow. My brother, Lance Cpl. Harold Wilson of the USMC, was killed in Viet Nam March 21, 1966. He was the oldest of five children and the pride and joy of our family. He was only 21. Harold was proud that he could do something for his country.

He did not feel, as do many Americans, that America had no reason to be in Viet Nam. His letters were filled with stories of how many times the Vietnamese thanked him for being there. He volunteered to go to Viet Nam only because he felt he would probably be sent later anyway. But after Harold got there, he wrote home expressing his gratitude in being able to fight for a cause so dear. Our family has made a supreme sacrifice in giving up one so dear. Was Harold's death justified or did he die in vain? Harold, as did many others, died for a cause that is now being reduced to only a word, freedom, a word that can be expressed only by those who have lived it, loved it, fought for it, and men died for it.

Were their lives so meaningless that now we can just forget the debt they paid?

War in any form is a horrible thing but can't the world see that Viet Nam is Americans' business. She is drenched with the blood of American heroes. To leave now would be saying that we no longer care if anyone else has the same kind of freedom we enjoy.

Many families are in sorrow but how much greater the sorrow to know that for no reason our loved one had to die.

Is America so cold that she can't feel pain as thousands of American youth die defending her flag, her honor, her name—yes—and even her freedom, for if Communism is not stopped in Viet Nam, one day it will take over America. As long as a small group of Vietnamese ask and need our help, it is our duty to be there. We can win in Viet Nam for God is on our side and as long as we have God, we have nothing to fear.

WILMA WILSON.

Leadership Didn't Stop With FFA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Nels J. Ackerson, of Westfield, Ind., was recently elected president of the student body at Purdue University.

This honor is the latest in an outstanding student career for the Hamilton County young man. Nels also served as national president of the Future Farmers of America in 1963–64.

A story prepared for the June–July issue of the National Future Farmer magazine reviews the accomplishments of this fine, young American.

I am personally acquainted with Nels and by Indiana home is located near Nels' home in Hamilton County, Ind. We are extremely proud of Nels and believe his work is far more typical of our young people today than some of the other more sensational episodes appearing almost daily in our newspapers.

Mr. Speaker, to further acquaint the Members of Congress with the work of one of our fine young Hoosiers, I present the Future Farmer article for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article follows:

LEADERSHIP DIDN'T STOP WITH FFA

Nels J. Ackerson, Westfield, Indiana, national president of the Future Farmers of America in 1963–64, won a three-man race April 14 for student body president at Purdue University. The honor is another in a long line of accomplishments won by this former member who's leadership didn't stop following his FFA membership.

Ackerson's other college campus positions have included Freshman class president, Sophomore class vice-president, agricultural economics council, president of Farm House social fraternity, and a member of the famed Purdue Men's Glee Club. In addition, the State Farms Company Foundation of Bloomington, Illinois, recently named Nels as recipient of a $750 Exceptional Student Fellowship.

Selection for the Fellowship was based on scholarship and leadership ability, according to Edward B. Rust, Foundation president. The selection was made by a panel of faculty members from three Illinois universities. A major in agricultural economics, he was selected as one of ten winners in the awards competition open to all U. S. colleges and universities.

Busy as he is, Nels has not neglected his books. He is a high-ranking Junior in the Purdue School of Agriculture, with a 5.48 cumulative grade point index, based on a 6.00 system.

Nor has Nels neglected his public speaking. For example, he is still very much in demand as a speaker, a demand that grew out of his service as national FFA president. During that time, he made over 300 speeches in 41 states and traveled more than 90,000 miles. A more recent speech entitled "The Contribution of Agribusiness to Effective Education" has been widely reprinted by the Foundation For American Agriculture.

The speech was given by Nels at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Foundation. The group is made up of nationally-prominent farm organization and business leaders. The speech was so popular that the organization has printed bound copies of the former FFA member's remarks. Future Farmers and others who would like to receive reprints should address inquiries to: Foundation For American Agriculture, 1425 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005.

In his Westfield, Indiana, high school, Nels was junior and senior class president, editor of the yearbook, president of the National Honor Society, a member of the chorus, and valedictorian.

Dr. Earl Butz, dean of agriculture at Purdue University says of Nels, "He is a promising young leader whose horizons extend far beyond the agriculture community that produced him."

Bureaucracy in Poverty War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, as a general rule I do not reply to "letters to the editor" and similar material critical of positions I have taken. But when a high administration official—in this case Mr. Sargent Shriver—writes to one of our great newspapers that a statement I made on the floor of this House was "patently erroneous," I feel that I have an obligation to reply.

On March 30, 1966, I made a statement in the House regarding the fantastic bureaucracy Mr. Shriver is assembling to run his $1.7 billion war on poverty. The facts set forth in my statement were drawn from the budget of the United States for fiscal year 1967, and from other official sources, including the Office of Economic Opportunity. My statement was an accurate presentation of those facts.

On May 2, 1966, in a letter to the Los Angeles Times Mr. Shriver replied to a Times editorial based upon my statement. He never contacted me personally, and it is only by chance that I learned of his letter. The letter is a gross distortion of my statement, and a garbled, misleading, and false account of the poverty war budget. I cannot believe Mr. Shriver personally composed it.

Nevertheless, such performances tend to turn this administration's much-remarked credibility gap into a grand canyon. For the RECORD, I herewith

submit the Los Angeles Times' editorial, Mr. Shriver's incredible response, and my letter to the editor of the Times. I also include the appropriate pages from the President's budget, which demonstrate beyond question the accuracy of the statements denied by Mr. Shriver.

The material follows:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Apr. 8, 1966]

BUREAUCRACY IN POVERTY WAR

Testifying before the House Committee on Education and Labor two years ago in behalf of the War on Poverty, Sargent Shriver declared it would be a prudently planned program and that every dollar allocated would be spent to help the poor.

In the course of his remarks, he asserted that "there is no contemplated huge bureaucracy" and added that "I am not one who likes a lot of bureaucracy."

Shriver may not like a lot of bureaucracy, but the record shows that he's got it.

Delving into President Johnson's 1967 budget, Representative WILLIAM H. AYRES, Republican, of Ohio, came up with some revealing figures on the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The total cost of Shriver's administrative staff is $21,739,000 and the total payroll for 6,484 permanent federal employes is $53,489,000.

Twenty-five of the poverty fighters will draw more than the base pay of Gen. Westmoreland, who leads our fighters in Vietnam.

Five anti-poverty workers will be paid more than the $26,000 salary of the U.S. commissioner of education, who runs a program twice the size of OEO.

With a program twice as large, the Office of Education operates with a staff half the size of that of OEO.

The congressman asserted that administrative expenses of the Job Corps are so high that the annual cost per enrollee now runs above $9,000.

Calling for creation of a bi-partisan select committee to investigate conduct of the war on poverty, AYRES recalled the recent declaration of Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, that Congress appropriated money "to help the poor, not to create a monolith of extravagantly paid functionaries."

"If we do not take remedial action," AYRES concluded, "the entire anti-poverty program is going to become so discredited, and be so ineffective, as to create massive disillusionment among citizens trapped in poverty. There is still time to avoid this tragedy."

The congressman is right—but the time is rapidly running out. The committee he proposes should be activiated forthwith.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, May 2, 1966]

LETTERS TO THE TIMES: POVERTY WAR CHIEF REPLIES TO CRITICISM OF HIS PROGRAM

The Times' editorial (April 8) entitled "Bureaucracy in Poverty War" has come to my attention. While I would never question the responsible right of a newspaper to comment editorially, I am disturbed that the editorial quotations were drawn from patently erroneous statements by Congressman AYRES.

In the first instance, his figure on OEO's staff is more than 300% in error and his salary figures two and one-half times the actual. OEO employees in April of this year totaled 2,099—not 6,484, and the payroll is estimated at $16,155,000 for the current fiscal year and $21,739,000 for next year—not $53,489,000 as qucted.

The congressman charges that 25 poverty warriors draw more pay than Gen. Westmoreland does. Title 37—U.S. Code shows the general eligible to receive $30,794.52 annually. This exceeds the statutory salary for the director of an independent agency such as OEO and obviously that of any other employees at OEO as well.

Only the director and the deputy director are paid at a higher rate than is the Commissioner of Education, again in keeping with statutory salary structures. These were established by that Congress of which Congressman AYRES is a leading member, and he never objected to them.

OEO operates with a staff less than that of the Office of Education which employes 2,192 persons. Furthermore, a comparison of size of programs between the two is impossible to make, since it falls in the apples vs. oranges category.

The two offices function in totally different ways to meet their entirely different responsibilities. The Office of Education is a funding and resources agency to the 50 states whose education systems, varying widely in size, administer those programs.

OEO must fund, administer, and provide technical services not only to the 50 states, but also directly to the 700 community action agencies. We are charged with creating and developing a host of new programs such as Head Start, Upward Bound, Legal Services, Foster Grandparents, etc., all of which cut across the whole complex of the human and environmental factors that creat the problem of poverty for the nation, and specifically for some 32 million people who are its victims.

SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAY 16, 1966.

EDITOR, LOS ANGELES TIMES,
Times Mirror Square,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR EDITOR: I have just seen Mr. Sargent Shriver's letter to the *Times* of May 2 in which he attacks your editorial "Bureaucracy in Poverty War" (April 8) as being based upon "patently erroneous statements by Congressman AYRES." He says that my figures on poverty war staffing are "more than 300 percent in error" and that my poverty war salary figures are "two and one-half times the actual."

Mr. Shriver's letter is either a crude attempt to mislead your readers, or a pathetic display of a profound ignorance of his own poverty war budget, or both.

My statement of March 30 read: "According to President Johnson's 1967 Budget, it will take 6,484 permanent Federal employees to run Mr. Shriver's burgeoning bureaucracy—a poverty empire costing $53,489,000 in salaries alone." I carefully broke down these figures, as follows: "Mr. Speaker, there are 2,350 permanent Federal employees budgeted for the Washington and regional offices of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This is the high-salaried Palace Guard of the Poverty Czar . . . . Outside this inner circle at Poverty Headquarters there are 4,134 other permanent Federal employees budgeted at $31,750,000. They are to do the hard work farmed out to other Federal agencies, such as running the Job Corps camps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Adult Education Program, Agricultural loans, etc."

This is an absolutely accurate statement, with the one exception that the number of poverty war positions in programs "farmed out" is actually 4,883, making the total permanent Federal poverty jobs 7,233. The authority for my statement is the President's Budget of the United States for Fiscal Year 1967. The complete analysis of poverty war expenditures is found in the Appendix to the Budget under "Funds Appropriated to the President: Office of Economic Opportunity" beginning on page 92 and running through page 95. On page 94 the funds are detailed in a chart headed "Object Classification" and the personnel plans are described under "Personnel Summary". The cost of permanent positions for the main office of OEO in 1967 is stated at $21,739,000, and for the farmed out jobs (described in budget language as "allocation accounts") at $31,750,000—or my total of $53,489,000. Similarly, the main office permanent positions for 1967 are given as 2,350, and the "allocation accounts" permanent positions as 4,883—or my total of 7,233 Federal employees.

Now how in the world could Mr. Shriver make such statements in the teeth of the President's Budget? He simply ignored the 1967 estimates and talked of current positions; worse, he ignored all the programs under OEO, such as the Job Corps, which are farmed out to other agencies and spoke only of his main office staff.

This kind of tricky stuff is unworthy of Mr. Shriver. Surely he does not contend that the Job Corps, etc. are not parts of his $1.7 billion program. President Johnson's Budget certainly contains no such nonsense; it is explicit and accurate, and so was my statement.

But these are not the only distortions and mis-statements in Mr. Shriver's letter. My statement noted that "6 [OEO employees] will get between $26,000 (the pay of the U. S. Commissioner of Education) and $30,000". In a covering press release I said that "5 anti-poverty workers will get more than the $26,000" paid the Commissioner. Mr. Shriver attacks this by saying that today only he and his deputy are paid more than the Commissioner. But on page 1116 of the Budget Appendix a "schedule of personnel compensation" for the OEO main office has the 1967 estimates in black and white. It shows a Director (Mr. Shriver) at $30,000, a Deputy Director at $28,500, three Assistant Directors at $27,000 each, and one Assistant Director at $26,000—precisely as given in my statement.

One final distortion: I said that 25 of Shriver's poverty warriors would draw more next year than the *base* pay of General Westmoreland. The highest *base* pay of a full general is $23,274 per year, and the President's Budget clearly shows 25 of Shriver's troops scheduled to get more than $23,274. Mr. Shriver added to the base pay all of a general's allowances for quarters, subsistence, and presumably even combat pay for Vietnam to get a higher figure. But my statement was precisely accurate.

Mr. Editor, you and your readers have a right to rely upon the accuracy and truthfulness of a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. I make errors and mistakes, but I do not treat lightly of the truth and I do not distort or misrepresent facts vital to the citizens of our country. I have enclosed photostatic copies of the appropriate pages of the President's Budget, together with my complete statement of March 30, 1966, and the accompanying press release. These were available to Mr. Shriver because I inserted the statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on March 30. You may judge for yourself whose facts are "patently erroneous".

I know Mr. Shriver and have respected him as an honest and straightforward man. I cannot believe that he composed a letter with such distortions and errors of fact concerning his own budget. It must have been the work of one of his numerous incompetent subordinates, who combined an astounding ignorance of the Budget with a profound contempt for the public right to know the truth.

This incident is typical of the confusions, errors, and misstatements flowing daily from the Office of Economic Opportunity (their budget for printing this year is over $4,000,000). It is illustrative of the reasons for Mr. Shriver's agency being widely referred to in Washington as "the fuddle factory". The real tragedy is that so little of the billions it is spending reach the poor.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. AYRES,
Member of Congress.

Enclosures.

The following tables, from pages 92 and 94 of the "Appendix to the Budget" show the complete $1,724,200,000 budget for OEO for fiscal year 1967. Positions and costs for the main office of OEO are stated separately from those in OEO programs delegated to other agencies, which are listed under the heading "Allocation Accounts," but all are included within the total OEO budget figure of $1,724,200,000. All figures are stated in thousands of dollars:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

GENERAL AND SPECIAL FUNDS:

Economic Opportunity Program

For expenses necessary to carry out the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-452, approved August 20, 1964), as amended, [$1,500,000,000] *$1,750,000,000,* plus reimbursements [, including not more than $10,000,000 to carry out the purposes of section 205(d) of title II, in the discretion of the Director, and not more than $1,000,000 to carry out the purposes of part D of title III]: *Provided,* That this appropriation shall be available for transfers to the economic opportunity loan fund for loans under title III, and amounts so transferred shall remain available until expended: *Provided further,* That this appropriation shall be available for the purchase and hire of passenger motor vehicles, and for construction, alteration, and repair of buildings and other facilities, as authorized by section 602 of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and for purchase of real property for training centers: *Provided further,* That this appropriation shall not be available for contracts under titles I, II, V, and VI extending for more than twenty-four months: [*Provided further,* That none of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to make indemnity payments, authorized by part D of title III, to any farmer whose milk was removed from commercial markets as a result of his failure to follow the procedures prescribed by the Federal Government for the use of the offending chemical: *Provided further,* That $5,000,000 of this appropriation shall be transferred to "Community health practice and research" to carry out the program for selective service medical rejectees financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity in fiscal year 1965:] *Provided further,* That no part of the funds appropriated in this paragraph shall be available for any grant until the Director has determined that the grantee is qualified to administer the funds and programs involved in the proposed grant: *Provided further,* That all grant agreements shall provide that the General Accounting Office shall have access to the records of the grantee which bear exclusively upon the Federal grant. (*"Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965"; "Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1966."*)

Program and financing

[In thousands of dollars]

	1965 actual	1966 estimate	1967 estimate
Program by activities:			
1. Youth programs:			
(a) Job Corps	53,523	240,000	355,000
(b) Neighborhood Youth Corps	50,895	245,000	275,000
2. Community action programs:			
(a) Headstart components	5,000	147,000	260,000
(b) Other components	44,244	344,000	475,000
3. Migrant agricultural workers program	1,116	24,000	30,000
4. Rural areas program	1,727	2,000	2,000
5. Small business development centers			5,000
Program by activities—Continued			
6. Work experience program	20,668	130,000	160,000
7. Adult basic education program	4,275	20,000	30,000
8. Volunteers in Service to America	1,393	14,000	22,000
9. General direction and administration	4,981	11,000	17,000
10. Draft rejectee program			5,000
Total program costs, funded	187,822	1,177,000	1,637,000
Change in selected resources	497,935	238,367	87,200
10 Total obligations	685,757	1,415,367	1,724,200

Object classification

[In thousands of dollars]

		1965 actual	1966 estimate	1967 estimate
	OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY			
	Personnel compensation:			
11.1	Permanent positions	3,924	16,155	21,739
11.3	Positions other than permanent	2,011	1,250	735
11.4	Special personal services payments	1,900	25,350	55,000
11.5	Other personnel compensation	313	601	700
	Total personnel compensation	8,148	43,356	78,174
12.0	Personnel benefits	261	1,350	1,725
21.0	Travel and transportation of persons	1,335	6,295	6,500
22.0	Transportation of things	156	100	100
23.0	Rent, communications, and utilities	857	4,814	5,100
24.0	Printing and reproduction	1,113	4,338	3,950
25.1	Other services	108,820	151,382	65,866
25.2	Services of other agencies	17,449	7,536	7,500
26.0	Supplies and materials	2,028	5,293	5,100
31.0	Equipment	6,999	3,773	2,000
41.0	Grants, subsidies, and contributions	235,882	628,663	888,835
	Total obligations, Office of Economic Opportunity	383,048	856,900	1,064,850
	ALLOCATION ACCOUNTS			
	Personnel compensation:			
11.1	Permanent positions	6,161	22,550	31,750
11.3	Positions other than permanent	1,165	2,808	2,098
11.4	Special personal services payments	18	1	1
	ALLOCATION ACCOUNTS—Continued			
11.5	Other personnel compensation	339	661	771
	Total personnel compensation	7,683	26,020	34,620
12.0	Personnel benefits	576	1,952	2,597
21.0	Travel and transportation of persons	1,361	7,000	6,000
22.0	Transportation of things	624	1,611	1,923
23.0	Rent, communications, and utilities	663	3,300	4,084
24.0	Printing and reproduction	224	302	402
25.1	Other services	131,700	313,766	353,062
25.2	Services of other agencies	3,586	5,274	9,100
26.0	Supplies and materials	3,902	14,612	26,229
31.0	Equipment	6,642	3,418	6,269
32.0	Lands and structures	30,086	20,110	5,000
41.0	Grants, subsidies, and contributions	115,662	161,093	210,064
	Total obligations, allocation accounts	302,709	558,467	659,350
99.0	Total obligations	685,757	1,415,367	1,724,200
	Obligations are distributed as follows:			
	Office of Economic Opportunity	383,048	856,900	1,064,850
	Agriculture	32,527	73,024	86,050
	Health, Education, and Welfare	116,427	155,443	195,000
	Interior	21,556	71,000	83,000
	Labor	132,200	259,000	290,300
	Small Business Administration			5,000

Personnel summary

[In thousands of dollars]

	1965 actual	1966 estimate	1967 estimate
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY			
Total number of permanent positions	1,150	2,150	2,350
Full-time equivalent of other positions	211	125	75
Average number of all employees	608	1,775	2,275
Average GS grade	9.5	9.7	9.5
Average GS salary	$9,524	$9,827	$9,792
ALLOCATION ACCOUNTS			
Total number of permanent positions	2,656	4,586	4,883
Full-time equivalent of other positions	139	323	246
Average number of all employees	1,017	3,250	4,600
Average GS grade	7.8	7.8	7.8
Average GS salary	$7,000	$7,200	$7,500

The following table, from pages 1116 and 1117 of the "Appendix to the Budget," is the Schedule of Personnel Compensation for the main office of OEO. It does not include "Allocation accounts" and the 4,883 permanent Federal employees budgeted at $31,750,000 for salaries are listed in the schedules for other Federal agencies. This table does show 5 positions budgeted at a higher rate of pay than the $26,000 for the U.S. Commissioner of Education, and it shows 25 positions budgeted for salaries higher than $23,274—the highest base pay of a full general:

Office of Economic Opportunity

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM—SCHEDULE OF PERSONNEL COMPENSATION PAID FROM FUND3 AVAILABLE TO THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

	1965 actual		1966 estimate		1967 estimate	
	Number	Total salary	Number	Total salary	Number	Total salary
Grades and ranges:						
Special positions at rates equal to or in excess of $25,382:						
Director, OEO	1	$30,000	1	$30,000	1	$30,000
Deputy director, OEO	1	28,500	1	28,500	1	28,500
Assistant director	3	81,000	3	81,000	3	81,000
Assistant director, R.P.P. & E	1	26,000	1	26,000	1	26,000
GS–18. $25,382:						
Administrative officer	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Assistant Director, congressional relations	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Assistant Director, Interagency relations	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Assistant director management	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Associate director, operations, CAP	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Associate director, program planning development, CAP	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Deputy director, VISTA	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Deputy director, Job Corps	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
Director, regional office	3	73,500	3	76,146	3	76,146
General counsel	1	24,500	1	25,382	1	25,382
GS–17. $22,217 to $25,325:						
Administrative officer	3	64,335	3	75,975	4	101,300
Assistant director, inspections	1	24,445	1	25,325	1	25,325
Assistant director, private groups	1	24,445	1	25,325	1	25,325
Associate director, enrollee activities, Job Corps	1	21,445	1	22,217	1	22,217
Associate director, program development and field operations, VISTA	1	21,445	1	22,217	1	22,994
Associate director, urban centers, Job Corps	1	22,945	1	24,548	1	24,548
Associate director, program support, CAP	1	21,445	1	22,994		
Associate director, recruitment and Community relations, VISTA	1	21,445	1	22,217	1	22,994
Director, regional office	4	85,780	4	88,868	4	91,976
Director, research and plans division, RPP&E	1	21,445	1	22,994	1	23,771
Assistant director, public affairs	1	24,500	1	24,548	1	24,548
GS–16. $19,619 to $25,043:						
Administrative officer	2	37,870	2	39,238	2	39,238
Associate director, selection and training, VISTA	1	18,935	1	19,619	1	19,619
Director, budget and finance division, management	1	20,245	1	20,975	1	21,653
Director community and public relations, Job Corps	1	18,935	1	19,619	1	19,619
Director, men's centers division, Job Corps	1	18,935	1	19,619	1	19,619
Director, program development and evaluation	1	18,935	1	9,619	1	19,619
Director, program and evaluation division, RPP&E	1	19,590	1	20,975	1	21,653
Director, women's centers division, Job Corps	1	18,935	1	20,297	1	20,975
Executive secretary	1	18,935	1	20,297	1	20,975
Program manager	10	190,005	10	202,970	10	202,970
GS–15. $17,055 to $22,365:						
Accountant	1	17,030	1	17,055	3	52,345
Administrative officer	14	230,440	45	770,425	40	678,125
Attorney	3	52,230	9	158,215	10	174,680
Attorney adviser	1	16,460	2	34,110	4	68,220
Audio visual specialist			1	17,055	1	17,645
Auditor			1	17,055	1	17,645
Budget officer	1	17,600	1	18,825	1	18,825
Communications specialist	1	16,460	1	17,645	1	18,235
Communications relations specialist	1	16,460	1	17,645	1	18,235
Contract specialist			2	34,110	2	35,290
Director, audit division, management	1	18,170	1	18,825	1	18,825
Director, community relations division, VISTA			1	17,055	1	17,645
Director, contracts division, management	1	17,055	1	17,645	1	17,645
Director, field operations division, inspection					1	17,055
Director, field operations division, VISTA	1	16,460	1	17,055	1	17,645
Director, headquarters operations division, inspection			1	17,055	1	17,645
Director, installations and logistics division, Job Corps			1	17,055	1	17,645
Director, management analysis division, management	1	18,170	1	19,415	1	19,415
Director, management support division, management			1	17,055	1	17,055
Director, program development division, VISTA			1	17,055	1	17,645
Director, recruitment division, VISTA	1	16,460	1	17,645	1	18,235
Grades and ranges—continued						
GS–15. $17,055 to $22,,365—continued						
Director, rural task force, CAP			1	$17,055	1	$17,645
Director, selection division, VISTA			1	17,055	1	17,645
Director, State related centers office, Job Corps			1	17,055	1	17,055
Director, training division, VISTA			1	17,055	1	17,645
Director, urban centers program division, Job Corps			1	17,055	1	17,645
Economist	2	$32,920	6	102,330	7	123,515
Education specialist	2	32,920	3	51,165	3	51,755
General engineer	1	16,460	1	17,645	1	18,235
Information specialist			1	17,055	1	17,645
Inspector	3	52,800	7	124,695	7	127,055
Liaison officer			2	38,240	2	38,830
Logistics specialist	1	16,460	1	17,645	1	18,235
Medical specialist	1	16,460	2	34,110	2	34,700
Personnel specialist	1	17,030	1	18,235	1	18,235
Placement specialist	1	16,460	5	85,275	5	87,635
Program analyst	15	249,180	15	244,670	18	319,380
Pyschiatrist			1	17,055	1	17,645
Program manager	37	730,220	75	1,363,465	75	1,387,562
Programer	1	16,460	1	17,055	1	17,645
Property and supply specialist			1	17,055	1	17,645
Public information specialist			1	17,055	2	34,700
Sociologist			2	34,110	2	35,290
Statistician	1	16,460	3	51,165	3	52,345
Systems analyst			1	17,055	1	17,645
Training specialist	1	16,460				
Visual information specialist	1	16,460	1	17,645	1	18,235
Writer			4	68,220	4	70,580
GS–14. $14,680 to $19,252:						
Accountant	1	16,620	4	62,784	4	59,736
Accounting technician			1	14,680	1	14,680
Administrative assistant			2	29,360	2	30,376
Administrative officer	23	328,360	18	269,320	18	264,291
Attorney	3	43,490	3	45,564	2	29,360
Budget analyst	1	14,170	3	44,548	4	60,752
Auditor	2	29,810	3	44,548	6	96,112
Classification specialist	1	14,170	1	14,680	1	15,696
Community relations specialist	1	14,660	1	15,696	1	16,204
Contract specialist	3	42,510	4	58,720	4	60,752
Education specialist	4	56,680	7	105,300	7	108,348
Financial manager	1	14,170	1	14,680	1	15,188
Information specialist			1	14,680	1	15,188
Inspector	2	31,280	8	120,488	11	184,796
General engineer	3	45,940	6	92,144	6	93,668
Liaison officer			7	102,760	7	106,316
Logostics specialist	1	14,170	1	15,188	1	15,696
Management analyst	2	28,340	3	45,056	3	46,580
Media specialist			2	29,360	2	29,360
Medical specialist			1	14,680	1	15,696
Morale and welfare officer			1	14,680	1	15,188
Personnel specialist	1	14,660	1	15,696	1	16,204
Planning officer			1	14,680	1	15,188
Procurement specialist			1	14,680	1	15,188
Program analyst	17	245,790	46	691,564	43	664,768
Program evaluation analyst	1	14,170	5	73,908	7	105,808
Program manager	28	396,760	93	1,367,379	81	1,214,988
Property and supply specialist	1	16,130				
Psychologist	2	28,340	8	117,440	5	76,956
Public information specialist	10	145,130	10	152,896	10	152,896
Rcsearch specialist					1	14,680
System analyst			4	58,72	5	75,432
Traffic management specialist	1	14,170	1	15,188	1	15,696
Training specialist	1	14,170	6	88,080	8	120,050
GS–13. $12,510 to $16,245	113	1,377,675	226	2,871,330	230	2,960,820
GS–12. $10,619 to $13,931	125	1,290,209	225	2,426,075	255	2,786,116
GS–11. $8,961 to $11,715	79	693,149	150	1,365,570	190	1,746,960
GS–10. $8,184 to $10,704	2	15,800	4	33,296	4	34,976
GS–9. $7,479 to $9,765	84	618,786	150	1,139,630	170	1,308,260
GS–8. $6,869 to $8,921	13	91,728	20	138,520	20	139,630
GS–7. $6,269 to $8,132	111	695,045	200	1,272,430	225	1,449,855
GS–6. $5,702 to $7,430	51	303,086	94	544,436	105	615,712
GS–5. $5,181 to $6,720	151	772,932	270	1,419,390	305	1,623,810
GS–4. $4,641 to $6,045	116	536,107	210	989,274	240	1,144,884
GS–3. $4,149 to $5,409	32	130,878	60	253,140	65	278,085
GS–2. $3,814 to $4.975	9	40,480	20	77,570	20	78,860
GS–1. $3,507 to $3,578	5	16,925				
Total permanent	1,150	11,060,730	2,150	21,191,801	2,350	23,118,675

Hearings Held in Minneapolis on War in Vietnam—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, continuing the presentation of the views expressed at the Minneapolis hearings on Vietnam, I have the pleasure of presenting the testimony of Romeyn Taylor, associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota, and Rodney C. Loehr, professor of history at the University of Minnesota.

These hearings were an attempt to look beyond the day-to-day events of the way and to analyze its implications for the people of Vietnam and its lessons for the United States. The testimony illustrates the excellent insights of the expert witnesses into the problems. The wisdom presented here will be important far into the future.

The testimony of Romeyn Taylor and Rodney C. Loehr follows:

Romeyn Taylor: "This statement prepared by me for Representative DONALD FRASER's hearings in Minneapolis, December 7, 1965 represents my own views only and not that of any organization."

U.S. Foreign policy in the Far East since WW II appears to have been focused, as in other parts of the world on the containment of Communism. The practical definition of containment, however, cannot be the same in different time and different areas. In Europe, the policy of containment was generally successful. Here, military assistance, the NATO system of collective security and the programs of economic aid got good results. The states we supported in central and western Europe were already committed to non-Communist traditions of government and representative institutions. Moreover, they possessed, at least collectively, the skills and natural resources necessary to create and maintain military power on a very large scale. Little more than an infusion of U.S. capital and a certain amount of enlightened cooperation among the nations concerned were needed to create a firm obstacle to Russian expansion westward. At the same time, economic recovery prevented the massive social disturbances without which Communist revolution could hardly have been attempted. The definition of the problem of containment and the means used to implement it in Europe, however, cannot easily be transfered to Southeast Asia. This is not mere speculation: we have tried it and on the whole, it has worked poorly.

In Southeast Asia, several economically weak and politically unstable states are arranged on or near the southern periphery of China, a nation that outnumbers all the Southeast Asian states together by about four to one in population and is relatively stable politically. The problem here was to prevent these peripheral states from aligning themselves with China to our own strategic advantage. Two general approaches to this problem have been, one: the neutralization of the area under collective guarantee by the leading states on both sides of the cold war. This approach is represented by the Geneva Conference of 1954 and was strongly advocated at that time by India, itself a neutralist state. While the United States participated in this conference, it appears to have done so with some reluctance and proceeded to implement the other approach, namely the application, or misapplication, of the methods employed successfully in Europe. This was expressed in SEATO, the South East Asia Treaty Organization, which was created in the same year. SEATO was logically incompatible with the Geneva approach since it implied a Western alignment, instead of neutrality, of the Southeast Asian members.

It may be argued, therefore, that we have made it impossible to give neutralization a fair trial. Our course in this regard can only be justified if it can be shown to have been highly successful. For a number of reasons it has, on the contrary, worked poorly. The weakness of the Southeast Asian members has resulted in their having to permit the establishment of U.S. military bases on their territory, in some cases close to the Chinese frontier. This has furnished China with a strong reason to apply pressure by taking advantage of their extreme vulnerability to organized internal opposition from the left. Other states, such as Cambodia and Burma have avoided alignment with the West for this reason and have remained outside of SEATO, thereby greatly weakening the organization. Moreover, the advantages of alignment with the U.S. seem uncertain at best. Our enormous investment in defense of the various Saigon regimes has not only failed to nullify the effectiveness of the militant left, but has escalated the internal struggle to a degree that threatens the devastation of the entire state. Far from encouraging other Southeast Asian states to associate themseleves with us in this manner, it is more likely in the long run to persuade them that this is the most dangerous of all possible policies.

Another defect of the containment approach is that its economic phase necessarily produces results very different than in Europe and may sometimes work against our political objectives. In Europe, we were underwriting the restoration of developed industrial societies. In Southeast Asia, we hope to foster the industrialization of predominantly non-industrial societies. This demands a profound change in their cultures and their institutions. Such change in turn results in sharp internal conflicts that may take political or even military form. Since internal order is necessary for economic development, this creates a presumption in favor of authoritarian governmental forms as against the kind of open and representative forms that we would favor on ideological grounds. Moreover, the authoritarian left has a distinct advantage over the right.

While there have been some durable authoritarian regimes of the right, these have generally occurred in Europe, where there was a relatively secure conservative middle-class base, as in Spain or Portugal. Such a social base is largely absent in Southeast Asia, and where it exists, it is likely to be partly Chinese, and therefore to this extent, by attraction of the home country, inclined to the left. Moreover, rightist distatorships have not generally had a good record in economic development. Nationalist China might be cited on Taiwan as a small example to the contrary, but here there are the peculiar circumstances of rule by cohesive and powerful refugee elite and investment of U.S. capital on a scale which it might be impossible to repeat for other states. The political left, on the other hand, by involving great numbers of the population in revolutionary political or even military action, achieves strong psychological identification with many or most of the population. This it turn makes the party or governmental organization strong enough to carry out the costly and difficult tasks of capitalizing industrial and agricultural development. On this score, the Asian Communist states of China, North Korea and North Vietnam appear to have done fairly well. The authoritarian left, therefore, has real solutions for real problems. Whether the price paid in the form of state control of much social and intellectual activity is really worth the gains is hardly a question we should presume to answer for other peoples. In terms of their cultural traditions, which are very different from our own, the cost may not be as high as it would seem to us.

In the fact of these adverse factors, our application of the containment principle to the National Liberation movement in Vietnam and perhaps elsewhere amounts to the exercise of a U.S. veto with military force over certain real and not wholly unreasonable political tendencies in some of the economically underdeveloped countries. One effect of this is to place leadership of anti-western nationalism in the hands of the left, and under certain conditions, as in Vietnam, this may help them greatly. In passing, it should be noted that the arguments sometime advanced in support of our present policy that the NLF's resort to violence creates a moral obligation for outside powers to intervene against it is absurd. If this principle were generalized, all nations would be obliged to keep the democratic practices of their neighbors under critical review and intervene when they found force being used improperly. Moreover, it would be difficult in Vietnam to say whether Ngo Dien Diem or Ho Chi-Minh was the more responsible for the non-existence of political democracy in their country, since both appear to have been opposed to it from the start. To define the revolutionary war in Vietnam as an instance of international aggression is a transparent effort to force it into the category of problems that our policy of containment was intended to cope with.

Our failure in Vietnam does not mean that we should cease to support democratic leaders against their authoritarian rivals on the left and right, but it does mean, that we must distinguish between those cases where such support has a reasonable chance of achieving its intended result and those cases where our intervention is simply destructive. We must also recognize that we cannot substitute for or create indigenous leadership as we have tried to do in Laos and Vietnam with uniformly disastrous results. This necessary condition of democratic development is one that must be provided by the people in question. Where it is lacking, we must try to live with the result and not try inappropriately by military means to force upon them governmental forms that have no relation to their culture and experience. What are the implications of such a change in policy toward SEAsia? In a general sense, this points to a return to the Geneva approach of protected neutrality for those states that desire it and the acceptance of leftist control where it is already an accomplished fact. It also calls for the gradual replacement of the Western oriented system of collective security in SEATO by joint guarantees by the major Communist and non-Communist powers. China's adherence should become a major goal of our policy and to secure it, we should show our readiness to discuss all major issues now dividing the two countries.

We must also face the fact that to hope for neutralization of Vietnam at this very late date may be unrealistic. Our war there can probably be ended only if we make it clear to the Saigon Military that we will not win their war for them and they will either have to win it themselves with limited assistance or, which is more likely, make their own arrangements with the NFL and Hanoi in a reconvened Geneva Conference. If, as is likely, this results in a leftist or even Communist government in the south under Hanoi's political control, we should then undertake to encourage Vietnamese independence of Peking as we have encouraged Yugoslavia's independence of Moscow. This alternative, unpalatable though it may be, is preferable to our present self-defeating military involvement. Much of the pressure on Laos, Cambodia and Thailand that has been created by the war in Vietnam would be removed and they could more easily move towards neutralism from their present positions on the left and right. The net effect of such a policy would not be to surrender any positions of real strength in Southeast Asia but to acknowledge forthrightly certain weaknesses of our position that can no longer be concealed. Given the present state of world opinion, this would enhance rather than diminish our prestige and give us a chance to use our immense economic resources constructively in SEAsia. For the long run, perhaps the most important advantage would be that we would have taken the first hard step toward removing certain unnecessary grounds of Sino-U.S. hostility. The outlook here is not altogether bad. The Chinese have compensated for the reduction on their trade with the other Communist countries since the Sino-Soviet split, by expanding their trade with the West. The problem of Taiwan, which is very much a thorn in China's side should be more possible of solution with every passing year. The time is ripe for a policy of mutual accommodation and we should not refuse to take the first steps.

STATEMENT PRESENTED AT HEARINGS OF THE HONORABLE DONALD FRASER BY PROF. RODNEY C. LOEHR, DECEMBER 7, 1965

My name is Rodney C. Loehr. I am a professor of history at the University of Minnesota. During World War II, I was the Historical Officer for the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. From 1951–1953 I was Special Historian in the Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany.

In response to your questions may I present the following viewpoints:

Question No. I. What role might the United Nations play in Vietnam?

Answer. It is first necessary to get the United Nations to agree to work in Vietnam. Provided that the U.N. is willing to undertake responsibilities in Vietnam, the U.N. might play the following roles:

(a) The U.N. can act as a medium of communication between us and our adversaries. This role can be taken immediately by the Secretary.

(b) The U.N. can supervise or police any agreement reached between us and our adversaries. This role envisages a peace settlement sometime in the future.

(c) The U.N. can act as a channel for economic aid which a future agreement might promise for the region of Southeast Asia, such as the proposed Mekong river development. This role is something for the far distant future.

Question No. II. What more should the United States do to assist the government of Vietnam in the development of stable political institutions.

Answer. Our objective appears to be to have an independent government in South Vietnam that is capable fo governing in its own interests and not to have just a puppet government. To achieve such an independent government favorable conditions must be created and this means ending the invasion by North Vietnam, quelling the insurgency and establishing law and order. Before we can help South Vietnam develop stable political institutions, we must be able to identify the problems involved. The situation is more complex than just a struggle between Communists and anti-Communists. Various religious and ethnic groups are involved. The government of South Vietnam today is city-oriented and a better balance between city and country is needed. Before anything is done we need a wider base of information. Most of the information probably is available now and can be secured from the Special Forces, CIA, MAG, AID, medical people and missionaries. I suggest that an independent presidential commission, somewhat on the order of the Taft Commission that functioned so successfully in the Philippine Islands around the turn of the century at the time of the Philippine rebellion, be formed to study the situation in South Vietnam and to make recommendations for the creation of a stable situation there. Such a commission would be able to take a long look at the situation and this is something that operating agencies cannot do, since they are involved in daily crises. Such a commission would also have the prestige needed to have its recommendations influence policy. If such a commission cannot be created, then let one of the national foundations finance a national committee to do the same work.

In the meantime we can send professional people to train administrators and others in the region. AID and the Peace Corps can play a larger role, and economic and technical aid can be increased. However, we should have firm guarantees about the use to which the aid is put, and we should install some kind of inspection system to make sure that the aid does what it is supposed to do. In connections with aid, it should be noted that we may need to send large supplies of rice to South Vietnam in the near future because of the Viet Cong blockade of the cities, and that this rice must come from our own supplies or from purchases. In the end what we do in South Vietnam will depend upon the limits we place upon what we are willing to do.

Questions No. III. What can be done in the way of economic and social development?

Answer. First, we must identify the problems, and try to determine where improvements are needed and where and how they can be made. Whatever is done must be done in terms of Vietnamese culture and needs and not in terms of American culture. For example, it would be senseless to build a so-called model village with a nine-hole golf course and a shell seating 20,000 for the showing of "Hello! Dolly!" Instead, Vietnam can be helped with fertilizer and penicillin factories, improved varieties of rice, improved and simple tools, hospitals and schools that deal with life in Vietnamese terms. Whatever is done must fit a rice subsistence economy. We should buy as much as possible of materials used in the country itself because this will infuse money and labor into the economy. A master plan should be drawn up, based on how much aid we wish to give, that will deal with the infrastructure we hope to create or rebuild. Probably, only in electricity and communications can advanced techniques be applied; the rest will have to be mostly in terms of grass-thatched huts.

Social developments will be a by-product of economic and educational change. Education is badly needed but should always be in terms of Vietnamese culture and needs. Students sent to this country will be lost to Vietnam; education should be in-country training. The experience of the missionaries and Special Forces will be a useful guide for educational projects.

Question No. IV. What should be an acceptable basis for settlement of the conflict in Vietnam?

Answer. We demand that the North Vietnamese and their Chinese advisers get out of South Vietnam. This may appear to them to amount to unconditional surrender. They demand that we get out of South Vietnam, and this certainly amounts to a humiliating and unacceptable demand for our unconditional surrender. Is there a middle ground? Bearing in mind the harsh realities of what has happened, is something short of unconditional surrender acceptable to both sides? Are there dissident elements in South Vietnam that can be accepted in a future peace settlement by the U.S. and the South Vietnamese government? Can a middle ground be discovered? There is where the proposed presidential commission can do great service, since it may be able to suggest political solutions that will end the conflict or at least ease the military burden of the war.

In the meantime we have a number of military options that we can use for trading material to get the North Vietnamese out of South Vietnam. We can increase our ground forces, apply harsher economic sanctions, extend the bombing, inflict a blockade or even offer invasion. From the military standpoint if we are to bring the North Vietnamese to the conference table by military means, we must be able and willing to raise the conflict to an unacceptable level of violence. We have that capability. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind about that.

What are the stakes? The stakes are whether or not we wish to contain the spread of Red China's influence and power in Southeast Asia. Pulling American troops out of Vietnam will not end the killing in that unhappy country but instead may well lead to the slaughter of those who have befriended us. If we do not make a stand in Vietnam, we will have to make a stand somewhere else or else give up the whole area to the Chinese on the mainland. The moment we pull out of Vietnam we will be faced with a similar crisis in Thailand. We can make a stand in Vietnam under relatively favorable conditions that would not exist in other parts of Southeast Asia.

Question No. V. What lessons should be drawn from a decade of United States involvement in Vietnam?

Answer. First, the military lessons: American military units can fight the kind of war now raging in South Vietnam. Our military system is geared to respond to guerrilla warfare and also to the increased guerrilla warfare which uses large organized units and is sometimes called by our adversaries "wars of national liberation."

Secondly, we have learned that insurgent and supporting forces from the outside have increased in almost direct ratio to the increase in American aid. In other words as we have escalated, they have also escalated. But it should be borne in mind that we do have the capability to escalate to levels of violence that are unacceptable to our adversaries.

1961—1,000 Americans were in Vietnam as advisers. It was decided that there should be a massive increase in aid. December saw the first helicopters and in addition we began to provide air support, communications and an increase in the number of advisers. In units where American aid was used the kill ratio was increased. But it was still a hit-and-run war.

1962—The number of American advisers was increased to 20,000.

1963—Diem was killed and the war went badly for a time because of political instability—a good demonstration of the relations between politics and war. Then, General Ke was brought in and some stability was achieved.

1964—PT boats attacked the U.S. Navy and in retaliation PT sites were bombed.

1965—February saw the beginning of massive bombing of North Vietnam sites and March saw the beginning of the big build-up of American forces that has continued. Probably, as a minimum a half a million of American ground forces will be committed to Vietnam, and it may take at least three years before a favorable solution can be reached. The draft will have to be increased and it may be necessary to call to active duty units of the National Guard and Reserve forces.

The 25th Anniversary of the San Jose Police Reserve—A Quarter Century of Unselfish Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, the 21st of May 1966, the San Jose Police Reserve will celebrate its 25th anniversary year. This organization is believed to be the oldest of its kind in continuing existence in the Nation. It is so noteworthy that I think special recognition is in order.

Mr. Speaker, the members of the San Jose Police Reserve make an outstanding contribution to public service and do it unselfishly. They receive no pay, but cheerfully cooperate with and supplement the San Jose Police Department. By so doing they bring a level of protection to the citizens of San Jose which they could not otherwise afford.

I am indebted to Mr. George W. Cochern, chief of the San Jose Police Reserve, for most of the history of this outstanding organization, which follows:

On December 8, 1941, 1 day after Pearl Harbor, J. N. Black, chief of police of San Jose, called for the formation of a civilian emergency police unit, to be part of the police department.

Such an organization was to be composed of volunteers who would be on call for assistance to the regular department, under the direction of Sgt. William Brown and the traffic officer, Edward Pracna. The group was formed, with a membership of 250, and named the San Jose Auxiliary Police. Pracna, who was eventually promoted to captain, headed the organization until his retirement in 1963.

In 1960, the organization was renamed the San Jose Police Reserve. At the same time, the responsibilities of the group were broadened to include not only civilian defense aspects, but general police duty as well. With the reorganization came an upgrading in standards of selection of personnel and training.

Today's San Jose Police Reserve officer is one of the best trained in the Nation. To become a member, a candidate must pass a rigid oral examination and complete six units of college-level law-enforcement courses. His training will continue with at least 2 nights per month for as long as he remains in the program.

All reserves are on 24-hour call and all must notify the department whenever they leave the city.

Although they work at civilian occupations, they are classified as police officers and their duties involve assignments at fires, floods, explosions, air crashes, political rallies, riots, and civil disturbances. In addition, they assist regular officers in normal patrol duties, control of crowds, and perform other public service.

The San Jose Police Reserve has been fortunate to receive outstanding leadership from the San Jose Police Department and much of the success of the program reflects the ability of the three men who have been directors of the reserves.

Upon the retirement of Capt. Edward Pracna, the first director, Capt. Ross Donald was assigned to the post, which he held until the appointment of the present director, Lt. Lewis Haller.

Mr. Speaker, though our police officers are maligned on occasion, almost every American looks to the cop on the beat as his friend and protector. He deserves our respect and gratitude. And the man who volunteers his services in the police reserve and often risks his life and limb so that we may all enjoy a better community deserves our very special gratitude.

The Poverty Program Gives Social Status To Being Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, few people realize that poverty is a social disease rather than an economic ailment. For instance, poverty is seen not only in physical substandard living conditions; it is seen more fundamentally as a state of mind and, too often, an ignorance of what can be had not for the asking but for the working.

Such a comprehension of poverty is nothing new to knowledgeable observers, for it has been with man since and before the Middle Ages and Industrial Revolution.

No amount of available jobs, no amount of handouts, no amount of labels that set certain groups of citizens apart as poor social classes, none of this is going to effectively rid America or any other nation of poverty as a way of life.

Education of the general public over the centuries has increased markets, increased the skills of workers, and increased the well-being of whole nations. And mass education also can reduce poverty to the bare minimum by substituting the meaning, the social and moral significance of better living, for the total absence of such human comprehensions now the lot of much of America.

A man will not work unless he wants to work, and in an open society, that man cannot be ordered or sweet-talked into wanting to work. He must know all by himself that working for a better living is more attractive than sitting in a shack by the wayside.

But take a man who does want to work but cannot find employment. Here is manifestation of an economic malfunction. It is not a case of poverty; it is a case of economic hardship. There is a mountain of difference between these two facts of life. Sadly for our Nation, this fact is either not seen or is being ignored by your Council of Economic Advisers or by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which seems to seek to eradicate poverty by telling poor people they are poor.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the present poverty program is by and large an ogre in do-gooder's clothing. The moral aspects of poverty as a social disease are better left in the hands of public education and the church. They certainly do not belong in the lipservice, caretaker hands of bureaucratic administrators. The economic aspects of poverty as caused by involuntary economic hardship, on the other hand, are best left in the hands of competent economists. But across this vast land of ours, where are they hiding?

Is it too much to ask of our professional economists the question: Just what does create economic employment?

The ghost of the English magician Lord Keynes tells our President's Economic Advisers that investment causes employment. That is hogwash, for where does the buyer of goods get his economic wherewithal except by working for it? The paper money, generally manufactured from automatic credit, instant credit these days, which is used to make all these investments is protected by hope and by a demand made only of sand. Conversely, if workers work, and thereby fill their pockets with honestly turned dollars, then economic investment of real capital is warranted. Mr. Keynes was a bootstrap economist, and our Council of Economic Advisers lives with, and makes the Nation and the President live with, dreams of paper money, credit, and businessmen's so-called expectations.

We can break down a substance into molecules, and we can break molecules down into atoms. Why cannot we break down economic employment into the very elements that add up together into honest jobs?

Mr. Speaker, recently in my home State of Washington there was published in the Yakima Daily Republic, a challenging article on this whole matter of the poverty program and economic employment. The author, Mr. William D. Pardridge, answers my question above with these words:

> Original economic analysis is foreign to the minds of rote professionals who parade their re-hashed books and their automatic professorships before naive but well-intended politicians.

Is there no economist in America who has in him just one drop of blood from Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Alfred Marshall, Thorstein Veblen, John Bates Clark, or Wesley Mitchell? Are American economists so hard up for imagination and individual resourcefulness that we are destined to go broke on a diet of warmed-over economic porridge?

Mr. Pardridge has written another article on "The Poverty Program," published in the Pittsburgh Press on July 25, 1965, that was introduced into the RECORD for August 16, 1965, by our esteemed colleague in the Senate, the Honorable HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania. I strongly urge all Members of the House to read both these articles.

They are parts of a book Mr. Pardridge is writing called "Economic Inequities," a volume that, it is hoped, will translate forbidding economic theory into the lay language of a million Americans who want to know the score on national economic policy.

Mr. Speaker, I insert to be printed in the Record at this point the newspaper article by William D. Pardridge, entitled "Poverty Program Gives Social Status To Being Poor," published Saturday, March 12, 1966, in the Yakima, Wash., Daily Republic:

Poverty Program Gives Social Status To Being Poor

(Editor's Note.—The author of the following article, William D. Pardridge, is a former editor of the Washington publication, Air Affairs. He is a Chicago University graduate student who has written a series "Economic Inequities." Because of the simplicity he has used in presenting a complex problem, the Yakima Dailies are publishing this thought-provoking article.)

(By William D. Pardridge)

The Poverty Program begets poverty.

It does this by giving social status to the condition of being poor.

It is in the nature of man to strive for social recognition, and before the U.S. entered the current handout economy, most Americans sought recognition by working in some economic pursuit.

Now, instant social recognition is just handed to anyone for the asking.

The standard question put to the citizen by the welfare state is not "Do you want a job?" The basic question is "Are you poor?"

This manner of thinking fits like a glove over the superficial minds of the big-government economists who feed false hopes to the nation.

Like excise tax cuts here today and gone tomorrow.

Like telling the people to spend their tax cuts but in the same breath urging them to buy U.S. Savings Bonds!

All U.S. Presidents want to increase employment and raise the general level of the economy. Presidents also want to win all wars and lose none. This is normal, natural, and American.

But the so-called War on Poverty is being lost because the economic generals in command have incubated minds. They live in an intellectual hothouse.

No high-sounding titles, no magical powers are needed to observe that economic poverty is caused by UNemployment, which unhappy condition is caused directly by lack of EMployment.

Cold analysis of isolated economic elements of employment is completely unknown both in the misnamed Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and in the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Prices, wages, money-stock education, attitude, age, and money-demand are some more important elements of economic EMployment.

Interacting upon each other, these elements group to form an absolute state of economic activity in any specific area.

Economically, the United States consists of many, many such specific areas, each one different in elemental composition from the others. We may be pasteurized but we are not yet homogenized.

Neither the OEO nor the Council of Economic Advisers knows the limits of these areas, the nature of these elements, or which are the healthy and which are unhealthy elements in each specific area.

Original economic analysis is foreign to the minds of rote professionals who parade their re-hashed books and their automatic professorships before naive but well-intended politicians.

Economic seed corn is today the daily diet of the American welfare state. It can't last on the farm, and it can't last in economic theory—for the mushrooming armies of non-producers soon may out-number the supply of goods and service workers who do produce.

In 1955, according to the non-governmental National Bureau of Economic Research, the number of goods workers fell to equal the number of service workers. In 1965, they comprised only 45 percent of total workers. The fall-off has become a steady trend.

If this year 1,000 workers produce real goods and needed services for themselves and 3,000 dependents, what will happen to our standard of living if next year only 800 workers support 3,200 dependents?

This, we are told, is all taken care of handily by the increased productivity of American industry.

But has the OEO or the Council of Economic Advisers compared the decrease in producing workers and the increase in productivity? Do they match each other, as they should?

No, because that "increased productivity" already has been used elsewhere in the economy to "allow" guide-line wage increases—guide lines that the welfare-oriented AFL-CIO itself has branded as based on "shifting methods."

Big labor itself has said that the Council of Economic Advisers undermines the very "credibility" of this most convenient economic fancy talk.

No one person can spend the same dollar bill in more than one store. And no economist can spend the same excuse in more than one national sector.

One of the most vital considerations of economic employment—as distinguished from paper handouts to the poor—is the relationship between producing wage-earners and non-producing consumers. This is the heart, core, and crux of economic health.

When this ratio is out of balance, storm signals should go up. But they don't because this would be an indication of failure.

The Poverty Program is working to change economic despair over into social despair. The unemployed are poor, as were their fathers before them, and as shall be their sons after them.

Inconsistency at Its Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, a column by Henry J. Taylor appeared in yesterday's Washington Daily News, which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

It deals with the tremendous inconsistency of President Johnson's policies both at home and in dealing with foreign countries. Many of us are appalled by the examples we see of his every week in our work here in Congress.

I think my colleagues will be interested to read the following column which I place in the Record.

[From the Washington Daily News, May 17, 1966]

L.B.J.—Hard and Soft

(By Henry J. Taylor)

There obviously are two sides to President Johnson's head—the hard side and the soft side, and it's getting increasingly hard to tell them apart.

His basic position regarding Viet Nam is utterly sound—historically, morally and strategically. He's longheaded and courageous in this. Then he makes a speech about trade with the Reds that crosses up nearly all his contentions.

We send our men 9000 miles to fight and die in Viet Nam while at the same time we blockade Cuba, not against our enemies, not against Castro, but against any anti-communists opposing this threat 90 miles from our shores.

Mr. Johnson cites our moral commitment to defend Southeast Asia. There are differences between Viet Nam and Cuba, but how can Mr. Johnson talk morals when we've also (always) sworn to defend Cuba?

Mr. Johnson wisely intervened in the Dominican Republic, thus reasserting the Monroe Doctrine catastrophically shattered at the Bay of Pigs. We blocked a communist take-over. But we fall back then on the fragile Organization of American States and risk a typical Red take-over thru the back door.

Will we end up doing the same thing in Viet Nam?

This is the agony that troubles millions of us. After all our losses in lives and treasure in Viet Nam, will President Johnson finally agree to a coalition government "solution?" If so, we should have pulled out long ago and saved those American lives or, better still, not have gone in the first place.

The President complains about ingrate De Gaulle. But instead of allowing Gen. de Gaulle to systematically attack our dwindling gold supply, why doesn't he demand that France pay the $6.3 million in adjusted debts so old that many date back to the time of World War I and all remain due and payable to this very day?

The President complains that Congress is voting more money than he asks for. What he fails to point out is that he can veto any measure Congress passes—if he wants to. Meanwhile, the Administration itself will spend about $7 billion this year that Mr. Johnson did not even budget in January, and the deficit may be three times as large as Mr. Johnson said it would be just three months ago.

This is a fight to save the dollar and a war against inflation?

Mr. Johnson's contribution is to talk about a tax increase! What we peasants really need is a tax revolt. The real tax load arises from the inefficiency, waste and boob-land decisions of our own government.

Thoughtful observers never are dismayed by differences of opinion. But any man of good judgment on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays who crosses himself up on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays is a hard man to follow.

Resource Leaders Help Beyond the Farm in Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, when the next population census is taken just 4 years from now, we expect to find that Connecticut will have one person for each acre in the State. The total number of acres in Connecticut is 3,135,360 and the population is estimated at 3 million.

Meeting land and water requirements for 3 million people and more in our

State calls for intelligent consideration of the use of each tract of land. It calls for protection and improvement of the land in that use.

I am pleased that in Connecticut nearly 5,000 landowners are working together in 8 soil conservation districts to better their lands. The progress they have made in protecting and improving our private rural lands, with technical help of the USDA Soil Conservation Service, during the past two decades is commendable.

These districts have pointed the way to proper land use and treatment. They now are unselfishly helping bring the same know-how to the expanding rural-fringe areas where much of Connecticut's rapid development is taking place. Each district has revised its program to include broader community help, and signed a new working agreement with the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The districts have been of considerable assistance to the planning agencies and to the town conservation commissions in their work of guiding urban growth and meeting needs for open space and outdoor recreation areas. Soil survey information, furnished by Soil Conservation Service soil scientists, has been valuable in locating suitable areas for housing, industry recreation areas, new roads, schools, and other developments. As such, this information is vital as a basis for comprehensive town planning.

Through these soil conservation districts, technical advice is made available for solving erosion, siltation, drainage, and flooding problems in built-up areas. Many of the same conservation land treatment measures that are effective on farmlands also work or can be adapted for use on land developed for urban uses. And land must be protected no matter what its use.

Most of Connecticut's land is privately owned. If it is properly used and developed, it adds greatly to the scenic beauty, character, and economic potential of the State's communities. We do not want the other alternative.

I want to salute Connecticut's eight soil conservation districts and their cooperators and elected leaders for their vigorous efforts on behalf of all the citizens of the State. We have a brighter future in store because they are part of the resource improvement team.

Treasury Presents Exceptional Service Awards to Eva B. Adams, Ernest C. Betts, Jr., and Bill McDonald

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Treasury today presented Exceptional Service Awards to three outstanding officials whose accomplishments certainly deserve recognition in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It was a pleasure for me to be present at the Treasury when the citations were read and the awards presented by Under Secretary of the Treasury Joseph W. Barr, a former Member of this House who had served as a most valued and extremely popular colleague of mine on the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Singled out for high honor at the ceremonies today were Miss Eva B. Adams, Director of the Mint; Ernest C. Betts, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration and Director of the Office of Budget and Finance; and Bill McDonald, Assistant National Director of the Savings Bonds Division.

EVA ADAMS HONORED FOR WORK IN OVERCOMING COIN SHORTAGE

As chairman of the subcommittee which has jurisdiction in the Committee on Banking and Currency over legislation concerning coinage and the Bureau of the Mint, I carried with me to the presentation a great sense of pride in Miss Adams' achievements during a crisis period in the Nation's coinage supply. I was indeed pleased to hear Under Secretary Barr credit the devotion and imagination and resourcefulness and energy of this fine woman for our impressive success in overcoming the coin shortage.

Mr. Betts was honored for his effective work in reducing expenditures and increasing efficiency in Treasury operations while nevertheless budgeting adequate funds to the Department to enable it to meet all of its responsibilities.

Mr. McDonald was cited for his outstanding contributions to the Treasury's record in achieving and maintaining an exceptionally high level of sales of U.S. savings bonds.

CITATIONS ACCOMPANYING THE AWARDS

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I submit for inclusion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the announcement of the awards and the citations which accompanied the medals presented to each of these three Treasury officials, as follows:

EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE AWARDS PRESENTED TO THREE TREASURY OFFICIALS

Under Secretary Joseph W. Barr today presented Exceptional Service Awards to three Treasury officials—

Miss Eva B. Adams, Director of the Mint.

Ernest C. Betts, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Administration and Director of the Office of Budget and Finance.

Bill McDonald, Assistant National Director of the Treasury's Savings Bonds Division.

Miss Adams, a native of Wonder, Nevada, was named by President Kennedy as Director of the Mint in 1961.

Previously she served as Administrative Assistant to three United States Senators from Nevada. Miss Adams holds degrees from the University of Nevada, Columbia University and George Washington University.

Mr. Betts, a native of Sparta, Wisconsin, has been Director of the Office of Budget and Finance for more than three years, and also has been serving since late 1964 as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Administration. Mr. Betts has had a long government career, previously serving as Budget Officer for the Department of State, Personnel Director at the Department of Agriculture, and in other posts at home and abroad. He attended Platteville State Teachers College and Vernon County Teachers, College, and taught school in Wisconsin before entering the Government service in 1939.

Mr. McDonald, Assistant Director of the U.S. Savings Bonds Division, was born in Guntersville, Alabama, in 1909, and has been with the Treasury Savings Bonds staff since 1942, except for Army Service during World War II. He is a graduate of Columbus University, Washington, D.C. Mr. McDonald served as Executive Officer for the Savings Bonds Division from 1947 until 1950, when he was named Assistant National Director for all phases of the Savings Bonds program.

CITATION

EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE AWARD

Eva B. Adams

As Director of the United States Mint since October 1961, Eva Adams has served in the highest traditions of public service. Her participation in top policy formulation has combined her own wide-ranging judgment with the Mint's technical know-how. When final policy decisions have been reached, she has translated them into effective and efficient action which has protected the nation from severe coin shortages.

The success of the Mint in overcoming persistent coin shortage has resulted also from her exemplary relations with Congress. By keeping that body fully informed as to the Mint's plans and problems, there has resulted an executive-legislative cooperation making possible these accomplishments.

Soon after becoming Director of the Mint, Eva Adams worked closely with a private management consultant firm—the Arthur D. Little Company—to survey the nation's coinage needs and the Mint's facilities for dealing with them. Out of this survey came legislation for the construction of new and up-to-date Mint facilities in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

When coin shortages threatened in 1963, she put the Mint on a 24-hour schedule to meet the demand. In 1964 she overcame another shortage by inaugurating a crash program to double the production of coins. Her work in cooperation with other Treasury officials and a private consulting firm—the Battelle Memorial Institute—resulted in the President's recommendation of legislation leading to the enactment of the Coinage Act of 1965, providing new coinage materials to conserve the nation's dwindling supplies of silver. She then launched the production of the new, intricately designed coins in quantities sufficient to forestall a coin crisis in 1965.

These accomplishments are a tribute to the ability of Eva Adams to provide the Secretary of the Treasury with the basis for sound policy determination, to furnish Congress with information needed to take appropriate action, to maintain the high morale of Mint employees encouraging record-breaking production and to administer new programs in an efficient manner.

CITATION

EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE AWARD

Ernest C. Betts, Jr.

For his outstanding performance as Director of the Office of Budget and Finance; for his effective contributions to the full range of Treasury's management improvement programs in his role as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration; and for exemplifying the highest traditions of the career Civil Service through his loyal, dedicated, imaginative, and capable efforts.

CITATION

EXCEPTIONAL SERVICE AWARD

Bill McDonald

This award is made in recognition of Bill McDonald's outstanding contributions to the

U.S. Savings Bonds Program and the Treasury Department. Through his broad knowledge of the Program, his sound judgment, and his ability to make decisions, the Savings Bonds Program has been maintained at an exceptionally high level in sales and operations. This has been accomplished in spite of strict limitations on budget and number of personnel. His dedication to the Program and exemplary performance well justify his receiving this Exceptional Service Award.

Is Moscow Mellowing?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, recently the Cincinnati Enquirer carried an editorial under the title "Is Moscow Mellowing?" which provides food for thought for anyone concerned about the present state of world affairs. Citing the findings of the International Commission of Jurists, a responsible organization of international legal experts, the Enquirer takes to task those who espouse a soft line on communism in the hope that "killing them with kindness" will somehow divert the Communist leaders from their oft-proclaimed goal of world conquest and clothe them with a newly acquired recognition of man's God-given rights.

The recent suggestion that we increase trade with the Communist-bloc countries is an excellent case in point. An even more extreme example is the position of those who advocate unilateral disarmament. Their recommendation is tantamount to saying that if we remove the policemen from a given area, the criminals will be impressed and mend their ways. Of course, this line of reasoning borders on lunacy.

For those who want the same protection and security on the international level as they demand in their communities regarding personal safety, I recommend the editorial, "Is Moscow Mellowing?" and insert it in the RECORD at this point:

> IS MOSCOW MELLOWING?
>
> The International Commission of Jurists, a highly regarded society of legal experts with headquarters in Geneva, has just completed a detailed inquiry into the state of freedom in eastern Europe. And its findings scarcely reinforce the arguments of those who have been maintaining that European communism is in the process of mellowing.
>
> The commission's March bulletin speaks, for example, of the seeming liberalization that came to communist Poland in the fall of 1956, when Wladyslaw Gomulka returned to the political scene as premier. "In the course of years since then, unfortunately," the bulletin declares, "freedom of expression has been gradually restricted, and indeed, freedom of thought, conscience, and religion has suffered serious setbacks from the actions of the Polish government."
>
> In Hungary, the commission found, authorities have reverted once again to the use of the secret trial "in which articles of the criminal code are interpreted according to the directives of a 'firm line' of party policy." The investigation also produced evidence that the prosecution of those guilty of "anti-state activities" has become more and more frequent since the autumn of 1964."
>
> The Hungarian survey spoke of a particularly active government campaign against "incitement" committed thru "illicit religious propaganda." For several years, priests, members of religious orders and some 700 others have been excluded from religious teaching in Hungary's schools and required to work at secular jobs.
>
> The pattern for the tightening of the reins in eastern Europe has been set in Moscow itself, where only last month two soviet writers—Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel—received prison terms after closed trials on charges of writing anti-soviet articles for publication in the west.
>
> Thus far, it would seem, the widely held hope that increased trade and broadened cultural contacts between east and west would improve the level of life for the captive peoples of eastern Europe has not been a realistic one. Indeed, lightening the economic woes of east Europe's communist government has only seemed to make the imposition of tighter political controls easier.

Cuban Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, José Marti, the apostle of Cuban independence, teacher, poet, philosopher, orator, and diplomat, fell fighting the Spanish Army at Dos Rios, Cuba, more or less at the hour when this House meets to render him homage, on May 19, 1895.

He had spent some 14 years, one-third of his life, in the United States, as a teacher in the public schools of New York City, as a Cuban revolutionary leader, as consular representative of Argentina and Uruguay, as a translator for the Appleton Publishing Co., and a critic of art for the New York Sun, whose editor, Mr. Charles A. Dana, had this to say about the death of Marti, in the obituary published in his paper:

> We learn with poignant sorrow of the death in battle of Jose Marti, the well-known leader of Cuban revolutionists. We knew him long and well, and esteemed him profoundly . . . His ideas and conclusions were original and brilliant. He was a man of genius, of imagination, of hope, and of courage . . . His heart was warm and affectionate, his opinions ardent and inspiring, and he died as such a man might wish to die, battling for liberty and democracy.

Hours before his untimely death, he had written to the editor of the New York Herald to tell him:

> To the people of the United States we show that Cubans fight for what the Americans fought before; Cubans are going ahead, without aid, to secure freedom.

The aid to which Marti referred to came 3 years later when the United States, the only country to help the Cubans attain freedom and independence, went to war against Spain. On April 20, 1898, the famous Teller joint resolution proclaimed that—

> The people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be free and independent.

And promised that at the end of the war with Spain, the Cubans would set up their own government. The promise was fulfilled on May 20, 1902, when the Republic of Cuba was inaugurated—tomorrow, it will be her 64th anniversary.

The Communists have turned Cuba into a satellite country of the Soviet Union, have destroyed the freedom, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Cuban people. They have failed in two important and decisive counts: they have been unable to destroy the will of the Cuban people to be free and independent, and they have been unable to destroy the boundless reservoir of good will toward the United States, and its people, that is in the hearts of all Cubans, in spite of Castro and his Communist henchmen.

On May 20, 1902, in Havana, speaking at the ceremonies for the inauguration of the Cuban Republic, William Jennings Bryan told the Cubans:

> God has made us neighbors. Let justice and freedom keep us friends!

It is altogether fitting that such a pledge will be repeated today in this House of Representatives of the United States, on the anniversary of the death of Marti, and on the eve of the anniversary of the Republic of Cuba.

Today, in 1966, 7 years after Castro seized power, Cuba presents a desperately bleak picture.

She is almost totally dependent economically on Russia. Her industries are destroyed, the sugar harvest is far below normal.

The headlines in Cuba since January 1966 are: Castro's split with Communist China; his attack on President Frei, of Chile; the attempted assassination of Castro himself by Major Cubela—who was a longtime friend and former president of the student federation. Countless arrests and purges of army officials, government administrators, diplomats, students, professors, and so forth, have been made.

Cuba is surely in crisis today, but there are still 5,000 to 6,000 Russians in key positions there. According to Castro there are 2 million spies; 300,000 in the army, 150,000 in the militia. Most powerful of all is the cruel and repressive secret police, G-2. All of these combine to keep his unhappy people in line.

An estimated 80,000 political prisoners are criminally neglected in the Cuban jails.

The only freedom in Cuba is reserved for the Communists.

A newspaper man who defected in Paris, recently, says that Castro has three main groups around him: First, the old guard Communists, obedient, but not to be trusted, second, the 26th of July and the Student Directorate, more liberal but less manageable, third, a great number of opportunists, who came to prominence under his regime, who are incapable but grateful and loyal. This third group is the one that Fidel Castro trusts most.

The past 7 years of Castro's regime have been characterized by a constant raising and lowering of the status of people around him. This juggling of personnel characterizes all Communist governments, but Castro is well out in front as the top manipulator.

We all know that the Soviet goal was not to raise the standard of living, nor to bolster the economy in Cuba. On the contrary, their expectation was that the flourishing economy would continue to flourish in spite of a changed society; that Cuba could serve as a showcase for communism in the new world, while the main purpose of establishing a base for subversion of Latin America was accomplished.

In this most important aspect, Russia has been supremely successful.

Cuba today is an arsenal of arms, a training center for Communist agents. The State Department estimated last fall that several thousand young men from Latin America and elsewhere have been trained in guerrilla warfare, party organization, and so forth.

Through her powerful long and short wave radio networks, Cuba broadcasts in Spanish, French, Creole, Guarani, Portuguese, Quechua, and English. The programs to Latin America are highly explosive, calling for overthrows of the present regimes in those countries. The Radio Free Dixie broadcasts, in English, to the United States, are vitriolic and designed to instruct and agitate the American Negro.

The most important Communist effort to penetrate Latin America since their assuming power in Cuba was the holding of the Tri-Continental Conference—Asia, Africa, Latin America—in January of this year. I described this important gathering of world Communists here in this Chamber at that time. Eighty-six countries were represented by hundreds of delegates and observers, the most important of whom were from Russia and China. The most obvious common denominator was violent opposition to the United States.

The tone of the Conference became extremely bellicose and resulted in an avalanche of speeches and resolutions which denounced the United States in every trouble spot in the world. President Dorticós of Cuba called for the "overthrow of the United States." Castro asserted that—

> Any revolutionary movements anywhere in the world can count on Cuba's unconditional support.

He urged "armed battle in all, or almost all, countries in Latin America." Repeatedly mentioned were Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, the Dominican Republic.

The most important delegate was Sharif Rashidov, delegate from the U.S.S.R., member of the Soviet Central Committee and alternate member of the Soviet Presidium. He said his delegation was present "with the aim of giving assistance to the unification of the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents in order to provide greater impetus to our Communist struggle." He professed Russia's solidarity with Latin America's struggle for freedom, and with the peoples of British, French, and Dutch Guianas, the Antilles, and with the struggle being waged by the people of Puerto Rico.

The result of this 12-day Conference is not to be underestimated, nor is Cuba's position as a focal point for subversion in the New World. The Secretariat, with a Cuban Secretary General, is to be maintained in Cuba. A Liberation Committee will have its headquarters in Cuba, as will the Latin American Solidarity Association, both constituted at this meeting.

You may know that the Organization of American States reacted instantly to the Conference and to the gross intervention by Cuba and Russia in the internal affairs of this hemisphere. The Latin American countries in the United Nations condemned the Conference on the same grounds.

It is true that Fidel Castro's own image has been diminished in the hemisphere, but the Communist Parties of all stripes have found new strength and active support from Castro's Cuba.

This is unquestionably the real danger of a Communist Cuba. She is not now a military threat to the United States owing to our vigilant watchfulness and preparedness. But her unceasing and militant agitation among the peoples of Latin America erodes the efforts, economic and social, not only of the Alliance for Progress but for the Latin American governments themselves. We must continue to give this problem the critical attention it deserves.

Mr. Speaker, on this day commemorating the death of Jose Marti and on the eve of Cuban Independence Day, I take this opportunity to remind our beleaguered friends in Cuba that their cause is our cause. The United States will not tire in its efforts to secure liberty and independence for the captive people of Cuba. And I am confident we will prevail.

Gen. Bernard A. Schriever

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on the 31st of August, Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, commander of the Air Force Systems Command, will bring to a close a more-than-30-year career in the Air Force and a remarkable career it has been. There are several aspects of General Schriever's service which would make very compelling success stories in and of themselves.

For example, it is not every day that one hears of an immigrant boy, raised by his widowed mother, who rises to the rank of four-star general in the service of his adopted country. Nor do you hear very often of a relatively junior staff officer in the Pentagon who successfully overcomes the resistance of inertia and introduces a new family of weapons in the biggest single development-production-construction program ever undertaken in the history of this Nation.

Nor do you often find a man who could foresee, 10 years into the future, a management concept which came to fulfillment with the establishment of the Air Force Systems Command in 1961, and be named its commander. General Schriever is all these men. But more importantly, he and his career symbolize the changing role of the Armed Forces in world affairs. There was a time when the Military Establishment had but a single purpose, and that was to meet the enemy in battle. When the conflict had ended, the purpose was served. This is no longer true. In today's world, the Military Establishment has a mission which even takes precedence in importance over the wars it must fight. That mission is to prevent war, to prevent war through winning the technological race. This is General Schriever's thesis and as its advocate, he has dedicated the past two decades of his life.

After winning his Pentagon battle for going ahead with the development of the intercontinental ballistic missile, he was given the job of supervising the program. He opened up shop with a few carefully selected staff officers in an abandoned schoolbuilding outside of Los Angeles now nostalgically known as the "little red schoolhouse." Many people predicted failure for the program. Not only was the task beyond the capability of any single industry or group of companies, but so little was known about boosters, reentry technology, guidance, and other aspects of missile technology, that no one knew how the weapon could be built much less accomplish its mission.

Those who predicted failure did not reckon with Bernard Schriever's vision, ingenuity, and perserverance. He did the job. Today, the free world lives and prospers under the ever-present deterrent protection of an intercontinental ballistic missile nuclear force which we all pray will never have to be used. The national benefits derived from the intercontinental ballistic missile program will be impossible to assess except in the perspective of history. How can one place a value on survival?

Apart from its military significance, however, the intercontinental ballistic missile program has made many contributions to the Nation's store of industrial know-how. It also made a very significant contribution to the national space program. Much of the booster research accomplished in the intercontinental ballistic missile program was directly applicable to the space program and much of the hardware was used "off the shelf." In view of our late start in the space race, we very likely would not be where we are today if this booster technology had not been available. Most NASA payloads placed into orbit thus far have been lifted into space by Air Force developed boosters.

After the intercontinental ballistic missile program was well underway and all of the basic problems had been solved, General Schriever was moved into Headquarters, Air Research and Development Command, as deputy commander for ballistic missiles where he continued to keep a tight grip on the intercontinental ballistic missile program, but where his talents were also available for other activity and problems in the ongoing technological race.

In April of 1959, he was promoted to lieutenant general and assumed command of the Air Research and Development Command.

He stayed in command until April of 1961, at which time the Air Force underwent a major reorganization. The two commands responsible for research and development and materiel support were formed into the Air Force Systems Command and the Air Force Logistics Command. Air Force Systems Command was given the responsibility for research and development, procurement and production, installation and test, and delivery of operational weapons systems.

Thus, finally, the Air Force had arrived at approximately the point in management evolution which the visionary Bernard Schriever had proposed in a paper he wrote in 1951. With the formulation of the Air Force Systems Command, General Schriever got his fourth star and assumed command of the country's biggest research and industrial management organization, with facilities worth $2½ billion and annual expenditures of as much as $8½ billion. In this command, General Schriever has forged management concepts that have led the way for the other services and much of industry.

To further exploit the proven visionary genius of this outstanding officer, the Air Force Chief of Staff appointed General Schriever in late 1962 to head up a study group to examine the technological potential of the decade ahead. This study, known as Project Forecast is reflected throughout the present-day military force structure and is responsible for the development of several new systems. Of even more value, Project Forecast identified those areas of research in which progress was needed and most probable of achievement. Many of these research programs are now underway and will produce the foundation upon which we will build our weapons 10 years hence. Indeed, Bernard Schriever's wisdom and vision will remain a major influence on the direction taken in Air Force development for years to come.

Last summer, the President of the United States, alert to the potential and portents of enemy developments in space, made the wise decision to go ahead with a military program to determine what threats alien offensive space systems may pose to world peace and security. As was indicated at the time the President announced this new research program, known as the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, the program will bring us new knowledge about what man is able to do in space and assure that activities in space will be devoted to peaceful purposes—for the benefit of all mankind. This is consistent with the national policy declared in the Space Act of 1958. General Schriever, in addition to his other responsibilities, was chosen to direct this vital program. No better selection was possible. May the course he has set for this program carry it on to success. Let us hope that others will come along to fill the void created by the retirement of this great military scientist and manager.

Whatever General Schriever does in his future career, I hope the Nation will continue to have benefit of his counsel in defense matters. And I think we should resolve to do everything possible to insure that the technological momentum which General Schriever has established with such great effort should not be allowed to diminish.

Future of the Grand Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, as a conservationist, I have been concerned about the preservation of the Grand Canyon. While water relief projects in the Southwest are important, they should not be at the expense of our natural wonders.

The Washington Post in its issue of May 16 had a perspicacious editorial on the subject, and I commend it to my colleagues:

FUTURE OF THE GRAND CANYON

Hearings now in progress on the Colorado River Basin project bring Congress face to face with one of the major decisions it will have to make this year. Much is being heard from the thirsty Southwest about its imperative need for more water. At the same time conservationists are rallying for a last stand against dams that would impair the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

The problem is especially complicated because this bill comes as the climax of a long struggle over the waters of the Colorado. After half a century of conflict, which finally resulted in an equitable division of the Colorado's water by the Supreme Court, the states have at last come into agreement. Large projects to make water and power available in the Upper Basin states have been built. Even Arizona and California have now composed their bitter feud. Their compromise contemplates that power dams will be built at Bridge and Marble Canyons to finance the lifting of Colorado River water into parched Arizona and that at least 2.5 million acre-feet of water a year will be found elsewhere, probably through desalinization, to take the place of Colorado water that California is now using in excess of its allocation.

What is proposed, therefore, is a general water-relief project for the Southwest. It has the unanimous support of the seven states in the Colorado River Basin. Since the problem is much too big for any of the states to handle for itself, it appears that Federal legislation is necessary.

While aiding the Southwest to solve its critical problem, however, Congress has an obligation to protect the national interest in this unique area. The unfortunate fact is that Marble Gorge, with its colorful walls rising as high as 2,500 feet, would be flooded. It is 12.5 miles above the Grand Canyon National Park. And the dam at Bridge Canyon would change the river into a lake for 80 miles, including the entire length of the Grand Canyon National Monument and for 13 miles into the Park itself.

It is nonsense to say, as some have done, that if these dams are built "the Grand Canyon is doomed from end to end." But substantial damage would be done to a unique and irreplaceable wonder of nature that ought to be preserved for all time. We hope that Congress will be as alert to this truly national interest as it is to the water requirements of the Southwest.

In our view Congress should be asking, first of all, whether the water plan can be carried out without the dams. Foes of the project note that the current trend runs strongly toward coal-fired or nuclear power plants as against hydroelectric power, despite the advantages of water power for "peaking." Congress has often authorized hydroelectric power plants as a means of financing reclamation projects, and the Government is reluctant to get into the thermal power business. Still, it seems to us that every possibility of utilizing other sources of power ought to be thoroughly explored.

If Congress should decide that the dams, or even one of them, must be built, we think it should at the same time extend additional protection to the Grand Canyon. One suggested compromise is construction of the Bridge Canyon dam and the addition of Marble Gorge to the National Park, with a guarantee that no dam would ever be built there. The Sierra Club and other conservation groups are urging a vast extension of the Park, including Marble Gorge, the present National Monument, a large area of the lower canyon, part of the Lake Mead National Recreation Area, and additional sections of the Kaibab National Forest. In part their demands reflect the view that the best defense is a vigorous offense. But there is much to be said for these recommendations on a strictly merit basis.

We hope that Congress will see the issue in its larger perspective. It should not be a question of choosing between water for the parched Southwest or preservation of a national heritage. There is a compelling need for both. If Congress approaches the problem from this constructive view, it should be able to find a solution that will not cause future generations to weep for our want of foresight.

McNamara Address to Newspaper Editors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, delivered an address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Montreal May 19 which emphasizes the importance of economic, social, and political progress throughout the world as essential to world security. I think it is a statement that should be read by all Members of the Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks, therefore, I include the text in the RECORD at this point:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY MCNAMARA TO AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

Any American would be fortunate to visit this lovely island city, in this hospitable land.

But there is a special satisfaction for a Secretary of Defense to cross the longest border in the world—and realize that it is also the least armed border in the world. It prompts one to reflect how negative and narrow a notion of defense still clouds our century.

There is still among us an almost eradicable tendency to think of our security problem as being exclusively a military problem—and to think of the military problem as being exclusively a weapons-system or hardware problem.

The plain, blunt truth is that contemporary man still conceives of war and peace in much the same stereotyped terms that his ancestors did. The fact that these ancestors—both recent and remote—were conspicuously unsuccessful at avoiding war, and enlarging peace, doesn't seem to dampen our capacity for cliches.

We still tend to conceive of national security almost solely as a state of armed readiness: a vast, awesome arsenal of weaponry.

We still to tend to assume that it is primarily this purely military ingredient that creates security.

We are still haunted by this concept of military hardware.

But how limited a concept this actually is, becomes apparent when one ponders the kind of peace that exists between the United States and Canada.

It is a very cogent example. Here we are, two modern nations: highly developed technologically, each with immense territory, both enriched with great reserves of natural resources, each military sophisticated—and yet, we sit across from one another, divided by an unguarded frontier of thousands of miles * * * and there is not a remotest set of circumstances, in any imaginable timeframe of the future, in which our two nations would wage war on one another.

It is so unthinkable an idea as to be totally absurd.

But why is that so?

Is it because we are both ready in an instant to hurl our military hardware at one another?

Is it because we are both zeroed in on one another's vital targets?

Is it because we are both armed to our technological teeth that we do not go to war.

The whole notion—as applied to our two countries—is ludicrous.

Canada and the United States are at peace for reasons that have nothing whatever to do with our mutual military readiness.

We are at peace—truly at peace—because of the vast fund of compatible beliefs, common principles, and shared ideals.

We have our differences and our diversity—and let us hope for the sake of a mutually rewarding relationship we never become sterile carbon copies of one another.

BASIS OF MUTUAL PEACE

But the whole point is that our basis of mutual peace has nothing whatever to do with our military hardware.

Now this is not to say, obviously enough, that the concept of military deterrence is no longer relevant in the contemporary world.

Unhappily, it still is critically relevant with respect to our potential adversaries.

But it has no relevance whatever between the United States and Canada.

We are not adversaries. We are not going to become adversaries. And it is not mutual military deterrence that keeps us from becoming adversaries. It is mutual respect for common principles.

Now I mention this—as obvious as it all is—simply as a kind of reductio ad absurdum of the concept that military hardware is the exclusive or even the primary ingredient of permanent peace in the mid-20th century.

In the United States—over the past five years—we have achieved a considerably improved balance in our total military posture. That was the mandate I received from Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; and with their support, and that of the Congress, we have been able to create a strengthened force structure of land, sea, and air component—with a vast increase in mobility and materiel—and with a massive superiority in nuclear retaliatory power over any combination of potential adversaries.

Our capabilities for nuclear, conventional, and countersubversive war have all been broadened and improved; and we have accomplished this through military budgets that were in fact lesser percentages of our gross national product than in the past.

From the point of view of combat readiness, the United States has never been militarily stronger.

We intend to maintain that readiness.

But if we think profoundly about the matter, it is clear that this purely military posture is not the central element in our security.

A nation can reach the point at which it does not buy more security for itself simply by buying more military hardware—we are at that point.

The decisive factor for a powerful nation—already adequately armed—is the charcater of its relationships with the world. And groups of nations: first, those that are struggling to develop; secondly, those free nations that have reached a level of strength and prosperity that enables them to contribute to the peace of the world; and finally, those nations who might be tempted to make themselves our adversaries.

For each of these groups, the United States—to preserve its own intrinsic security—has to have distinctive sets of relationships.

First, we have to help protect those developing countries which genuinely need and request our help, and which—as an essential precondition—are willing and able to help themselves.

Second, we have to encourage and achieve a more effective partnership with those nations who can and should share international peace-keeping responsibilities.

Third, we must do all we realistically can to reduce the risk of conflict with those who might be tempted to take up arms against us.

Let us examine these three sets of relationships in detail.

First, the developing nations.

Roughly 100 countries today are caught up in the difficult transition from traditional to modern societies,

There is no uniform rate of progress among them, and they range from primitive mosaic societies—fractured by tribalism and held feebly together by the slenderest of political sinews—to relatively sophisticated countries, well on the road to agricultural sufficiency and industrial competence.

This sweeping surge of development, particularly across the whole southern half of the globe, has no parallel in history.

It has turned traditionally listless areas of the world into seething cauldrons of change.

On the whole, it has not been a very peaceful process.

In the last eight years alone there have been no less than 164 internationally significant outbreaks of violence—each of them specifically designed as a serious challenge to the authority, or the very existence, of the government in question.

Eighty-two different governments have been directly involved.

What is striking is that only 15 of these 164 significant resorts to violence have been military conflicts between two states.

And not a single one of the 164 conflicts has been a formally declared war.

Indeed, there has not been a formal declaration of war—anywhere in the world—since World War II.

The planet is becoming a more dangerous place to live on—not merely because of a potential nuclear holocaust—but also because of the large number of de facto conflicts and because of the trend of such conflicts is growing rather than diminishing.

At the beginning of 1958, there were 23 prolonged insurgencies going on about the world. As of February 1, 1966, there were 40.

Further, the total number of outbreaks of violence has increased each year: in 1958, there were 34; in 1965, there were 58.

But what is most significant of all is that there is a direct and constant relationship between the incidence of violence and the economic status of the countries afflicted.

The World Bank divides nations, on the basis of per capita income, into four categories, rich, middle-income, poor, and very poor.

The rich nations are those with a per capita income of $750 per year or more. The current United States level is more than $2,700. There are 27 of these rich nations. They possess 75 per cent of the world's wealth, though roughly only 25 per cent of the world's population.

Since 1958, only one of these 27 nations has suffered a major internal upheaval on its own territory.

But observe what happens at the other end of the economic scale. Among the 38 very poor nations—those with a per capita income of under $100 a year—no less than 32 have suffered significant conflicts. Indeed, they have suffered an average of two major outbreaks of violence per country in the eight year period. That is a great deal of conflict.

What is worse, it has been, predominantly, conflict of a prolonged nature.

TREND HOLDS CONSTANT

The trend holds predictably constant in the case of the two other categories: the poor, and the middle-income nations. Since 1958, 87 per cent of the very poor nations, 69 per cent of the poor nations, and 48 per cent of the middle-income nations have suffered serious violence.

There can, then, be no question but that there is an irrefutable relationship between violence and economic backwardness. And the trend of such violence is up, not down.

Now, it would perhaps be somewhat reassuring if the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations were closing; and economic backwardness were significantly receding.

But it is not. The economic gap is widening.

By the year 1970, over one-half of the world's total population will live in the independent nations sweeping across the southern half of the planet. But this hungering half of the human race will by then command only one-sixth of the world's total of goods and services.

By the year 1975, the dependent children of these nations alone—children under 15 years of age—will equal the total population of the developed nations to the north.

Even in our own abundant societies, we have reason enough to worry over the tensions that coil and tighten among underprivileged young people, and finally flail out in delinquency and crime. What are we to expect from a whole hemisphere of youth where mounting frustrations are likely to fester into eruptions of violence and extremism?

Annual per capita income in roughly half of the 80 underdeveloped nations that are members of the World Bank is rising by a paltry 1 per cent a year or less. By the end of the century, these nations—at their present rates of growth—will reach a per capita income of barely $170 a year. The United States, by the same criteria, will attain a per capita income of $4,500.

The conclusion to all of this is blunt and inescapable: Given the certain connection between economic stagnation and the incidence of violence, the years that lie ahead for the nations in the southern half of the globe are pregnant with violence.

This would be true even if no threat of Communist subversion existed—as it clearly does.

Both Moscow and Peking—however harsh their internal differences—regard the whole modernization process as an ideal environment for the growth of Communism. Their experience with subversive internal war is extensive; and they have developed a considerable array of both doctrine and practical measures in the art of political violence.

What is often misunderstood is that Communists are capable of subverting, manipulating, and finally, directing for their own ends, the wholly legitimate grievances of a developing society.

But it would be a gross oversimplification to regard Communism as the central factor in every conflict throughout the underdeveloped world. Of the 149 serious internal insurgencies in the past eight years, Communists have been involved in only 58 of them—38 per cent of the total—and this includes seven instances in which a Communist regime itself was the target of the uprising.

VIOLENCE SENDS SIGNALS

Whether Communists are involved or not, violence anywhere in a taut world transmits sharp signals through the complex ganglia of international relations; and the security of the United States is related to the security and stability of nations half a globe away.

But neither conscience nor sanity itself suggests that the United States is, should, or could be the global gerdarme.

Quite the contrary, experience confirms what human nature suggests: that in most instances of internal violence, the local people themselves are best able to deal directly with the situation within the framework of their own traditions.

The United States has no mandate from on high to police the world, and no inclination to do so. There have been classic cases in which our deliberate nonaction was the wisest action of all.

Where our help is not sought, it is seldom prudent to volunteer.

Certainly we have no charter to rescue floundering regimes, who have brought violence on themselves by deliberately refusing to meet the legitimate expectations of their citizenry.

Further, throughout the next decade advancing technology will reduce the requirement for bases and staging rights at particular locations abroad, and the whole pattern of forward deployment will gradually change.

But—though all these caveats are clear enough—the irreducible fact remains that our security is related directly to the security of the newly developing world.

And our role must be precisely this: To help provide security to those developing nations which genuinely need and request our help, and which demonstrably are willing and able to help themselves.

The rub comes in this: We do not always grasp the meaning of the world security in this context.

In a modernizing society, security means development.

Security is not military hardware—though it may include it. Security is not military force—though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity—though it may encompass it.

Security is development.

Without development, there can be no security.

A developing nation that does not in fact develop simply cannot remain "secure."

It cannot remain secure for the intractable reason that its own citizenry cannot shed its human nature.

If security implies anything, it implies a minimal measure of order and stability.

Without internal development of at least a minimal degree, order and stability are simply not possible. They are not possible because human nature cannot be frustrated beyond intrinsic limits. It reacts—because it must.

NOT ALWAYS UNDERSTOOD

Now, that is what we do not always understand; and that is also what governments of modernizing nations do not always understand.

But by emphasizing that security arises from devlopment, I do not say that an underdeveloped nation cannot be subverted from within; or be aggressed upon from without; or be the victim of a combination of the two.

It can. And to prevent any or all of these conditions, a nation does require appropriate military capabilities to deal with the specific problem. But the specific military problem is only a narrow facet of the broader security problem.

Military force can help provide law and order—but only to the degree that a basis for law and order already exists in the developing society: A basic willingness on the part of the people to cooperate.

The law and order is a shield, behind which the central fact of security—development—can be achieved.

Now we are not playing a semantic game with these words.

The trouble is that we have been lost in a semantic jungle for too long. We have come to identify "security" with exclusively military phenomena; and most particularly with military hardware.

But it just isn't so. And we need to accommodate to the facts of the matter, if we want to see security survive and grow in the southern half of the globe.

Development means economic, social, and political progress. It means a reasonable standard of living—and the word "reasonable" in this context requires continual redefinition. What is "reasonable" in an earlier stage of development will become "unreasonable" in a later stage.

As development progresses, security progresses; and when the people of a nation have organized their own human and natural resources to provide themselves with what they need and expect out of life—and have learned to compromise peacefully among competing demands in the larger national interest—then, their resistance to disorder and violence will be enormously increased.

Conversely, the tragic need of desperate men to resort to force to achieve the inner imperatives of human decency will diminish.

Now I have said that the role of the United States is to help provide security to these modernizing nations—providing they need and request our help; and are clearly willing and able to help themselves.

But what should our help be?

Clearly, it should be help towards development. In the military sphere, that involves two broad categories of assistance.

We should help the developing nation with such training and equipment as is necessary to maintain the protective shield behind which development can go forward.

The dimensions of that shield vary from country to country; but what is essential is that it should be a shield, and not a capacity for external aggression.

TRAINING IN CIVIC ACTION

The second—and perhaps less understood category of military assistance in a modernizing nation—is training in civic action.

"Civic Action" is another one of those semantic puzzles. Too few Americans—and too few officials in developing nations—really comprehend what military civic action means.

Essentially, it means using indigenous military forces for non-traditional military projects—projects that are useful to the local population in fields such as education, public works, health, sanitation, agriculture—indeed, anything connected with economic or social progress.

It has had some impressive results. In the past four years, the United States-assisted civic action program, worldwide, has constructed or repaired more than 10,000 miles of roads; built over 1,000 schools, hundreds of hospitals and clinics; and has provided medical and dental care to approximately four million people.

What is important is that all this was done by indigenous men in uniform. Quite apart from the developmental projects themselves, the program powerfully alters the negative image of the military man, as the oppressive preserver of the stagnant status quo.

But assistance in the purely military sphere is not enough. Economic assistance is also essential. The President is determined that our aid should be hardheaded and rigorously realistic: that it should deal directly with the roots of underdevelopment, and not merely attempt to alleviate the symptoms. His bedrock principle is that United States economic aid—no matter what its magnitude—is futile unless the country in question is resolute in making the primary effort itself. That will be the criterion, and that will be the crucial condition for all our future assistance.

Only the developing nations themselves can take the fundamental measures that make outside assistance meaningful. These measures are often unpalatable—and frequently call for political courage and decisiveness. But to fail to undertake painful, but essential, reform inevitably leads to far more painful revolutionary violence. Our economic assistance is designed to offer a reasonable alternative to that violence. It is designed to help substitute peaceful progress for tragic internal conflict.

The United States intends to be compassionate and generous in this effort, but it is not an effort it can carry exclusively by itself. And thus it looks to those nations who have reached the point of self-sustaining prosperity to increase their contribution to the development—and, thus, to the security—of the modernizing world.

And that brings me to the second set of relationships that I underscored at the outset; it is the policy of the United States to encourage and achieve a more effective partnership with those nations who can, and should, share international peace-keeping responsibilities.

THE HIGHEST PROPORTION

America has devoted a higher proportion of its gross national product to its military establishment than any other major free world nation. This was true even before our increased expenditures in Southeast Asia.

We have had, over the last few years, as many men in uniform as all the nations of Western Europe combined—even though they have a population half again greater than our own.

Now, the American people are not going to shirk their obligations in any part of the world, but they clearly cannot be expected to bear a disproportionate share of the common burden indefinitely.

If, for example, other nations genuinely believe—as they say they do—that it is in the common interest to deter the expansion of Red China's economic and political control beyond its national boundaries, then they must take a more active role in guarding the defense perimeter.

Let me be perfectly clear: This is not to question the policy of neutralism or nonalignment of any particular nation. But it is to emphasize that the independence of such nations can—in the end—be fully safeguarded only by collective agreements among themselves and their neighbors.

The plain truth is the day is coming when no single nation, however powerful, can undertake by itself to keep the peace outside its own borders. Regional and international organizations for peace-keeping purposes are as yet rudimentary; but they must grow in experience and be strengthened by deliberate and practical cooperative action.

In this matter, the example of Canada is a model for nations everywhere. As Prime Minister Pearson pointed out eloquently in New York just last week: Canada "is as deeply involved in the world's affairs as any country of its size. We accept this because we have learned over 50 years that isolation from the policies that determine war does not give us immunity from the bloody, sacrificial consequences of their failure. We learned that in 1914 and again in 1939. . . . That is why we have been proud to send our men to take part in every peace-keeping operation of the United Nations—in Korea, and Kashmir, and the Suez, and the Congo, and Cyprus."

The organization of the American states in the Dominican Republic, the more than 30 nations contributing troops or supplies to assist the Government of South Vietnam, indeed even the parallel efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Pakistan-India conflict—these efforts, together with those of the United Nations, are the first attempts to substitute multinational for unilateral policing of violence. They point to the peace-keeping patterns of the future.

We must not merely applaud the idea. We must dedicate talent, resources, and hard practical thinking to its implementation.

In Western Europe—an area whose burgeoning economic vitality stands as a monument to the wisdom of the Marshall Plan—the problems of security are neither static nor wholly new. Fundamental changes are under way, though certain inescapable realities remain.

NUCLEAR BACKDROP NEEDED

The conventional forces of NATO, for example, still require a nuclear backdrop far beyond the capability of any Western European nation to supply, and the United States is fully committed to provide that major nuclear deterrent.

However, the European members of the alliance have a natural desire to participate more actively in nuclear planning. A central task of the alliance today is, therefore, to work out the relationships and institutions through which shared nuclear planning can be effective. We have made a practical and promising start in the special committee of NATO defense ministers.

Common planning and consultation are essential aspects of any sensible substitute to the unworkable and dangerous alternative of independent national nuclear forces within the alliance.

And even beyond the alliance, we must find the means to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. That is a clear imperative.

There are, of course, risks in nonproliferation arrangements; but they cannot be compared with the indefinitely greater risks that would arise out of the increase in national nuclear stockpiles.

In the calculus of risk, to proliferate independent national nuclear forces is not a mere arithmetical addition of danger. We would not be merely adding up risks. We would be insanely multiplying them.

If we seriously intend to pass on a world to our children that is not threatened by nuclear holocaust, we must come to grips with the problem of proliferation.

A reasonable nonproliferation agreement is feasible. For there is no adversary with whom we do not share a common interest in avoiding mutual destruction triggered by an irresponsible nth power.

That brings me to the third and last set of relationships the United States must deal with. Those with nations who might be tempted to take up arms against us.

These relationships call for realism. But realism is not a hardened, inflexible, unimaginative attitude. The realistic mind is a restlessly creative mind—free of naive delusions, but full of practical alternatives.

There are practical alternatives to our current relationships with both the Soviet Union and Communist China.

A vast ideological chasm separates us from them—and to a degree, separates them from one another.

There is nothing to be gained from our seeking an ideological rapprochement; but breaching the isolation of great nations like Red China, even when that isolation is largely of its own making, reduces the danger of potentially catastrophic misunderstandings, and increases the incentive on both sides to resolve disputes by reason rather than by force.

TRADE AND DIPLOMACY

There are many ways in which we can build bridges toward nations who would cut themselves off from meaningful contact with us. We can do so with properly balanced trade relations, diplomatic contacts, and in some cases even by exchanges of military observers.

We have to know where it is we want to place this bridge; what sort of traffic we want to travel over it; and on what mutual foundations the whole structure can be designed.

There are no one-cliff bridges. If you are going to span a chasm, you have to rest the structure on both cliffs.

Now cliffs, generally speaking, are rather hazardous places. Some people are afraid even to look over the edge. But in a thermonuclear world, we cannot afford any political acrophobia.

President Johnson has put the matter squarely. By building bridges to those who make themselves our adversaries "we can help gradually to create a community of interest, a community of trust, and a community of effort."

With respect to a "community of effort" let me suggest a concrete proposal for our own present young generation in the United States.

It is a committed and dedicated generation: It has proven that in its enormously impressive performance in the Peace Corps overseas; and in its willingness to volunteer for a final assault on such poverty and lack of opportunity that still remain in our own country.

As matter stand, our present Selective systems draws on only a minority of eligible young men.

That is an inequity.

It seems to me that we could move toward remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad.

We could encourage other countries to do the same; and we could work out exchange programs—much as the Peace Corps is already planning to do.

While this is not an altogether new suggestion, it has been criticized as inappropriate while we are engaged in a shooting war.

But I believe precisely the opposite is the case. It is more appropriate now than ever. For it would underscore what our whole purpose is in Vietnam—and indeed anywhere in the world where coercion, or injustice, or lack of decent opportunity still holds sway.

It would make meaningful the central concept of security: A world of decency and development—where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.

Mutual interest—mutual trust—mutual effort; those are the goals. Can we achieve those goals with the Soviet Union, and with Communist China? Can they achieve them with one another?

The answer to these questions lies in the answer to an even more fundamental question.

Who is man?

Is he a rational animal?

If he is, then the goals can ultimately be achieved.

If he is not, then there is little point in making the effort.

All the evidence of history suggests that man is indeed a rational animal—but with a near infinite capacity for folly. His history seems largely a halting, but persistent, effort to raise his reason above his animality.

He draws blueprints for utopia. But never quite gets it built. In the end, he plugs away obstinately with the only building material really ever at hand: His own part-comic, part-tragic, part-cussed, but part-glorious nature.

I, for one, would not count a global free society out.

Coercion, after all, merely captures man.

Freedom captivates him.

Thank you very much.

Hearings Held in Minneapolis on War in Vietnam—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, we were very fortunate in the Vietnam hearings in Minneapolis to have the views of Dr. Charles McLaughlin, chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. McLaughlin is a well-known international lawyer, author, and lecturer.

Dr. McLaughlin dealt mainly with the legality of our participation in the affairs of southeast Asia. I commend his remarks to the careful attention of the House:

STATEMENT OF CHARLES H. MCLAUGHLIN, CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, HEARINGS ON VIETNAM CONDUCTED BY CONGRESSMAN DONALD M. FRASER, FIFTH DISTRICT, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., DECEMBER 7, 1965

I wish to make clear that any views I shall express are personal conclusions which are not authorized by and do not necessarily reflect positions taken by any organization or institution with which I may be connected. Nor do I pretend to be expert upon the complex and varied problems which confront Vietnam. If I am at all qualified to speak on this occasion, it is only with respect to some aspects of the legality of steps taken by the United States in its efforts to aid the Government of South Vietnam, and it is upon these points that I wish to concentrate.

President Johnson and his principal administrative officers have been criticized by Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and even more sharply by Senators WAYNE MORSE and ERNEST GRUENING. In introducing into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a "Memorandum of Law" prepared by a "Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam," Senator MORSE asserted on September 23, 1965 that ". . . we have totally flouted the rule of law, and we have flouted the United Nations Charter. . . . we have violated one tenet after another of international law and one treaty obligation after another, and the world knows it, . . . violations of the Geneva Accords of 1954, as well as article after article of the United Nations Charter and even Article I, section 8 of the Constitution of the United

States, a sad and shocking chronicle of our repudiation of the rule of law in our foreign policy practices."

As I share Senator MORSE's conviction that progress toward the rule of law in international affairs greatly depends upon the willingness of major powers, including the United States, to observe faithfully their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and under general international law, and as I am so solicitous as he that our Government shall comply with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, I think it important to examine the propositions upon which his charges rest. Presumably they can be found in the Memorandum of the Lawyers Committee. That document details alleged violations by the United States (1) of the UN Charter, (2) of the 1954 Geneva Accords and the SEATO Treaty, (3) of the U.S. Constitution.

With respect to the Charter, reference is made to the obligation of member states to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner not consistent with the purposes of the United Nations (Ch. 1, Art 2 (4)). Ordinarily this would mean unilateral use of force outside collective security procedures authorized by the Charter. The Memorandum notes that Article 51 provides an exception to this—the exercise of the "inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures to maintain international peace and security." It argues that this exception cannot apply to Vietnam because the Saigon Government (a) is not a member of the United Nations, (b) is not a state but only a temporary zone set up within Vietnam by the Geneva Accords, (c) has not been subjected to attack by external forces, and (d) is not being defended by a regional collective defense system.

There is a difference of opinion among international lawyers whether for member states Article 51 wholly supersedes the right of self defense under customary international law. As it refers only to cases of armed attack against member states it seems reasonably to say that the right of collective defense of a non-member state even by a member state still exists under general international law. If defense of a non-member is undertaken by a member state, it may be that the member must proceed under the terms of Article 51, but there is no evidence that the United States has not done this in Vietnam since the Security Council has not yet chosen to act. That the Republic of Vietnam is not *de facto* a state would be a ludicrous proposition. Some might argue that its right to claim that status for purposes of international law depends upon recognition by other states, but as the United States has recognized it, our Government may properly conclude that Vietnam is entitled to claim the normal rights accorded by general international law. These certainly include self defense—both against external and internal enemies. That Article 51 limits members to collective defense by a regional collective defense system is more than doubtful. When originally drafted it was indeed associated with Article 52–54, which authorize and regulate regional organizations, but it was separated from them and moved into another chapter, with the probable result that it should now be more generally construed. At least it has been so construed in United Nations practice. I do not assert that these conclusions spring by inexorable logic from the words of the Charter, but they seem to me interpretations consistent with the weight of UN opinion and practice. They support generally the right of the United States to aid the government of a state it recognizes so long as it does so in a manner consistent with the provisions of the Charter.

I hope it will be understood that I am not arguing against involvement of the United Nations in Vietnam. If some basis can be found upon which the United Nations can mount an effective security action there, I should be happy to see assumption of collective responsibility for the restoration of peace and order. Pretty clearly this is not presently a case for a peacekeeping force, for a substantial war is being fought there with great determination. What would be required now is collective security by application of large-scale military sanctions. I cannot see that the political relationships within the United Nations would permit this. Perhaps the war will one day reach a point at which a United Nations presence and a peacekeeping force will suffice to maintain order. If so I should certainly favor such measures even if the United States found itself obliged to foot most of the bill.

The Memorandum of the Lawyers Committee argues in its second section that the actions of the Government of the United States are inconsistent with the 1954 Geneva Accords and the SEATO Treaty. The short answer to the first charge is that neither the Republic of Vietnam nor the United States can have violated the Geneva Accords, for neither was a signatory of them, nor did either ever approve the basic mode of settlement provided. This contemplated unification of North and South Vietnam on the basis of elections to be held two years later. As the North Vietnamese outnumber the South Vietnamese by about four millions and are tightly regimented under communist control, and as there are many communists also in South Vietnam, such elections would be merely a formal devise for turning over the whole country to communist control. Clearly then we have not violated the treaty. The United States favored the alternative policy of a separation of South from North Vietnam on terms which might permit the non-communist majority in the South to move toward a democratic government. I say non-communist majority, for at the outset the Viet Cong clearly were a minority. Unfortunately for the United States it has had to work with a political leadership in South Vietnam which has exhibited such conservative and authoritarian tendencies that it has steadily alienated its potential supporters.

In 1954 our Government did indeed make a unilateral declaration of position in which it said it would refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb the Geneva agreements, and would view a renewal of the aggression in violation of these agreements with grave concern. We stated that we would continue to seek unity of "nations now divided against their will" through free elections supervised by the United Nations, but whether we would apply this to Vietnam would seemingly depend upon our country's "traditional position that peoples are entitled to determine their own future, and that it will not join in an arrangement which would hinder this. Nothing in its declaration just made is intended to or does indicate any departure from this traditional position." As our Government concluded that general elections for a unified Vietnam were inconsistent with self-determination for South Vietnam, it cannot be said to have violated a commitment in this respect. In any event the elections could not have been held since France, the signatory responsible for execution of the provisions, had been forced out of Vietnam, a basic change of conditions which may well be taken to invalidate the provision. Our Government's feeling about its later use of force in a manner which is clearly inconsistent with the intent of the Geneva Accords is a more complex matter. However, it has made clear that it feels the Accords had already been extensively violated by North Vietnam in the breaches of the Laos frontier and the supplying of the Viet Cong via the Ho Chi Minh trail. There had also been a basic change of position in the creation and recognition of a separate state in South Vietnam, which could be taken to render the whole arrangement of the Accords obsolete.

I cannot say that these views are unreasonable, although I do not assert that they are free from doubt. I am myself troubled by what constitutes self-determination in such a situation. Clearly the Buddhists did not feel that Diem's government represented them, and the peasants have not congratulated themselves upon any of the successive governments. It does not follow that either would be happier under the communists. We are evidently confronted with the kind of political vacuum in which self-determination requires time, education, and freedom of information for the formation of opinion. At least the policy of the United States may contribute to this if it keeps a reasonably open society while restoring peace and economic stability. We have not accomplished this yet, but I take it to be our goal.

The argument with respect to the SEATO Treaty seems pointless. That treaty has not been formally invoked in view of the known opposition of the French Government. Of course we can agree that if it were invoked, procedure would be subject to the requirement in Article 53 of the UN Charter that no enforcement action can be taken by regional agencies without the prior authorization of the Security Council. I have already shown that there is no need for the United States to rest upon any such authority. It proceeds not under SEATO and Article 53 but under the right of defense under general international law as qualified by Article 51.

The final assertion of the Memorandum is that the United States is violating Article I, section 8 of the Constitution of the United States by engaging in a war in Vietnam which has never been declared by the Congress. The point is an old one, and one is entitled to sympathize with the view that the Constitution should be interpreted to prohibit war unless previously declared by the Congress. But such is clearly not the constitutional practice of this country. The Constitution has been regularly taken in this case to mean only what it strictly provides, i.e., that when wars are declared, the declaration must be made by the Congress. But wars can be and often are fought without declaration. I cannot with any confidence say what the founding fathers meant by the words they used in this section, but the frequent practice of military engagement under the sole authority of the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces amply supports the construction I have given. Interpretation must rest not upon what one may wish the constitutional practice to be, but upon what it actually has been.

Perhaps these comments are sufficient to indicate that our Government has not been demonstrably casual in its attitude toward the Charter, other treaty commitments, or the Constitution. In saying this I am trying to be just within a limited area. I am not attempting to support the wisdom of all aspects of our policy in Vietnam. In so far as it seeks to prevent communist aggression from seizing control of South Vietnam, the objectives of our policy seem to me proper. But military success will be only one step toward self-determination. If we can restore peace in South Vietnam we shall then have tasks of economic reconstruction and political assistance in achieving democratic institutions which may be even more frustrating.

Participation Sales Act of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14544) to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies, and for other purposes.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with care to the debate on H.R. 14544, the Participation Sales Act of 1966.

Many persuasive statements have been made in support of the bill. I have been particularly impressed by the considerations mentioned by the distinguished chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], by the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] in the debate on the rule, and by the very able gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS].

I have frankly not been impressed by the arguments made in opposition to the bill. Most of the statements in opposition have come from the other side of the aisle and appear to me to have been motivated primarily by partisan political considerations, that is to say, by a desire to embarrass the President.

It is noteworthy that almost none of the opponents of the bill has indicated what alternative method he would favor to enable the Government to raise the additional $2.85 billion in fiscal 1967 that it is expected would be realized from the sale of participation certificates to be authorized by the legislation before us. No Member has suggested a tax increase for this purpose and none of the opponents of the legislation has come forward with a proposal to raise the presently authorized debt limit for the Federal Government.

I have read with interest the statement issued by the American for Democratic Action in opposition to the Participation Sales Act of 1966 and I find some of its arguments to be persuasive. Again, however, the difficulty is that the ADA does not propose any alternative. I would assume that the ADA would not oppose an increase in the debt limit but its statement does not call for such an increase as the alternative to the Participation Sales Act.

In his statement yesterday—May 17—in support of the legislation, the gentleman from Wisconsin indicated that he would like to see "the administration have an option of raising the $5 billion or so to carry on these worthwhile Federal lending programs through the next fiscal year by the direct method of Treasury borrowing," on the grounds that this method would save "hundreds of millions of dollars for the taxpayers through reduced interest costs," and he indicated that he would be prepared to support an increase in the debt limit for that purpose. The question may well be asked whether the many Republican members who have been opposing the Participation Sales Act will support an increase in the debt limit if the President finds that such an increase is necessary and requests the Congress to authorize it.

I know that a number of my colleagues, whom I admire as liberal Democrats, are opposed to the present bill and will vote against it. Curiously, they did not take part in the debate to explain the reasons for their opposition. Some of them are apparently concerned that the additional $2.8 billion of participation certificate sales which this bill is intended to authorize will further aggravate the already tight money market. Perhaps they would prefer that the debt limit be increased instead, but, if so, I would raise the question whether direct Federal borrowing would not have approximately the same effect, in sopping up available credit, that the sale of participation certificates would have.

I believe that the debt limit may have to be increased and, like my colleague from Wisconsin, I would tend to favor direct Federal borrowing as an alternative to the sale of participation certificates. But that is not the issue that is presented to us at this time. In any event, I believe that the administration should have flexibility in the management of its assets, including what amounts to a sale of its assets where that appears to be desirable, as this bill will provide.

I have no hesitancy in opposing the motion to recommit offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK] which would limit the interest payable on the participation certificates to 4¾ percent. Under the present conditions this would make it impossible to market the participation certificates. In effect, therefore, this limitation amounts to an indirect way of killing the program.

Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Still in Red Slave Camps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the United States so interested in farflung areas of the world, with those interests so broad and our commitments so wide-ranging, we may tend to forget some of the problems and issues of the past.

Many of my colleagues in this Chamber may be unaware that untold thousands of prisoners captured by the Soviet Army in World War II are today, 21 years after the war, still imprisoned in slave labor camps in Russia. It is estimated that as many as 250,000 Poles and other foreign nationals may still be held captive.

In the long years that have passed since the holocaust of World War II, relatives and friends of these prisoners have sought to determine their whereabouts. In the overwhelming majority of cases, their efforts have met with little or no success. Consequently, many of the captives have been given up for dead. The Soviet Government has consistently refused to confirm or deny the existence of these slave laborers.

Through the herculean efforts of the staff of Radio Free Europe, we now know some of the shocking details concerning the actual number of prisoners still behind barbed wire.

The Chicago Tribune published an article recently about this tragic miscarriage of justice. Mr. Speaker, I bring this timely article to the attention of my colleagues in an effort to underscore the need for greater attention to this tragedy. Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

EXCLUSIVE: A REPORT ON POW'S IN THE U.S.S.R.—250,000 STILL IN RED SLAVE CAMPS—POLES, TERM OVER, KEPT ON TO LABOR

(By Clyde Farnsworth)

VIENNA.—There is reason to suppose that a quarter million Poles and other foreign nationals are still slaving in soviet work camps, more than 20 years after the end of World War II.

This number and the names of some prisoners, along with the location of their camps, have been revealed by the Polish division of Radio Free Europe, which has collected the information over a period of years.

Today, while the Polish communist regime is trying to attract Polish exiles in the west back to their homeland, R. F. E. is telling the Polish people again about the fate of thousands of their countrymen in the Soviet Union.

GRIM STORY OF COLD WAR

Behind this campaign and the shocking estimate of the number of lives involved lies an involved but grimly fascinating story of the cold war.

The last time news of large-scale soviet detention of Polish nationals came to attention was in 1955, when R. F. E. broadcast a series of programs about soviet prison camps based on information supplied by returned German prisoners of war.

The release of the Germans had been prompted by the then federal chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who told the soviet government that there could be no normalization of relations between Bonn and Moscow until all Germans had been returned from soviet POW camps.

EX-PRISONERS AID CAUSE

When the soviets responded, and German prisoners began to return early in 1955, R. F. E. officials compiled a list of the returnees that eventually included almost 4,000 names. To these men a questionnaire was sent, appealing for the names, descriptions, and other pertinent details about fellow prisoners from other countries who were still being detained.

The purpose of the R. F. E. appeal—to effect the release of the other POWs—was completely spelled out. And the response was considered remarkable. More than 90 per cent of the former German prisoners filled out the questionnaires, and some took the trouble to visit R. F. E. headquarters in Munich to provide a first-hand description of their prison life.

DETAILS ARE LEARNED

From them R.F.E. gathered the names of prisoners from countries all over the world. Included were details about the prisoners' homes, their marital status, professions, the ages of their children, and so on.

These descriptions enabled R.F.E. to set up files on approximately 10,000 prisoners whose existence had been known by scarcely anyone but their soviet jailers for a decade or more.

The names of those from western countries were passed on to the governments concerned, usually thru their embassies in Germany or thru the International Red Cross.

The first R.F.E. broadcast campaign to release Polish prisoners was opened July 31, 1955.

DEMAND BY RADIO

R.F.E.'s Polish language station director, Jan Nowak, told Polish listeners at that time:

"Germans, Austrians, and Italians—former soldiers of conquered enemy forces—are returning to their homes, while Poles remain in the depths of Russia because no one remembers them any longer or demands their return. . . .

"We demand the return to the homeland of Poles in soviet prisons and labor camps—Poles who are suffering and dying 10 years after the end of the war because they committed only one crime: They fought for independence."

For more than seven months R.F.E. periodically broadcast the names of Poles and the prison camps where they were last known to have lived. The names were read at dictation speed so that listeners could write them down, along with any variations in spelling that might have occurred.

HELD IN SILENCE

According to the freed Germans, the Polish POWs had not been allowed to write their families or communicate in any way to the outside world. As a result, many were presumed dead because they had been missing for so long. In many cases, the R.F.E. broadcasts gave the first indication that individual prisoners were indeed still alive.

The names and descriptions of the prisoners went out over the air in brief messages such as these:

"Walenty Kucharski, 30 years old, born in Sosnowiec; lieutenant in the Polish army; deported to Vorkuta after the war; mine No. 29."

"Stefan Szymanski, 26 years old, from Lwow; arrested as a 16-year-old boy toward the end of 1945; has remained in camp No. 36 in the region of Vorkuta."

Response to the broadcasts was such that there could be no doubt they were making an impact. Letters were received from behind the iron curtain asking the station to repeat particular programs so certain names could be verified.

But few of the writers mentioned the names of those in whom they were interested for fear that the letters might be intercepted and the prisoners face a worse fate.

BROADCASTS ANNOY REDS

Ignored initially by the Polish government, the broadcasts caused considerable embarrassment to local communist officials who were questioned by residents about the validity of the charges. Until that time the party line had always been that the Soviet Union held no more Polish prisoners of war.

Poles took advantage of the presence of a great number of Russian soldiers, observers, and advisers to ask the same question of them. In an attempt to halt the growing uneasiness, the Polish government finally broke its three-month silence to comment on the R.F.E. pronouncements.

On Oct. 31, 1955, Radio Warsaw referred to "a certain number of repatriates from Russia" and noted a few weeks later that "Poles have been returning from the U.S.S.R. for several months now." It added, "We are certain that the number of returnees will increase in the near future."

MORE AND MORE REPATRIATED

The hope was given foundation by the rising number of prisoners being freed. Before the end of 1955, a total of 6,429 Poles were repatriated. The next year the figure jumped to 30,786, and in 1957, to a record 93,872.

Still in 1958—13 years after the war ended—85,865 Poles were returned from soviet detention, and in 1959, 28,400 more.

The Polish Red Cross claimed that all except 15 per cent of the 245,000 repatriated Poles were actually residents of the territory annexed by the Soviet Union after the war. They said that only about 36,000 were actually deportees.

Even so, the imprisonment of 36,000 nationals of a "fraternal" communist country would seem to require a lot of explaining so many years after friendly relations had been established between them.

MANY QUIT PARADISE

And the fact that so many of the "beneficiaries" of Russia's post-war expansion had chosen to leave the soviet paradise could hardly be comforting to communism's internationalist idealogists.

Observing the return of a group of prisoners from Russia in 1959, a Warsaw journalist said:

"Looking at them, I could not restrain my own tears. And from the crowd of onlookers came anti-soviet shouts and curses again and again. 'Take those poor devils to Comrade Wieslaw [Wladyslaw Gomulka]. Let him see what the soviets have done with these people.' "

What they had done was to make the prisoners repay their jailers by working as miners, lumbermen, road builders, and farmers. In short, the Polish prisoners provided a cheap source of labor to the communist "liberators" of eastern Europe.

One of the first acknowledgements of the extent of Polish detention in Russia appeared on Oct. 25, 1956, during the time of the Hungarian revolution. The paper Tygodnik Zachodni admitted that there had been official silence in Poland about the "hundreds of thousands of Poles in Russia" and that this had given an excellent opportunity to "foreign radio stations" to conduct "an anti-Polish and anti-soviet propaganda campaign."

PAPER GIVES ADVICE

It was time to speed up the repatriation of Poles from Russia, the paper added, suggesting that "a settlement of this humanitarian problem is in the interest of Polish-soviet friendship and will also silence the 'Free Europe' broadcasts."

By mid-1959 the Polish government was assuring everyone that "repatriation from the Soviet Union is complete." But Nowak and his fellow Polish exiles didn't believe that even a majority of their countrymen had been released from soviet detention. They continue to search for further information.

Within a year they were convinced that additional thousands of Poles were still working in soviet labor camps. And last February they decided that enough material had been gathered to open a new campaign to force the release of the remaining Polish prisoners.

A 45-minute special program on Feb. 14 referred to the station's 1955–56 efforts and told of the new freedom drive that was being started. Typical R.F.E. programs described the various camps where Poles and other prisoners could be located.

"In the far north of the Soviet Union, near Lumbovka and its environs on the Kola peninsula in the Murmansk Oblast, Poles may be found among the 8,500 prisoners still held in three labor camps," the broadcast said.

STILL HELD CAPTIVE

"Some of the Poles are serving prison terms for alleged political offenses committed during and immediately after the war. Those who have served out their sentences still work under compulsion and are forbidden to leave the area."

"Among the prisoners held in Gandala," a later broadcast said, "there are Germans, Hungarians, and Poles, altho the number and nationality of all the inmates are uncertain. They are employed in lumbering, in coal mining, and in the construction of rocket launching pads and sites, highways, railroads, hostels, and hotels."

WARSAW NOW SILENT

Altho R.F.E. has made more than 40 broadcasts since February about the continued detention of Poles, the Warsaw government has again failed to comment on the matter. In view of the long delay in responding to the 1955–56 campaign, however, R.F.E.'s Polish staff is not discouraged.

The station is still receiving information and further responses from Polish listeners giving details about imprisoned relatives and camps. And, at the start of the third decade of the post-war era, there is still hope for foreigners imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Truth in Packaging and Truth in Lending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, I introduced H.R. 15102, a measure called truth in packaging and labeling and H.R. 15101, a bill better known as truth in lending.

If a fair packaging and labeling bill were enacted into law, most of the abuses called deceptive practices would become illegal. For example, among three sizes of soap powder sold by the same manufacturer, there was the "king size" package, containing 5 pounds, 11 ounces, and costing $1.33; the "giant size," containing 3 pounds, 5½ ounces, and costing 79 cents; and the regular size, containing 1 pound, 6 ounces, at a cost of 32 cents. It is difficult to tell at a glance or even to figure with pencil and paper which is the best buy. However, "king size" and "giant size" suggest a bargain. Long division will show in this case that the best buy was the regular size package. Another interesting phenomenon may be witnessed in advertisements which boldly proclaim "four servings" or "six servings." These may be true if we are serving small children who have been nibbling all day long, but if the product is intended to be served to adults, then these ads are grossly misleading. One of the most common complaints of consumers is "slack fill." As one pamphlet on packaging practices stated, "There's nothing like air to fill a package." Manufacturers usually excuse slack fill by claims that the product settles in the box, however, slack fill goes beyond normal settling and is a prevalent practice.

The conventional weapons in present legislation were not designed to deal with the complexities of the modern marketplace. Instead, they were designed to deal with the occasional deception which was not a great problem when the relatively few products then available were sold across the counter in the neighborhood store.

Essentially, present law fails for lack of any enforcible authority at all, or for lack of authority to establish generally applicable standards of interpretation. Where authority does not technically exist, each case must nonetheless be fought out individually with no general ground rules for reference. It is no wonder that enforcement is inadequate and it can never become adequate under these circumstances.

It is therefore my hope, Mr. Speaker, that the Congress will see its way clear to pass a fair packaging and labeling bill during this session of Congress.

The truth-in-lending measure would require lenders to state the full cost of credit, simply and clearly, and to state it before any credit contract is signed. This legislation would help consumers budget their incomes more intelligently, because they will know the price of credit in the same clear terms as the price of milk or gasoline. It would help the consumer in that he could compare credit costs so he could shop for the best combination of quality and price—including all of the charges involved. It would help the consumer to avoid unscrupulous lenders who use excessive credit charges and other sharp practices.

This bill will also help the legitimate lender by offering protection against any competitor who seeks to gain business by misrepresenting credit costs. It will insure the fair and effective competition that legitimate lenders desire. It will not regulate the cost of credit itself, or interfere with existing laws. It will not reduce the volume of credit or dampen the vigor of consumer buying.

This legislation will right the balance of legal protection between lenders and borrowers and I hope the Congress will enact this measure to insure that the American consumer is given a clear price tag when he shops for credit.

Federal Control of Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, Mr. Meldrim Thomson, Jr., of Orford, N.H., recently delivered a challenging and though-provoking speech to the Independent School Association of Northern New England. Mr. Thomson is a member of Orford School Board, and his forthright remarks hit vital issues of which we all must be aware as we face the Nation's educational needs.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Thomson's remarks be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL CONTROL OF SCHOOLS—NOW AND FOREVER?

Mr. Chairman, Members and Friends of the Independent Schools Association of Northern New England, it is with some trepidation that I venture to talk with the experts on education, and with sincere humility that I express my appreciation for this opportunity to give you one man's view of federal control of our public schools.

I shall shun semantic arguments as to whether there are federal controls. For six months now I have studied, talked and written on the subject. I may have given heart to some; I doubt that I have persuaded many.

I am, myself, convinced that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and other similar acts, carry as many mean and prickly federal controls for our public schools as a porcupine has quills. And before we are through with these acts our body politic will be as sore and wounded as though we had wrestled with a porky.

A friend of mine whose name is "Zinn" tells the story about his young daughter who came home from school one day and said:

"Daddy, I don't like John. He's too fresh."

"What happened today?" he inquired.

"John asked what kind of Zinn was I—a venial Zinn or a mortal Zinn."

"And what did you tell him?"

"I said I was the original Zinn."

As with sin, so with federal controls. I am not so interested in the kind or degree as I am in the fact that federal control of our public schools does exist. And I am deeply concerned that all voters realize that for every federal intrusion on the scene of local education, there must be a corresponding loss of local control and responsibility.

Today I would like to step over the morass of specifics in this great debate over federal control of our public schools, and look with you to the broad horizon of history and philosophy that frames it.

High in the Bolivia Andes grows a plant called "puya". From mililons of tiny seeds blown across the barren heights, one now and then finds a protective crevice and begins its long fight against the fierce elements. For 150 years the spiny puya struggles to fulfill its destiny. Then, after reaching a height of ten feet in 150 years, it suddenly throws out a spear which in one year grows thirty feet and ignites with 8,000 gorgeous blossoms.

Our history of federal intrusion into the realm of education is much like the growth of the puya plant.

In recent months I have frequently read that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is a mild (and presumably innocuous) extension of the historic role of assistance to education by the federal government. Two cited examples are the Northwest Ordinances and the Morrill Act. A brief examination of each might prove instructive but hardly persuasive.

The Northwest Territory was a child of our Articles of Confederation that preceded the Federal Constitution.

By the Ordinance of 1785, the land from which later five states and a portion of a sixth were carved, was divided into townships of 36 sections with 640 acres each. One section was to be for school use. This Ordinance never became effective.

In the Ordinance of 1787 the Continental Congress provided in Article 3 that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

How anyone can find precedent in either ordinance for the present-day invasion of our public schools by the federal government, is difficult to see.

In all of the outcry about early federal grants for schools as precedent for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, have you heard anyone remind us that our Founding Fathers considered and rejected federal participation in education when drafting our Constitution? I have not.

I was surprised the other day when reading an 1854 veto message of President Franklin Pierce to find a reference to such consideration by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

James Madison, in his notes on the Constitutional Convention, records a motion which he made to authorize Congress to establish a university at the place of general government. The motion was defeated on September 14, 1787 by a vote of 6 to 3 with Connecticut delegates divided. The New Hampshire delegates opposed the motion.

Now here is a constitutional footnote that has real significance for us. The Founding Fathers actually did debate the question of federal participation in education and by a vote of two to one excluded it from the powers conferred on Congress.

President Pierce in his message of May 3, 1954, vetoing an act making a grant of public lands for the benefit of insane persons, called attention to the defeat 67 years earlier of Madison's motion for a federal university in the District of Columbia. "It proves," said Pierce, "that such objects were considered by the convention as appertaining to local legislation only; that they were not comprehended, either expresslyor by implication, in the grant of general power to Congress, and that consequently they remained with the several states."

Five years later, on February 24, 1859, another president, James Buchanan, came directly to grips with the question of federal invasion of the field of education. Buchanan had before him the Morrill bill "donating public lands to the several states and territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts."

While this bill finally became the famous Morrill Act in 1862 under Lincoln, I think it important to harken to three clear warnings in the veto message of Buchanan on this subject.

1. "Should the time ever arrive when the state governments shall look to the Federal Treasury for the means of supporting themselves and maintaining their systems of education and internal policy, the character of both governments will be greatly deteriorated. The representatives of the states and of the people, feeling a more immediate interest in obtaining money to lighten the burdens of their constituents than for the promotion of the more distant objects entrusted to the federal government, will naturally incline to obtain means from the federal government for state purposes."

2. This use by the federal government of public lands for state colleges "would remove the most wholesome of all restraints on legislative bodies—that of being obliged to raise money by taxation from their constituents—and would lead to extravagance, if not to corruption. What is obtained easily and without responsibility will be lavishly expended."

3. "I presume the general proposition is undeniable that Congress does not possess the power to appropriate money in the Treasury, raised by taxes on the people of the United States, for the purpose of educating the people of the respective states. Should Congress exercise such a power this would be to break down the barriers which have been so carefully constructed in the Constitution to separate federal from state authority. This would be an actual consolidation of the Federal and State Governments so far as the great taxing and money power is concerned, and constitute a sort of partnership between the two in the Treasury of the United States, equally ruinous to both."

Please note carefully those last words of Buchanan—"a sort of partnership between the two in the Treasury of the United States, equally ruinous to both."

Is this not what we have today under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—a sort of partnership of the state and federal governments in the Treasury of the United States? If this is not presently ruinous to both, all signs, polls and predictions suggesting real danger ahead of us, are misleading to say the least.

Thus, up to 1867, or 1862 if you start with the original Morrill Act granting land for state colleges (but with absolutely none of the strings attached that were added by later amendments), there was no intrusion by the federal government in the area of education, and little or any thought that the federal government had any such power.

But on March 2, 1867, with the war clouds of fraternal bitterness still shrouding the Capitol dome, a tiny puya seed, figuratively, found a protective nook on Pennsylvania Avenue and began its long struggle to maturity. On this date President Andrew Johnson signed a bill, successfully guided through the Congress by Congressman James A. Garfield of Ohio, later to become President, creating a Department of Education, for the purpose of collecting statistics and facts to show the condition and progress of education in the states and territories.

This was indeed a tiny seed. The new department was to become a bureau in the Department of the Interior after two years. The salary of the Commissioner of Education was fixed at $4,000. There were to be only three clerks. The entire appropriation was for $13,000. The department was to occupy only two rooms.

When this seed was planted Congressional husbandmen observed that in 1850 Rebel States spent a half million dollars on education; Border Slave States a quarter of a million; and Free States six million. By getting the federal government involved in education, even if it were just to gather and disseminate statistics, they hoped to raise the level of education in the South.

Congressman Donnell of Minnesota said: "Pass this bill and you give education a rallying point. While it will have no power to enter into the states and interfere with their systems, it will be able to collect facts and report the same to Congress—public sentiment will arouse the friends of education everywhere and ignorance will fly before it."

But his colleague, Congressman Rogers from New Jersey, was not cinvinced.

He argued that "if Congress has the right to establish an educational bureau in this city for the purpose of collecting statistics and controlling the schools of the country, then by the same purity of reasoning Congress has the right to establish a bureau to supervise the education of all of the children that are to be found in the thirty millions of the population of this counry. You will not stop at simply establishing a bureau for the purpose of paying officers to collect and diffuse statistics in reference to education. It would be a bureau such as was never before heard of in the history of the country and which is but one more step towards centralization."

And so the tiny seed that found a nourishing nook in 1867, despite the opposition of such men as Congressman Rogers, grew ever so slowly through the years. For the first 50 years, indeed, it grew at such a slow rate that it went almost unnoticed.

Then with quickening pace responsibilities and appropriations were added for vocational education, practical nurse training, endowments for agricultural colleges, grants for library services, grants to impacted federal areas, and on and on. Just ten years ago the total appropriations for the office of Education was $179,000,000—a far cry from the original $13,000, but still nothing compared to the nine billion dollars approved several days ago by an appropriation subcommittee of the House.

In 1963 the spire of our puya plant began shooting skyward. On April 11, 1965, with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the myriad blooms of that long struggling plant burst forth in a brilliant extravagance of spending for low income families whose children are educationally deprived.

Thus ends the tale of our puya plant. Despite firm rejection of it by the Founding Fathers and vigorous, effective opposition from our statesmen for three-quarters of a century, the seed took hold in 1867 in two Washington rooms with a commissioner and three clerks. From that it grew into today's lusty giant, clad in jeans, bursting with billions to spend on education, and with enormous power to overstep state boundaries.

We have taken a quick look at the history and philosophy behind the struggle of federal participation in education. If we are concerned about the preservation of our individual liberties, then we will view with grave alarm the diminishing role of state and local governments in education.

In concluding, may I leave with you three thoughts?

First, federal control of schools is here now!

I will not waste time splitting hairs on the degree of controls. I say bluntly and without fear of effective refutation that all over our land today schools are experiencing federal controls under Public Law 89–10.

When school boards must obtain approval for the projects for which they seek federal funds—that's control.

When the law says applications for grants must be "consistent with such basic criteria as the Commissioner may establish"—that's control.

When you can not spend the money to improve your cafeteria but can spend it for a Saturday morning enrichment program—that's control.

The second thought I would like to leave with you is this—federal control of schools may now be here forever!

Bear in mind that many of the bureaucratic advocates of federal aid to education under Public Law 89–10, planned, and wrote a pamphlet about their plans, to assume the direction of public education.

In this booklet, "A Federal Education Agency for the Future," these educational bureaucrats said, "In addition to the public level of public policy determination, the office has much concern with policy matters at the state and local levels."

And again "the tradition of local control should no longer be premitted to inhibit Office of Education leadership."

Two months ago, in a talk in Concord, I warned that if we raise no breakwater against the educational revolution that swirls about us today, this surging tidal wave of change will soon leave on the shores of our school districts:

1. A massive federal tax commitment for unnecessary educational frills; and

2. Local school boards either reduced to impotency or gone forever.

And now, out of the recent meeting of the National School Board Association comes a significant statement.

At a press conference in Minneapolis on April 24th, Commissioner Howe said he "foresees future programs of general federal aid to education—not necessarily earmarked for specific things—that would be laid on top of existing local efforts."

And from Washington on April 19th comes the statement by Secretary Gardner of Health, Education and Welfare "that most school boards in this country are inadequately organized to do their job."

These statements by the two top-ranking federal educators are prophetic and profoundly meaningful. Unless people are arounsed to the dangers implicit in federal participation in educational policy-making, federal control of our schools is here forever!

The third and final thought I would leave with you today is that you cannot have federal aid to education, as provided under Public Law 89-10, without federal participation in school programs. The two are inseparable. And for every extension of federal aid there will inevitably come a reduction in state sovereignty and personal liberty.

Is it yet too late for us to listen to the warning of Andrew Jackson that our true strength and wisdom are not promoted by invasion of the rights and powers of the several states, but on the contrary they consist "not in binding the states more closely to the center, but in leaving each more unobstructed in its proper orbit?"

Friends, you be the judge of whether we have arrived at that point in our national history spoken of by Franklin Pierce in his veto message of May 3, 1854, when he said, "If the time shall ever arrive when, for an object appealing, however strongly, to our sympathies, the dignity of the states shall bow to the dictation of Congress by conforming their legislation thereto, when the power and majesty and honor of those who created shall become subordinate to the thing of their creation, I but feebly utter my apprehensions when I express my firm conviction that we shall see 'the beginning of the end'."

SBA Administrator, Bernard L. Boutin, Implements President Johnson's Directive Reopening Business Loan Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson, on May 19, announced the reopening of the Small Business Administration's business loan program. This was on the occasion of the swearing in of the Honorable Bernard L. Boutin as Administrator of SBA. On May 26, SBA will start accepting applications for direct loans up to $50,000 and for immediate bank participation loans with SBA's share not exceeding $100,000 maximum.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include this press release of the Small Business Administration in the Appendix of the Record.

The press release follows:

President Johnson today announced the reopening of the Small Business Administration's business loan program.

The President's announcement was made at a White House swearing-in ceremony for Bernard L. Boutin as Administrator of the Agency.

Effective May 26, SBA's regional and branch offices will begin accepting business loan applications on the following basis: Direct loans up to $50,000; immediate bank participation loans with SBA's share not exceeding $100,000.

As in the past, SBA will continue to accept guaranteed loan applications up to the legal maximum of $350,000, exclusive of the banks' shares.

Following the President's announcement, Boutin said: "SBA expects to have about about $35 million a month available as its share of small business loans. This amount, along with the bank shares, will provide an annual lending rate of about $520 million.

"Because of an unprecedented demand, we do not believe that we will be able to satisfy all requests even at this lending rate. However, we believe that with the excllent cooperation of commercial banks under our Bank Guaranty Plan, much of the demand for larger loans can be met without draining SBA funds. No government money is involved in these loans. They are made by banks to their small business customers with SBA guarantees ranging up to 90 percent.

"The excellent cooperation we have had from the banks is evident from the number of loans they made during our moratorium on direct loans from October 11 through April 30. More than 2,300 guaranteed loans totaling $87.5 million were made during that period. We are exploring ways of making this program even more effective."

The moratorium on direct business loans was declared last October to conserve fast-dwindling funds resulting from unprecedented demand. Excluded from the moratorium were guaranteed loans and a backlog of about $100 million in applications which have since been processed.

Boutin said that SBA loan officials would give full and equitable consideration to each loan application filed within the limitations of the program.

Faster Than a Speeding Bullet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the front pages of newspapers around the Nation this morning, Friday, May 20, carried the good news that the Air Force's XB-70 flew 2,000 miles an hour for 32 minutes. This amazing feat was accomplished by the skilled technicians, engineers, craftsmen, and pilots who work for North American Aviation, and the Air Force, and live in the 27th District of California. All the major work and testing of this triplesonic aircraft is being done at Edwards Air Force Base in our district.

Col. Joe Cotton, XB-70 test director for the Air Force, and Mr. Al White, chief test pilot for North American, are to be commended for this outstanding achievement.

For the information of Members of Congress I am inserting in the Record the following news account from the Washington Post of May 20:

NEW BOMBER HOLDS 2,000-MPH SPEED

(By Marvin Miles, Los Angeles Times)

EDWARDS AIR FORCE BASE, CALIF., May 19.—The U.S. Air Force's cobra-nosed XB-70 bomber flew 2,000 miles an hour for 32 minutes today, proving that sustained rifle-bullet speed is feasible for America's forthcoming supersonic transports.

In holding triplesonic speed on a stratospheric track that covered 2,500 miles and crossed portions of eight Western states, the massive white aircraft exceeded by two minutes the half-hour Mach 3 test requirement stipulated by the Air Force.

Because the North American Aviation research plane approximates the size, weight, and speed of future U.S. supersonic transports, the blazing flight was significant in the development program for super-speed airliners.

Of particular interest in the test was the scorching 620-degree surface (air friction) heat developed by the XB-70 while cockpit temperature remained at a comfortable 75 degrees.

The required duration of the all-out speed test was set at 30 minutes on calculations that maximum heat absorption at 2,000 MPH is reached in a half hour. Longer flights will pose no increased heat problems, engineers said.

More than 100 million bits of data were collected during the test mission by extensive instrumentation on the steel and titanium aircraft for analysis and use in developing future high-speed planes.

The triplesonic mission was flown by Al White, chief test pilot for North American's Los Angeles division, and Col. Joe Cotton, XB-70 test director for the Air Force.

The same crew saved the same plane (one of two $500 million XB-70s) April 29 when a paper clip was used ingeniously to short circuit an electrical system and lower the bomber's jammed nose gear.

Gun Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, last July the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] inserted in the Record a magazine article highly critical of the Philadelphia law restricting the sale and transfer of firearms. The substance of the essay was a demonstration of the law's unfair handicaps on sportsmen and its potential harm to the general public without compensating factors which the legislation was intended to bring about.

In the May 1966 issue of Field and Stream, Richard Starnes is author of another article attacking the Philadelphia law from the standpoint of its ineffectiveness as well as in the matter of cumbrous requirements imposed upon citizens who wish to buy shotguns and rifles for legitimate purposes. While it is unfortunate that Pennsylvania's largest city must be spotlighted again as architect of an unwanted, unrealistic, and unwieldy ordinance that has become a national mockery, it must be remembered that the legislation was enacted under heavy pressure and without proper consideration at a time when officials were willing to try anything in an attempt to check the ravages of city crime. A councilman who voted for the gun law is quoted by Mr. Starnes as vehemently opposed to it now.

The article should certainly be read by every Member of Congress. Members of State legislatures and of municipal governments should likewise acquaint themselves with the Philadelphia experience. The gun law did nothing to thwart the growing crime rate, but it did reduce gun sales and inconvenience law-abiding sportsmen who like to hunt and shoot as well as homeowners who would rely upon firearms for the protection of property and person.

Mr. Speaker, in 1964 some 2.5 million Americans received training in recreational shooting. In a little more than two decades the number of licensed hunters has increased by 80 percent, or almost twice the growth in population during the same period. The trend should not be discouraged, for the spirit of the hunter who was so important to the development of this country needs to persist through the ages. Furthermore, the boy who learned to shoot with his father is a more confident and better prepared soldier today.

I insert "Philadelphia: Redtape Nightmare," to be printed in the RECORD at this point:

PHILADELPHIA: REDTAPE NIGHTMARE

(By Richard Starnes)

PHILADELPHIA.—Recently I spent a day here, and I spent it being fingerprinted, mugshot, questioned by various tentacles of a burgeoning bureaucracy and, in sum, being subjected to the sort of treatment that would traumatize a thirty-year man in the Cosa Nostra.

Had I been caught transgressing against the good order of the City of Brotherly Love? Was I collared while peeling the lid off a poor box? Pushing pot among Main Line subdebs? Suborning some blameless Philadelphia lawyer? Not at all. In a spirit of scientific inquiry I was merely enduring the statutory indignities that anyone must undergo in order legally to purchase a firearm in Philadelphia.

With the aid of a long-suffering firearms dealer who has all but been put out of the gun business by the city's year-old gun law, I was going through the motions of trying to buy a shotgun. Not a handgun, mind you, but a straightforward fowling piece. What I discovered was a redtape nightmare that may well cast the shadow of coming nationwide legislation—if the gun prohibitionists get their way.

At Al Zilligan's M & H Sporting Goods store on Market Street I went to an otherwise deserted gun counter and picked out an automatic shotgun. The Philadelphia Department of Licenses (which privately makes no secret of the profound reservations it has about the effectiveness of the law) has done a reasonably efficient job of implementing a statute that is basically unenforceable, unfair, and ineffective. It has issued a directive that attempts to simplify the provisions of the law so that dealers and customers can do business without getting the police on their necks. The directive runs for two closely typed pages, and it is small wonder that many would-be gun purchasers take one look at it and change their minds. Typically they decide (a) to give up the idea entirely or (b) to purchase a gun outside the city.

For the buyer who persists, however, the ritual goes as follows:

When the customer has decided on a gun, a form (the first of many) must be filled out—in quintuplicate. Required is date, name of purchaser, his occupation, his employer, his signature, and the signature of the seller. The purchaser must sign a statement affirming that he has never been convicted of a crime of violence in "the State of Pennsylvania or elsewhere." He must list his place of birth, date and place of naturalization if applicable, sex, age, race, height, weight, and color of hair and eyes. Make, model, caliber, barrel length, and manufacturer's number of the firearm must be noted on the form.

"Up to this point," Al Zilligan remarks ruefully when the form is complete, "the law has accomplished absolutely nothing. What the City Council didn't understand is that from the day we opened our doors in 1932 we have kept complete records of every gun we've ever sold—not just handguns but shotguns and rifles as well. The FBI, the state police, and Philadelphia detectives have always had complete access to our records."

But now that the form is filled out, may I take my new shotgun and admire it while I freeze in some desolate duck blind? Not by half, sonny. The spinners of red tape have only just started to strangle you. You get a receipt for the purchase price of the firearm and one copy of the form. That's all you get, for the shotgun will stay on Al's shelves until the bureaucratic mills finish grinding out your case. The process may take up to a month.

Your next stop is the Municipal Services Building in downtown Philadelphia. If you happen to live in the far reaches of the city, it is just tough luck; you'll have to stake out half a day to make the trip downtown. The people who run the Department of Licenses are uniformly polite and efficient. You take a numbered ticket that is spit at you by a machine, and when your number is called you take a chair at the desk of an interviewer. Another form? Yep, and one that makes you realize the one you filled out at the gun shop was no more than a preliminary inconvenience on the obstacle course that has been laid out for you to follow if you want to become a gun owner.

In addition to the information previously required, the Department of Licenses now wants to know where I've lived for the past five years, my aliases if any, marital status, present business or occupation, any jobs I've held in the previous five years, whether my landlord will permit me to keep a firearm on the premises, my reasons in detail for wanting a gun in the first place, my complete record of arrests if I have any, and once more my signature under a statement declaring that I have given no false information.

There is space for a passport-size photo and, as many applicants do, I have misunderstood that part of the ritual. You must provide your own photos. The Department of Licenses will fingerprint you, but it won't mug you. "There's a place across the square, next to the cafeteria," the helpful young lady who is taking my pedigree tells me.

The place turns out to be a sleazy penny arcade that makes license photos as a sideline to a thriving pinball-machine business. It isn't much, but then I'm not Rock Hudson. I give the proprietor 75 cents, and in a quarter of an hour he hands me two fuzzy shots of a hard case who would make any experienced safe and loft squad sleuth freeze to an instant point.

Back at the Department of Licenses I am passed on to the fingerprint desk. In the course of military service I was fingerprinted several times, just as everyone was. It has happened to me any number of times since, under the auspices of the Secret Service (for White House press credentials), the Department of Defense (so that I could be ordained to cover some shooting war or other), and at the hands of various foreign countries that were trying to find reasons for refusing to let me visit them. It will unquestionably happen to me many times in the future. But I shall never grow accustomed to it. Being fingerprinted is perhaps necessary in some situations, but it never stops being an indignity. It is a calculated humiliation, something society does to an ill-tempered sort who has just bashed his old lady with the telly.

Eventually, after I had provided a set of prints for the FBI, the Philadelphia police and the License Bureau, I was permitted to wash my hands. So far I had invested more than two hours in trying to persuade the city to permit me to purchase a shotgun. Was I fininshed? Not a bit of it. Now I must go to the cashier's counter and give him a dollar, and that finishes me with the Department of Licenses.

Now may I return to Al Zilligan's and claim my shotgun?

Get back in line, buddy; the fun has just begun. The License chaps are through with me, all right, but the Police Department isn't. My fingerprints, mug shots, and pedigree now go to the police. They will spend from ten to thirty days investigating me, searching my fingerprints, seeking any record of criminal behavior, trying to determine whether I am some fire-eating subversive. If I pass their scrutiny, they will mail me my license. Then, and only then, may I return to Al's store and take possession of my shotgun.

But suppose the police decide I'm not the sort of person who ought to own a firearm? Hard lines, mister. Most lawyers think the Philadelphia law leaves no appeal from the decision of the Police Department.

Few people will bother with the redtape, the time wasting, the inconvenience, and the systematic humiliation. Legal gun sales are off from 33 to 90 percent in Philadelphia, and more than a dozen former dealers have closed their gun departments entirely. But agreeing that the law does impose enormous burdens on the gun dealer and the honest citizen, isn't it worth it if firearms are being kept out of the hands of hoodlums and psychopaths?

Well, it might be at that. But Philadelphia is discovering that its gun law, like New York's notorious Sullivan Law, simply doesn't work. Its failure is amply documented. Heed the words of William F. Killeen, who until January of this year was Philadelphia's assistant district attorney in charge of prosecuting homocide cases.

"The ordinance is not having any effect on crime," he says. "There has been no appreciable increase or decrease in the percentage of crimes involving firearms since the ordinance went into effect. There has been an increase in crimes of violence. This ordinance has had no effect on these crimes. The only effect this ordinance has had is an adverse effect on legitimate firearms dealers in the city. It has forced people to buy firearms in the suburbs.

"I know the pattern of homocides and crimes of violence, having been assistant district attorney for two years. This law does not affect that pattern at all."

To Lawyer Killeen there is no mystery about the causes of violent crime. "This is a short-sighted bill and doesn't get at the root of the problem. The root is poverty, ignorance, and socio-economic problems.

"What criminal is going to worry about violating this ordinance when the penalty is $300 and/or ninety days? A criminal is not going to worry about a permit to get a gun when he is thinking of committing crimes that carry ten- to twenty-year sentences. I believe that this ordinance was panic legislation resulting from the assassination of President Kennedy."

The most hostile antigun crank would have trouble in attacking Mr. Killeen's credentials as an expert witness. Another lawyer whose opinion is worth recording is Frederick H. Starling III, president of the Pennsylvania State Fish and Game Protective Association.

"It is to be remembered," he says, "that weapons in themselves do not commit crimes. Neither do decent law-abiding citizens. Therefore any legislation against the weapon or against the law-abiding citizen is a fallacy.

"I do not believe that this ordinance is working at all. It is not cutting crime. It is just hurting the honest, law-abiding citizen. To diminish crime you do not attack the ownership of firearms, you attack the social evils that cause crime."

Note well that neither of these men fits the stereotype that has been so assiduously fostered by the noisy antigun lobby. The two men are not paranoid neo-Nazis arming to ward off some imagined leftwing coup.

Both are respected lawyers; both spoke after watching the workings of Philadelphia's rigidly prohibitionist gun law for nearly a year. Both know whereof they speak.

We will invoke another expert witness, and one who offers some shrewd insights into how witless laws such as the one at hand come into being. He is City Councilman Gaetano P. Giordano. Councilman Giordano voted for the law when it was adopted in March of 1965, and he is bluntly candid about why he did.

"Politicians get nervous," is how he sums it up.

"There was a crime wave at the time they passed the ordinance. They passed it so they could say they did something about crime. And it's not working. It's just giving people a headache who want to buy a gun.

"I'm definitely against this gun law. You can see that it is not cutting crime in the city. Besides, if you are going to commit a crime, you are not going to get a purchase permit to buy a gun first."

A politician who will own up that he has been wrong is a rare and honest man. "I would like to repeal this law." Councilman Giordano says. "It's a joke. Everytime there's a crime the politicians blame the gun. The answer to this crime problem is not to attack the gun; it's to attack the causes of crime." Like Attorney Killeen he cites poverty and ignorance as prime causes.

"Start attacking the roots of crime at the home," he continued. "My father's word was law when I was a boy, but it isn't that way in homes today. A firearm is part of the American way of life—a way of life I went to war to protect. I think this gun ordinance is the biggest fiasco in the country."

The melancholy record of crime in Philadelphia bears out the councilman's opinion of the effectiveness of the law. Like most American cities, Philadelphia is faced with a rapid increase in the incidence of violent crime. The gun law has not slowed it. Late last year, after more than eight months of experience with the new law, Police Chief Inspector Harold Fox could offer no evidence that the gun law had done any of the things its eager backers promised it would do.

"Actually," he said, "we already have had more homicides than in all of 1964, and from the top of my head I'd guess that about 40 percent involved guns. But the number of homicides has kept climbing every year and we have no way of knowing whether this year's rate is any lower than it would have been without our effort to keep guns out of the hands of irresponsible persons."

But although it is not possible to show that the gun law has had any dampening effect on crime, it is painfully easy to show that it has hurt a great many reputable businessmen.

From April 15, 1965, until the end of that year the Department of Licenses issued 2,400 purchase permits. In a normal year, Philadelphia dealers estimate, they sold between 35,000 and 40,000 firearms. Irv Joffe, of Joffe's Gun Shop, submitted figures to the City Council showing the ruinous effect the law has had on Philadelphia outfitters.

"By September 1, six months after the ordinance went into effect, fourteen stores out of the city's eighty-two gun dealers discontinued the sale of guns," Mr. Joffe said. "In 1964—the last full year before the law was adopted—estimated gun sales totaled about $5 million. Estimated sales for 1965 totaled about $2.2 million. That means, among other things, that the city lost an estimated $82,000 in taxes just from the sale of guns. But it is actually worse than that. In my opinion there is about a five to one ratio between the amount a person spends on hunting and shooting accessories and the amount spent on guns. In other words a person may spend $5 for ammunition, gun cases, shooting clothes, and the like for every $1 he spends on a gun. If this is the case, then the city also lost about $410,000 on taxes on accessories. Total taxes lost to the city in the first partial year of operation of the law could run in the neighborhood of $500,000.

"In my opinion the loss in sales was about 94 percent. From what I can see the only sales in the city are handguns for protection. The sale of rifles and shotguns has all but stopped. But this doesn't mean that Philadelphians have stopped buying firearms; it only means that they are not buying them in the city. They are buying them outside of the city."

One of the provisions of the controversial law makes it illegal to purchase a firearm (rifle, shotgun, or handgun) outside the city and then bring it into Philadelphia. Even a hunter going from, say, Camden, New Jersey, to western Pennsylvania would have to obtain a license to transport his firearm through Philadelphia if he observed the letter of the law. But obviously neither the letter nor the spirit of the law is being observed, nor is there any serious attempt to enforce its more far-out provisions.

"A black market in firearms has been created by this ordinance," dealer Joffe said. "People are simply buying their guns outside the city and bringing them in."

"Under the old system," Al Zilligan points out, "the authorities had a good line on every gun that was sold. They don't now, however, because most of the guns are being bought outside the city. The legislation is utterly self-defeating as a policing measure."

James Colosimo, one of the city's biggest retailers, makes a point that illustrates the side effects of the hastily conceived gun law. Mr. Colosimo, who estimates that his sales of sporting firearms are 70 percent off, has also experienced a tremendous drop in the sale of hunting licenses. "I sold 500 hunting licenses during 1964," he says, "and in 1965 I sold only 200."

The objective reporter cannot escape the conclusion that Philadelphia's gun law is a failure. So far as anyone can learn it has not prevented one crime. It has plainly created the same atmosphere of contempt for law that all bad legislation creates. Like Prohibition, it has dried up only legitimate commerce. The hoodlum will continue to obtain his weapons from underworld sources or by stealing them. The law-abiding hunter or target shooter is given the choice of knuckling under to a grossly inequitable law, at great inconvenience to himself, or becoming a lawbreaker by circumventing it. Reputable dealers, as we have seen, are being deprived of their right to earn a livelihood.

Does this documented and unchallenged record of failure mean that Philadelphia's misbegotten gun law is fated for quick repeal? Unfortunately for the city's outdoorsmen, dealers, and licensing authorities, it means nothing of the sort. Bad laws have a species of immortality. In site of an appalling record of gangsterism and official corruption, it took fourteen years to repeal the grisly nonsense that Americans remember as Prohibition. The same non-think and the same craven ward politics that brought Philadelphia's gun law into being will doubtless keep it alive for a long time. There are probably few members of the City Council who will not concede that it is a thoroughly bad law, but there are even fewer with the courage of Councilman Giordano to stand up and admit that they have made a mistake. Except for a handful of minor amendments, the City Council is not likely to make any changes in the law within the near future. Like the Sullivan Law in New York, it seems destined to haunt whole generations of shooters and gun collectors.

There is one more sad note, and if it sounds like weeping over spilled milk, it should. Philadelphia sportsmen did a notably poor job of defending themselves against the law when it was being debated a year ago. Most of them remained indifferent until it was too late, and of the few who joined the battle there were some who did more harm than good. Several City Councilmen reported at the time that they had been subjected to abusive and threatening telephone calls in the middle of the night from self-styled sportsmen and gun hobbyists. All that was accomplished by these tactics was to confirm the libelous image that the anti-gun cranks and do-gooders were so busy spreading.

The Philadelphia story proved again that the time to prevent bad legislation is before it is passed. It is a lesson that outdoorsmen had better take to heart while the Congress is debating the myriad of proposed gun laws that is before it now.

Cornelius J. "Neal" Haggerty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CECIL R. KING

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the Rerord Senate Resolution No. 140 of the California Legislature offered May 3, 1966, relating to Cornelius J. Haggerty, one of California's most distinguished citizens, and affectionately known to many Members of this House as "Neal" Haggerty.

It is a happy privilege for me to present this resolution:

SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 140, RELATING TO CORNELIUS J. HAGGERTY

Whereas, It has come to the attention of the Senate that Cornelius J. Haggerty is temporarily unable to perform his customary services due to illness; and

Whereas, Cornelius J. Haggerty ("Neal" to most of us) is a native of Boston, Massachusetts, where he was born January 10, 1894, and came to California in 1921, made his residence in Los Angeles, and has been a citizen of the State of California since that time; and

Whereas, He began his business life as a laboring man and was a lather by trade and a member of the Lather's Union of which he became Business Manager of Lather's Local 42 in Los Angeles in 1928, following which he was elected Second Vice President of the International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers in 1929, and in 1933, was elected to the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council; in 1936, was elected Vice President of California State Federation of Labor, AFL, of which he became President in 1937; has held offices of responsibility with labor organizations ever since; was appointed President of the AFL–CIO Building and Construction Trades Department in Washington, D.C., in 1960; and

Whereas, Cornelius J. Haggerty has held important public offices, notably having been a Member of the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security, Department of Labor; a member of the Farm Placement Committee, Bureau of Employment Security, Department of Labor; a Member of the Regional Lavor-Management Committee of Defense Manpower Administration; a Member of the Board of Directors, National Housing Conference; a Member of the National Council of National Planning Association and Vice President of the International Labor Press Association, AFL–CIO; a Member of the Joint United States-Mexican Trade Union Committee and AFL Member of the Latin American unit of International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; a Member of the Board of Regents of the University of California; a Member of the Governor's Advisory Council on California Department of Employment; a Member of the Board of Trustees of the San Francisco Maritime Museum; Sponsor of the United Negro College Fund, Incorporated; a Member of the Archdiocesan Committee for Catholic Charities; a Member of the Advisory Committee on Rehabilitation of Industrially Injured of the State Department of Education; and numerous other offices reflecting the trust and confidence imposed in him by all who knew him; and

Whereas, Cornelius J. Haggerty is well-known to the Members of the Senate due to his many years as representative of labor at the Legislature of the State of California; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, That the Members of the Senate regret the physical impairment of the activities of this highly respected representative of labor and desire by this resolution to convey to him our most sincere sympathy and to express the hope that his recovery will be speedy and permanent; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is directed to transmit a suitably prepared copy of this resolution to Mr. Cornelius J. Haggerty.

Disclosures of the Week—Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, hereinafter are more disclosures which have come to my attention and which, in turn, I am calling to the attention of my constituents.

CASE NO. I

In the Nation's Capital, it was disclosed last week that Federal funds were cut off from the local antipoverty program. The agency revealed that a Headstart project was discriminating against poor white children.

CASE NO. II

A Florida Senator suggested legislation to reduce Federal contributions to wages for professional antipoverty workers.

The Senator said:

> It just hasn't been realistic for antipoverty workers to draw salaries which sometimes exceed those of the highest officials of a local community.

CASE NO. III

A look at last year's foreign aid expenditures points up why the United States continues to have a serious international balance-of-payments problem. Of the $6.2 billion spent for foreign aid last year, $2.8 billion was spent on exports of goods and services from the United States. On the other hand, $3.4 billion—or 55 percent—of the total, was spent overseas helping worsen the balance-of-payments problem.

CASE NO. IV

Wealthy silk-stocking suburban Chevy Chase, just outside the District of Columbia, recently received $80,000 from the Federal Government to build tennis courts. This area has a median income average of $17,272 per family, making it one of the wealthiest communities in the country.

CASE NO. V

Almost $2 billion of Federal money is spent by the Economic Opportunity Agency, mainly to attack the school dropout problem. Meanwhile, during the same period, 680,000 boys and girls left high school before graduation—an increase of 75,000 over the previous year, which is hardly progress.

CASE NO. VI

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman directed a 750-word communication to members of the House Committee on Agriculture. Instead of using 1 of his 8,000 District of Columbia employees to hand deliver his message, he sent 39 individual telegrams. The cost to the taxpayer: $2,400.

He seems to have overlooked President Johnson's public announcement that all Cabinet members had been asked to economize.

CASE NO. VII

A Senator changed his mind and supplied the one-vote margin necessary to prevent defeat of the President's $12 million rent subsidy appropriation.

This switch came after the White House agreed to support a previously rejected $10 million housing program for Alaskan Eskimos.

Afterward, the Senator remarked:

> I'm not proud of myself.

CASE NO. VIII

A high-level U.S. Commission has recommended that the United Nations take over ownership of the high seas and outer space and use them as independent sources of income.

This Commission To Study the Organization of Peace also said the U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, should recruit and pay his own permanent force of 2,000 soldiers.

Mystery of the Missing Tarapur Reactor Parts and Pieces—Continued

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, so that the Congress may be informed, I have obtained unanimous consent for reproduction below of the latest chapter in the mystery of the missing Tarapur reactor parts and pieces:

MYSTERY OF THE MISSING TARAPUR REACTOR PARTS AND PIECES—CONTINUED

From: Representative CRAIG HOSMER, chairman, GOP conference committee on nuclear affairs

To: House GOP conference

Previously I advised you that when the India-Pakistan war broke out last fall Pakistan seized several hundred thousand dollars worth of parts and pieces for the Tarapur reactor. These were bound for India in the hold of a ship then in a Pakistani Port.

The shipment consisted of a 20-ton airlock and precisely formed pieces of sheet steel. The Pakistanis succeeded in removing these bulky items to a place unknown. It is still unknown. AID and the State Department were notified, but proved inadequate to the task of tracking them down.

The parts and pieces eventually had to be replaced by the General Electric Company who is building the $100 million Indian nuclear power station—which is being financed to the tune of $80 million by U.S. taxpayers under the foreign aid program.

Despite President Johnson's friendship with a Pakistani camel driver, despite his wining and dining Premier Ayub Kahn of that country, who made a money hunting expedition to the U.S. subsequent to the hijacking, despite more millions of U.S. aid and loans since that time, the Johnson Administration—with all the resources of the United States at its command—has been unable to do a single thing to clear up the mystery of the missing reactor parts and pieces. So far as anybody knows they are being used as hitching posts for camels.

The "con't." part of this story is that on May 11th, John A. Hall, Assistant General Manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, notified the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that a U.S. built research reactor at Islamabad, Pakistan, is now fully operative "and Pakistan officials are expected soon to request payment of the $350,000 grant which AEC committed to Pakistan in 1960" to get the research reactor built.

Further, the AEC is discussing with Dr. I. H. Usmani, Chairman of the Pakistan AEC, the possibility of establishing a laboratory-to-laboratory arrangement between the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology. Such "sister laboratory" arrangements are not without expense to Uncle Sam's taxpayers. Moreover, the Pakistani Institute is receiving two International Atomic Energy Agency grants for isotope production worth approximately $50,000. The IAEA also gets a good hunk of its funds for this purpose from the U.S. Treasury.

All in all, this adds up to some pretty generous "greenback" days for the Pakistanis.

The missing Tarapur reactor parts and pieces are—or were—worth at least the $350,000 the Pakistanis are "expected" to request.

By copy of this document I am suggesting to the President, the State Department, AID and the AEC that the $350,000 "commitment" be discharged by giving Pakistan a legitimate title to the hijacked property. Or, if they won't agree, these U.S. officials should hold up the $350,000 until the mystery is solved and Pakistan agrees to compensate the rightful owners of this property.

Rural Electrification in Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR CALLAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. CALLAN. Mr. Speaker, once a year the public power districts of the Nebraska Rural Electric Association sponsors an essay contest on the purpose, value, and accomplishments of rural electrification in Nebraska.

The following winning essays express well what REA means to them and to the Nation. I recommend these essays to my colleagues for their reading:

Fundamental Principles of Rural Electrification

(Information.—Name, Ernest Tomasiewicz; age, 16; grade, sophomore; school, Humphrey Central Catholic High School; name of father, Henry Tomasiewicz, Humphrey, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

"What a person is or becomes is determined by his inheritance, environment, and what he acquires." This theory can be applied to each one of us—including the Cornhusker Public Power District, because it in itself is a "living person" reliably serving the growing population of the Platte Valley.

INHERITANCE

The Cornhusker Public Power District is an electric utility, engaged primarily in providing rural areas with retail electric service. It is publically owned by the state of Nebraska, and chartered by the state to engage in the electric utility business in its service area. All the power requirement for the District is currently supplied by the Nebraska Public System under a wholesale contract.

Activities of the District are controlled by the laws of the state. A nine-man board, called directors, preside over the affairs of the District. Maintenance crews located in three cities keep up to date the increasing number of lines and substations.

ENVIRONMENT

The electrical power made available to the farm has taken many unique and interesting forms.

In the field, irrigation pumps provide the needed water to produce the highest yield. The amounts of grain from these fields feed the numbers in the feedlot and dairy operations. Grain drying and feeding equipment powered by electricity assists the feeders. While electric milkers, refrigerated bulk tanks, and separators do the "labor" in the milking businesses.

On the farm place, welders, drills, power saws, etc. make maintenance by electricity a bargain. Heat lamps and portable heaters have saved many litters for the farmer. Now introduced and rapidly accepted are the mercury vapor yard lights which serve a twofold purpose—add beauty and check intruders.

In the farmhouse, electricity again dominates the modern scene. Refrigerators, freezers, frying pans, coffee pots—only to mention a few—helps the farm wife to prepare well-balanced nutritional meals all year round electric heat, lights, and hot water are provided without a single flame; no soot, no fumes—it's clean. Air-conditioning only adds to the list of convenient appliances which we normally take for granted.

ACQUIRED

What rural electrification has acquired through its service in the past reflects on the present. Increased income for farmers obtained only by improved farming techniques has staged a demand for more electric devices. This demand allows the retailer to expand creating employment openings and a larger assortment of merchandise. Thus community economy is raised and life's pleasure prolonged.

One serious problem we face is the gradual drift of young people away from the rural areas. We know we can prevent the lack of economic opportunity if cheaply obtainable electricity can be provided to interest enterprises. In this case, rural electrification has acquired much encouragement by the incoming businesses needing its power for operations.

It is a great pleasure to summarize the privileges I and my community have in being served by this "living person." The following words of secretary Orville Freeman could not be more explicit, "The role of the REA is not finished—it is only beginning."

Development of Rural Electrification in My Area

(Information.—Name, Melissa Wagner; age, 16; grade, junior; school, Tilden High School; name of father, Clarence Wagner, Tilden, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Elkhorn Rural Public Power District, Battle Creek, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Electricity is one of the most wonderful forces used by man. A quarter of a century ago, only 10 per cent of the farms in the United States were receiving electric power. Today, over 93 per cent of the Nation's farms are electrified.

In the 'Old days' most farm homes depended on kerosene and Aladdin lamps for lighting. A few well-to-do homes had their own carbide generator plants.

Then, on May 11, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the bill creating the Rural Electrification Administration (R.E.A.). This bill was co-sponsored by Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas and Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska. This bill was to lend $40,000,000 annually to promote rural electrification on a permanent basis.

The Elkhorn Rural Public Power District became a reality in 1938, with the help of many hard working people. These people had a dream of rural electric power and they persuaded others to consider their idea and help make them materialize.

On January 17, 1939, these people's application for creating a rural public power district was approved and on April 29, 1940, 116 miles of line was energized and 148 consumers were hooked up. One year later there were 250 consumers with an average consumption of 64 K.W.H. per consumer.

Last year our district celebrated its silver anniversary with 1,855 miles of distribution line, 51 miles of transmission line, 8 substations, and 3,471 customers using an average of 674 K.W.H. per month.

Thanks to those people with their dream, our district, as well as all of Nebraska, now enjoys the benefits of electricity. Today, many use electricity for light and power as well as heating and air conditioning their homes.

Electricity is the cleanest, handiest, most economical power available to man. It is convenient, too. There are no unsightly tanks, dangerous gas lines, or failing pilot lights, and electricity is one of the cheapest commodities we can buy.

R.E.A. has emancipated the rural housewife. No longer must she slave over a hot wood stoves or wash stacks of dishes and tons of clothes by hand. Now, electric pumps bring fresh water to the house, where it is heated by electric water heaters and used in dishwashers and washing machines. Electric toasters, stoves, and vacuum cleaners are just a few of the appliances that make life much easier for the farm wife.

Electricity has become the farmer's hired man. The farmer can feed twice as much livestock with electricity as well as use it to reduce the amount of manual labor he once had to do. Power tools such as welders, saws, and drills make repair easy and inexpensive.

The use of electric power has decreased labor, increased output, and improved the standard of living of the farm family. Electricity is the means which enables my community to look to a future of improvement and opportunity. It is definitely one of the most wonderful forces used by men.

What Rural Electrification Means to Me and the Community

(Information.—Name. Cheryl Anderson; age, 15; grade, sophomore; school, Stromsburg public schools; name of father, Forrest D. Anderson, Stromsburg, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Polk County Rural Public Power District, Stromsburg, Nebr., in cooperation dwith the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

To me electricity means Instant Power. For brushing teeth with an electric toothbrush to grinding silage for livestock, electricity is an ever-present source of power.

Yesterday when the lines were out for a short time this Instant Power stopped. Our house became cold, the water stopped running, the freezer and refrigerator stopped, we could not tell the time, the radio and television were silent, Dad's elevator stopped, the vacuum cleaner and electric mixer refused to budge, no meals could be cooked, no washing or drying of school blouses, the drying fan for the grain was dead, and the heat lamps in the barn were cold. But worst of all—No Lights anywhere.

I had taken these things for granted before. Right then I began to realize the many services and pleasures that are brought to our farm and home by electricity—this modern Genie of Miracles with low cost service.

The Nebraska Electric Farmer, which I enjoy reading, states there are over 500 different ways which electric power can be utilized in rural areas. Electricity means power for hoisting hay, irrigating crops and welding farm machinery; it means heat for brooding chickens and running water for bathrooms; it means labor-saving kitchens and easier farming. Electricity means greater agricultural efficiency and higher living standards.

Many of these Instant Power benefits are social and cannot be measured by statistics. Rural electrification results in greater self-respect and more home pride for farm people. Today's rural home is as modern as its city counterpart. Retired country couples need not move to town for conveniences; rural youth are more contented with farm life. Electricity helps end the feeling of isolation which has often depressed rural people.

Use of electric equipment allows more time for civic and church affairs and for recreation. Rural electrification helps open the window on the world through news broadcasts.

Electricity greatly enhances farm productivity and thereby increases incomes; it permits intensification and diversification of operations. Rural electrification helps the average Mr. Polk County Farmer continue farming in the face of scarce labor.

Electricity is responsible for many important health improvements. There is hot water for sanitary measures. Better and tastier foods are available through refrigeration and freezing. Homes have even temperatures thanks to electric heating and cooling. Air conditioners help relieve asthma and hay fever sufferers. Electric yard lights reduce accidents and discourage burglary. Especially helpful on our farm is the all-night light my father recently installed.

Our electric sewing machine is a necessity for my Home Economics and 4-H work. An electric blanket keeps me warm at night. And, as every teenage girl knows, a hair dryer is a must!

Ninety-eight per cent of America's rural people now have electricity. Since 1938, when Polk County first had rural electrification, usage has grown until approximately 1,340 homes now each use an average of 1,138 kilowatts per month.

We are fortunate to have such a fine Public Power District giving us splendid and efficient service. In every way my community, my family, and myself enjoy more livability and happiness with the dozens of Electric Servants working for us!

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

(Information.—Name, Linda Fosler; age, 17; grade, junior; school, Seward High School; name of father, Wayne Fosler, Milford, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Seward County Rural Public Power District, Seward, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Our family lives on a four-hundred acre stock farm, where we specialize in feeding cattle throughout the year. In our livestock program we have a modern feeding "set-up." In our home we enjoy all the conveniences of modern-day living. On our farm we have the cheapest, most reliable hired man helping us with our work. His name is our dependable Rural Public Power District.

Outside of our home, our hired man feeds the cattle by merely pressing a button. He also furnishes light, heats and pumps water for the livestock, and even welds broken machinery. My Dad says that our hired help makes choring a pleasure, and the chores can be done quicker and easier.

In our home, the hired man is like a manservant for my mother. He heats our entire home during the winter months, and cools it with an air conditioner in the summer. He stores our meat, fruits, and vegetables that are produced on the farm during the year in the freezer. He cooks our meals for us by using the electric range. And even provides us with entertainment with the television set and radio. In our basement he runs our hot water heater for the washing machine, for washing dishes, and for taking a bath.

Another very important advantage of having this hired man is to provide us with safety through the medium of light. I am sure that, because of this, many accidents have been avoided on our farm. Electricity also provides safety for heating, compared to the danger of using the old cook stove and heating stove.

With an extra person helping around the farm, our farming operations go along very smoothly. Our hired man doesn't ask to be paid for working overtime. In fact, the more we ask him to do, the cheaper his rates become.

Our Rural Public Power District also serves our community as well as our farm by improving working conditions and providing modern conveniences. For instance; our local elevator relies entirely on electricity for moving incoming and outgoing grain, to dry the grain if necessary, to cool the office, and even to run the office adding machine. This operation performs more economically with the use of electricity, and as a result, it represents a savings to everyone in the community. Our near-by country church also uses the services of our Farm Electrification System. Electricity provides all the necessary requirements of light, power, and heat for a completely weekly religious program. Our country schools also made use of this service while they were in operation. The brilliant lights of our neighborhood service stations serve as the guiding beacon for motorists traveling along the busy highways.

I feel that with the use of the Farm Electrification System we are enjoying a much better way of life in the community. It is one of the chief reasons that the living standards of the farm and community have risen to their present high level.

One often takes for granted the Rural Public Power District, and what it does for the farm and community. Perhaps we should stop and think how different life would be without electricity; as it was before the 1930's. If we were suddenly to be deprived of all electricity, many adjustments would have to be made. My lambs would be surprised if their heat lamps were taken away. In my 4-H Calf projects I could no longer make use of the electric groomer, the clippers, and the fans used to keep the calves cool in the heat of the summer.

Our work on the farm is the production of food for the people of the world. I feel sure that the Farm Electrification System plays a vital role in this production, and without it, we would be among the many thousands of people who go to bed hungry each night.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION: THE MAINSTAY OF MY COMMUNITY

(INFORMATION.—Name, Ronald Weber; age, 16; grade, junior; school, Madison High School; name of father, Arthur Weber, Madison, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Stanton County Public Power District, Stanton, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

The first volts of electricity passing through the earliest R.E.A. financed lines in Nebraska on December 2, 1936, were the genesis of a new life for our rural population. It could be said that these 'live wires' were 'life wires' for they provided the spark that ignited the flame of this new life which has never died and continues to burn brighter each day.

Today there are 59,307 miles of lines serving 102,315 customers in Nebraska. These, and many, many more have formed a vast network of lines across our Nation, making possible a standard of living inconceivable thirty years ago.

In 1935, R.E.A. was created as part of a general program of unemployment relief. In another sense it was a relief to the farmer from his many hard tasks. There was the endless task of pumping and carrying water by hand. Now electric pumps handle this unpleasant task. Grain augers have replaced the backbreaking job of scooping. Electric motors power many laborsaving tools. Electricity heats our homes cleaner, faster, easier, and more efficiently than did the hand-chopped wood and large chunks of coal.

The first benefit of rural electrification was light at the flick of a switch—a real miracle. Now we can have light without even flicking the switch. Many farms in my community are using the dusk to dawn mercury lights in their yards and feed lots. These lights permit livestock feeding round the clock which has proven to be more profitable. They are also a safety feature as they offer protection to the premises during darkness whether the families are home or away.

The use of many electrical conveniences is made possible by the low cost of electric service. It was an important factor in the success of rural electrification. We owe this to the efficient management and leadership of our local systems. They are constantly striving to provide the best low cost service.

The many items once considered luxuries have grown to be necessities. These essentials through rural electrification have become the mainstay of my community. Without such 'helpers' the farmer could not meet the demands of modern day living, and modern day living would not be possible without the efforts of the farmer.

Rest in Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the words to a song written by Martha Sola and Michael Stoner, in honor of our country's dead for this Memorial Day of May 30, 1966. Mr. Stoner, a resident of my congressional district, and Miss Sola composed the lyrics to the melody of "Taps":

Rest in Peace,
Rest in Peace,
So we may pray,
This sad day,
As we part.
Tho' you're gone,
Love lives on
In each heart.

Rest in peace,
Rest in peace,
May God's grace,
Bless your place,
Up above;
May you know,
Heaven's glow
And God's love.

Participation Sales Act of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. RODNEY M. LOVE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 14544) to promote private financing of credit needs and to provide for an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies, and for other purposes.

Mr. LOVE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Participation Sales Act of 1966, H.R. 14544, for the following reasons: This program may be just what is needed instead of an increase in taxes in an effort to keep the economy in balance; it will siphon money from large investors, hopefully resulting in an anti-inflationary reaction; it will have a desirable effect on the debt ceiling and may also reduce the necessity of raising it.

This measure is designed to provide an efficient and orderly method of liquidating financial assets held by Federal credit agencies and to carry forward the objective of substituting private for public credit in funding certain loan programs. These agencies, with the approval of the Congress, could enter into trust agreements with the Federal National Mortgage Association whereby FNMA would sell participation certificates based on a pool or pools of Federal credit agency loans.

The sale of participations in Government loans is not a new proposal but an expansion of a limited program already in operation. The Export-Import Bank has sold participations since 1962. Federal National Mortgage Association has sold participations in pools of loans made by the FHA and the VA since 1964. Participations in pooled loans are generally bought by banks, insurance companies, State and local governments, foundations, and so forth.

The sale of Government assets was supported by President Eisenhower in his 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1958 budget messages. In 1962, President Kennedy's Committe on Federal Credit Programs, under the then Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, supported private participation in Federal credit programs. In the 1963 minority report, on a bill to temporarily increase the public debt limit, Republicans stated the Johnson administration could reduce borrowing requirements by additional sales of Government assets.

Presently the Government has $100 billion in Government-guaranteed and Government-insured loans outstanding. Another $33 billion in direct Government loans is outstanding. Participations will be sold only in pools of loans held directly by the Government. President Johnson, in his January 25 budget message, proposed the sale of $4.2 billion in participations; authority exists for the sale of $1.4 billion; H.R. 14544 authorizes the sale of $2.8 billion.

Could it be that my colleagues, on the other side of the aisle, are trying to create a political issue with respect to our economy? Many words have been spoken which sounded to me as if they were trying to talk us into a recession, all in the face of the longest period of prosperity this country has ever known.

The principles contained in this Participation Sales Act of 1966 have, in the past, always met with their approval. Why, then, are they now against this measure as at least a partial solution to the country's money problems. Perhaps they would like nothing better than to place the administration in the embarrassing political squeeze of having to raise taxes which means should only be used as a last resort.

There is one redeeming feature of the inflation argument, however, the Democrats are men of integrity who are not afraid to act, if act we must, to keep our economy strong. Let us pass this bill in the interest of providing an answer. It certainly can do no harm and historically, the role of the Federal Government in the field of credit has been to encourage a smooth, efficient flow of funds between private borrowers and lenders.

It is my hope, Mr. Chairman, that the Congress will continue this tradition by approving this legislation.

Small Business Welcomes Bernard L. Boutin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's small business community welcomes with enthusiasm the appointment of the Honorable Bernard L. Boutin as Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

Mr. Boutin is well-know throughout the Halls of Congress as a competent, hardworking Government official. He is especially well qualified to handle this particular position and his many friends and admirers are confident that he will bring vigorous leadership to the agency.

Mr. Boutin's career has been varied—but consistently associated with success. He has owned and operated small businesses and was twice elected by his fellow towns people of Laconia, N.H., as their mayor.

He served as Administrator of the General Services Administration from 1961 to 1964 and during his regime, the percentage of GSA's total purchases awarded to small business rose from 43 to 57 percent.

His deep interest in the welfare of small business can also be shown by the fact that within 4 months after he assumed the leadership of the General Services Administration, he established and instructed a small business task force to find methods whereby GSA could increase the amount of small business contracts awarded to small business.

It is clear that Mr. Boutin understands the problems of small business. In fact, as the father of 10 children, we believe he understands problems that ordinary men have not even heard about.

We wish him continued success in his new assignment.

Miss Betty Bolin, a Fifth Grade Student in Mishawaka, Ind., Proposes a Solution to the National Flower Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I am aware, as are other Members of the House, of the controversy surrounding the question of an appropriate national flower.

A fifth grade student at the La Salle School in Mishawaka, Ind., Miss Betty Bolin, has recently written me a letter which may contain the seed of an answer to this problem and I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of Miss Bolin's suggestion at this point in the RECORD.

Her letter follows:

MISHAWAKA, IND.,
April 20, 1966.

DEAR SIR: I am a fifth grade student at La Salle School of Mishawaka, Indiana. In the Golden Magazine I was surprised to learn that the United States is one of the few countries that has no national flower. This got me thinking why don't we take all of the flowers that represent each state and arrange them into a national bouquet? If more than one state has the same flower only one of that kind of flower would be needed. There could be a certain way to arrange the flowers.

If a symbol is wanted the bouquet would be beautiful representing how beautiful the United States is. The flowers go together to make a bouquet as the states work together to make a nation. In this way their would be no argument on what flower is to become the national flower.

If just one flower was chosen, this flower might represent a state. With the bouquet all of the states would be represented. This would be unusual, for the other countries have just one flower. What do you think?

Sincerely,

BETTY BOLIN.

The Administration's Attitude Toward Farmers

SPEECH

OF

HON. BERT BANDSTRA

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 12, 1966

Mr. BANDSTRA. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues have pointed out that farm income has improved during the past 5 years and that the prospects for 1966 are good, but I think we can all agree that in spite of the improvement farm prices are not as high as they should be. I am sure all the Members of this House are well aware of the fact that farm prices generaly are about 80 percent of parity, and I am hopeful that further increases in farm income can be brought about in the next few years.

One of the most important accomplishments of the 89th Congress in my judgment was the passage of the 4-year omnibus farm bill. Everyone agrees that some type of a farm program is needed and most Midwestern farmers agree that the feed grains program has been successful. I recognize that not everyone is satisfied with every aspect of the feed grains program, but it has been successful in improving farm income and in reducing the huge surplus of corn and other feed grains.

The 85 million tons of feed grains in CCC bins had a depressing effect on the market, and since these stocks have been reduced, corn prices have improved. The feed grains program has improved the income of farmers in the Fourth Congressional District of Iowa to the tune of $20 to $25 million each year it was in operation. A poll published by the Wallaces Farmer early in 1965 indicated that 74 percent of Iowa farmers favored the feed-grain program while only 12 percent were listed as being opposed.

As a member of the Agriculture Committee, it seemed to me that we needed a 4-year program in order that farmers could plan ahead knowing not only that there would be a feed grains program in operation but also knowing what the program would be. As many will recall, the administration originally asked for a 2-year extension of the feed grains program, but a majority of us on the committee were convinced that a 4-year program was needed, and I am pleased that the administration came around to our way of thinking.

Not only did Congress pass in 1965 a 4-year farm bill but it passed the House of Representatives on the crucial vote by a margin of 49 votes. In previous years it had only been passing by a very few votes, and I think the large vote by which the 4-year farm bill passed last year clearly indicates that the present Congress recognizes the important role of agriculture.

As I mentioned earlier, Congress will soon be considering the food-for-freedom legislation. The efficiency and productivity of the American farmer has been the marvel of the world. Our farm population is now only about 7 percent of our total population, and this 7 percent has in the past been able to produce more than we can sell, consume, or give away. Food is still the best buy of all in the marketplace and only 19 percent of each disposable dollar goes for food. It is no wonder that the efficiency of the American farmer has come to the attention of the rest of the world.

We are now exporting over $6 billion in farm products which means that we have a favorable balance from agricultural products alone of more than $2 billion. In short, our American farmers are contributing substantially to the solution of our balance-of-payments problem. At the present time, two-thirds of the world's population live in food-deficit countries. The food-for-freedom bill will, when enacted, strengthen our foreign policy. I recognize that we cannot begin to feed all the people in the world, and, in addition, there are other problems over which we have little control, such as docking facilities in other countries, rat-proof storage, and an adequate transportation system within the recipient country itself. But it will be a beginning, and I am hopeful that within the next few years the food-for-freedom legislation will make a valuable contribution toward strengthening democratic governments, producing political stability, encouraging economic stability, and assisting national development. In short, the food produced by American farmers will continue to be used for the purpose of establishing peace, and it is one language that everyone can understand.

Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Congressman NEAL SMITH, has suggested a number of improvements, and I heartily concur in the suggestions he has made. I do want to mention, however, that there is one other item which I am vitally concerned about, and I am sure that my colleagues here this afternoon are equally concerned about it.

It is the matter of vertical integration in the livestock feeding business. Recently the Subcommittee on Livestock and Feed Grains held hearings in Des Moines, Iowa, on my bill, H.R. 12115, which would prohibit packers and retail chainstores with more than $1 million in annual gross sales from feeding livestock. It would also prohibit any officer or director of such firms or any person who owns more than 5 percent of the stock in such firms from feeding livestock. It would also prohibit these firms from purchasing livestock for slaughter by means of feeding contracts with individual farmers.

The hearings were very helpful, and I feel the members of the subcommittee who were present learned a great deal about grassroots thinking on this subject in the Midwest. I am also hopeful, Mr. Speaker, that those who have been so critical of the Secretary of Agriculture and the President will demonstrate their real love for the family-sized farmer by introducing companion bills. Or if they have better ideas on how to solve this problem, I would be happy to cooperate with them as long as it will get the job done. After the Des Moines hearings are printed I intend to summarize them and mail them to a number of farmers in the Fourth Congressional District since I recognize that not everyone who was interested was able to attend the hearings.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I again want to commend my colleague, Congressman NEAL SMITH, for having obtained this special order which provides the opportunity to emphasize the importance of the American farmer. However, in the last analysis, we are all consumers, and I can think of very few things that are more important than an adequate supply of food. I hope the American people and this Congress will never fail to recognize just how important it is.

Congratulations: Graduating Classes of 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, we read, with astonishing frequency, of the demonstrations, sit-ins, protests, and so forth put on by many of the high school and college students of our Nation, for one reason or another.

It was with great pride that I learned of the outstanding accomplishments of some of the high school seniors in the 11th District of Ohio. I am tremendously proud of the young people of our district, and I feel that the future of our great Nation is in their hands.

It is a privilege and an honor to bring to your attention the achievements of our students, as set forth in a letter which I recently sent:

To the Publisher and Editors of the Record-Courier, Ravenna, Ohio.

Attention: Mr. Robert C. Dix.

DEAR BOB: There are a lot of things wrong in this world. We hear about them every day. However, there are a lot of things right that we seldom hear about. A lot of things that are right in this world are reflected in the 1966 graduating classes of our area high schools. I am bringing to your personal attention the following sequence of events that pertains to just one of our high schools.

Three weeks ago, as a result of an inquiry from our office, I was informed by Mr. Fred Glimp, Dean of Harvard College, that a student from Ravenna High School had been accepted for admission to the Class of 1970. The Dean spoke very highly of this applicant and remarked about his excellent 3.96 grade average. One week later, on his own initiative, the Dean of Harvard College informed me of the acceptance of another student from Ravenna High School who had a perfect academic record of 4.0. The Dean commented that, due to the pressure that is on his school from all over the world, it was most unusual to be accepting two students from one high school. The following week, I was informed by the Director of Admissions of the United States Military Academy at West Point that their Acceptance Committee had nominated a student from Ravenna High School. This was an Academy appointment limited to the 150 outstanding applicants out of a total of thousands in the United States. It was based on superior academic and athletic qualifications. After receiving this news, I talked directly with the Principal of Ravenna High School, Mr. James Coll. He informed me, with considerable pride, that out of the 268 members of the 1966 graduating class at Ravenna High School, almost 75 percent planned to go on to some type of further education. Another student had received an engineering scholarship to Case Institute of Technology. Still another student received a coveted competitive scholarship to Cornell University.

This outstanding class from one high school reflects great credit upon their teachers, their parents, their community, and last, but not least, upon the students themselves.

I am sure that there are many other high school students graduating from Portage County with outstanding qualifications that I just have not heard about.

The President, in his 1966 State of the Union Message in January, said in closing, "It is a Great Nation that breeds a great people." How wrong he was. It is Great People that build a great Nation. I think the students from your surrounding high schools will prove that I am right.

I send the graduating students my personal congratulations. Your Congressman is proud to represent you in the Congress of the United States.

WILLIAM STANTON,
Member of Congress.

A Better Basis for Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, when the President sent his foreign aid program to Congress last February, the Journal of Commerce editorially applauded:

> In all major respects it marks a considerable improvement over its predecessors.

The Journal went on to endorse the President's separation of military and economic assistance, the level of spending proposed, and the program's new directions in agriculture.

But most significant is what the Journal has to say about a long-term authorization for the aid program:

> It is rather obvious that no large business enterprise can be efficiently run on a year-to-year basis . . . And sadly enough, without this authority the Administration is deprived of the very means it needs to induce developing countries to make lasting improvements in their own economies.

Like the Journal, I hope many more Congressmen and Senators will soon realize this fact of life and authorize the aid program to operate on at least a 5-year basis. I commend the editorial to my business-minded colleagues:

A BETTER BASIS FOR FOREIGN AID

Congress and the nation as a whole ought to get some satisfaction from the foreign aid program the President sent to Capitol Hill this week and from the manner in which it was presented. In all major respects it marks a considerable improvement over its predecessors.

In the first place, military and economic aids are treated separately, rather than being lumped together in one heap. In the second, the scale of spending on the economic side is being reduced. Not by much, to be sure, but $2.4 billion is better by several hundred million than the total authorized last year.

In the third it is encouraging to see that the Administration is orienting the program more and more in the direction of agriculture, a field in which world needs are most pressing and in which, notwithstanding dollar totals, the United States is best able to meet these needs in part with a minimum of dislocation in the home market.

It is true that some will find fault with all these aspects of the fiscal 1967 program. Some don't like the concept of economic aids at all. Some feel the total figure asked by the President is too low. And some believe grants of foodstuffs in any continuing volume tend to defeat their purpose. Their reasoning is that a developing country, which can neither provide nor afford to buy sufficient food to stave off widespread malnutrition, will not feel impelled to put its agricultural house in order so long as it can count on regular donations from the United States or elsewhere.

There is some truth in this. It was certainly a factor in Washington's reluctance to promise India grain deliveries on a long-range basis. It could be just as true with other countries.

But the Administration has been hammering out an approach to this difficulty for some time, and Mr. Johnson was quite explicit in stating that while it is American policy to help those who work hard to raise their own economic standards, it is "unwilling to subsidize those who do not assume responsibility for their own fate."

When he got further into details he said something more that needed saying, namely, that any country seeking agricultural aid from the United States should show it is ready to invest every possible resource in improved farming techniques, in school and hospital construction and in critical industry; make the land reforms, tax changes and other basic adjustments necessary to transform their societies; face the population problem squarely and realistically, and create the climate which will attract foreign investment and keep local money at home.

If it is argued abroad that this constitutes "aid with strings" or "interference with domestic policies," the American answer must be that no one is forced to take development loans or grants from the United States, nor is there any point whatever in continuing to ship the fruits of American enterprise and resources to governments that will not make the effort to improve the lot of their own peoples. There are too many deserving countries in severe need to justify the coddling of those who simply won't try.

The President was right to make this plain. He was also right in holding out the offer of American agricultural expertise and technological aid to those who not only need more food but want and need help in raising their own production. A prime objective of every foreign aid program should be the gradual liquidation of the conditions that made it necessary in the first place.

Several administrations have sought without success to persuade Congress to do what Mr. Johnson is again asking this year—namely, authorize the President to make foreign aid commitments for as far as five years ahead.

Congressional objections to this are understandable. Neither the House nor the Senate want to lose the grip they feel they can hold on foreign aid only for so long as they can compel the President to come back every year and give an account of his stewardship. Many legislators still look askance at the very suggestion that commitments should be made for more than a year at a time.

Yet, it is rather obvious that no large business enterprise can be efficiently run on a year-to-year basis. Neither can anything as large as the economic aid program. And sadly enough, without this authority the Administration is deprived of the very means it needs to induce developing countries to make lasting improvements in their own economies.

There have been signs of late that a growing number of influential Congressional leaders are beginning to realize this. We hope that this time their numbers will be sufficient to prevail.

Heroic Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the heroic actions of a schoolteacher, Mr. Henry Pettie, Jr., of Brenham, Tex., on May 14, 1966, no doubt, averted a tragedy of major proportion by saving the lives of 15 students from a would-be watery grave.

Mr. Pettie, a 42-year-old mathematics teacher, was driving a bus carrying 16 children when it plunged over an embankment, after a steering line snapped on the front of the bus, and submerged in 8 feet of water.

After the bus filled with water, Mr. Pettie moved from the driver's seat to the emergency door at the rear, and from there pulled the children from the submerged bus and placed them on the roof.

Mr. Pettie managed to retrieve all but one child, a 7-year-old boy, from the murky waters that had imprisoned the bus. He was forced by near exhaustion and almost drowning to give up his attempts to save the boy.

Mr. Pettie's consideration of his fellowman is an outstanding example of courage and awareness of the value of human life. There is no honor too great for a person who would risk his life so that others may live.

At this point, I would like to commend to my colleagues the account of Mr. Pettie's brave actions as they appeared in the Brenhan, Tex., Banner-Press of May 16, 1966:

BUS WITH 16 STUDENTS HITS SLOUGH—ONE DROWNS—DRIVER RETRIEVES ALL BUT ONE FROM WATER

(By William O'Shea)

The stark drama of a race between tragedy and heroism struck without warning about 4:30 p.m. Friday as death by drowning claimed one child and heroism of a school teacher saved the lives of 15 others.

A Brenham Independent School District bus carrying 16 children and its driver plunged over an embankment, after a steering link snapped on the front end of the bus, and submerged in 8 feet of water claiming the life of 7-year-old David Bell, a first grade student, and son of Mr. and Mrs. Billy Bell of the Wesley Community.

The heroic action and desperate efforts of a 42-year-old school teacher, Henry Pettie, Jr., driver of the bus was credited with saving the lives of the 15 children who survived the tragedy. Five of the children were injured by cuts and bruises, but none serious.

The accident occured about seven miles west of Brenham on farm road 322 near the Wesely community.

Mr. Pettie said that as he approached what is called Slough bridge, which is part of Mill Creek, he heard something snap on the front end of the bus and immediately lost steering control with no chance of stopping the bus. He said the bus quickly "leaped over the embankment and plunged into the water and within 10 seconds the bus had submerged leaving only about eight inches of air space in the vehicle, as the children panicked and were fighting to stay up to the small area of air space."

"My first thought was getting the children to safety," said Pettie, but terror struck as his efforts to open the front door failed and none of the children could open the emergeny door in the rear of the bus.

He then swam from the front seat of the bus to the rear wit hall the speed he could muster and quickly opened the emergency door while pulling children along with him to allow them to escape as soon as possible.

After getting the two oldest of the group out and onto the top of the bus, Pettie said he grabbed the remaining children as fast as he could as the two older boys hoisted them to safety.

Nearing exhaustion Pettie said he discovered at once that one was still missing and shouted "My God, where is little David."

Instantly he plunged back into the murky waters that had inundated the bus, in a frantic search for the little boy, but to no avail. He said with all the strength at his command he furiously searched the waters in three attempts to find the boy and after almost losing consciousness and drowning himself, he was forced to give up and seek more help.

Pettie praised the heroic work of Guy McNeil, Jr. and Curtis Ray, both 16-year-old students at Pickard High School, for the tremendous job of controlling the children in an orderly fashion in the face of mortal danger. "Without their help, I dread to think how many lives might have been lost."

With the top of the bus loaded with children Pettie said they tried desperately to attract the attention of several passing cars, but apparently their cries for help went unheard.

Rosco MacGregor, a farmer driving a tractor was the first person on the scene but had no equipment to render aid. About that time a Houston man whose name he failed to get, stopped and with a cable from his car they managed to tie one end to the bus and the other to one of the posts on the highway and with this life line guided the 15 children to safety.

In a voice cracking with emotion, Mr. Pettie said the time involved in this tragedy while seeming like an eternity was over in not more than six or seven minutes, but the loss of little David brought sobs of agony as Pettie said this was the most terrifying experience in his life that surpassed anything including his service during the war.

Pettie said that when the bus was pulled out of the water hole it was discovered that David had apparently received a blow on the head as the bus plunged into the water and became trapped under one of the front seats. None of the children could swim, said Pettie although several tried and one little boy, Don Ray went under twice in the short span of time, forcing him to go after young Ray to prevent his drowning.

Pettie, who has been teaching mathematics at Pickard High School for 17 years, lives with his wife and two daughters at 1310 Lauraine Street. He said his love for children made the loss of little David a tragedy that left him grief stricken with a feeling of frustration even though he gave every ounce of strength he possessed desperately trying to save all 16 children.

Another school bus driven by Otto Janner Jr. along with two ambulances was sent to the scene of the accident. The two children who seemed at the time to be seriously injured were sent to the hospital in the ambulance. They were Barbara Brown, a third grader and Carl Johnson. All of the children were sent to a local hospital for treatment and examination, and with the exception of Barbara Brown, who suffered cuts and bruises, all were released to their parents.

Students riding the bus to their homes from Pickard High and Alton Elementary schools at the time of the accident included the dead youth David Bell, Erna Fay McNeil, Guy McNeil Jr., Carl Johnson, Ivis Johnson, Doris Brown, Barbara Brown, Delores Porter, Eugene Cloud, Shirley Cloud, Erna Fay Stokes, Barbara Ann Cloud, Curtis Ray, Don Ray and Lois Ray and the driver Henry Pettie Jr.

Pettie said that the buses of the Independent school receive periodic checkups and always are given prompt attention whenever trouble is detected.

The accident was investigated by Highway Patrolman Roy P. Moody and Sgt. Robert E. Grimmett. The officers said that a thorough investigation of the accident that claimed the life of the school child would be carried out.

Supt. H. W. Eikenhorst said today that after investigation of the accident, no reason could be determined for the breaking of the steering link.

"We have the buses checked once a month, thoroughly. After the accident the school mechanic could find no excess wear on the steering link," said Eikenhorst.

"Of the 54 miles the route covers, that particular spot is undoubtedly the most dangerous for steering failure," commented Eikenhorst.

The school papers and books scattered over muddy water under Slough bridge gave mute evidence of the battle for life that took place in the watery trap of the school bus that held 16 children and a teacher whose bravery in the face of terror and overwhelming odds single handidly delivered 15 of the group back home safely to their parents and by his unselfish action has earned the highest award this country can bestow on an American, for in this brief period, Henry Pettie Jr., stood tall as a man among men.

Save 70 Million Lives With Antimissile Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff have put a priority label on the development of an antimissile program, which will cost $30 billion and save 70 million lives.

The public is well aware of this vital and needed program. I have introduced legislation, H.R. 281, which would establish a broad civilian defense shelter program, an important part of the total antimissile system. The Department of Defense has been slow to approve this project, but I am hopeful the public will react to the critical demand for an overall civilian defense program to rival and pass the one Russia now has.

One of the public leaders in the fight for the antimissile program is the Orlando Sentinel, published in Orlando, Fla. I am plased to include in the Congressional Record the following editorial from that fine newspaper:

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, May 18, 1966]

How To Save 70 Million Lives

There appears to be quite a bit of difference of opinion between the Department of Defense itself and its secretary, Robert McNamara.

Up to now he has vigorously opposed nearly all measures to defend the people of the U.S. against atomic attack. Yet his own department says that without proper defense 130 million Americans would die in a nuclear-missile attack by Russia.

With an effective antimissile system, a full program of fallout shelters, 200 new fighter-inceerceptor planes, 200 more Minuteman missiles and a stepped up antisubmarine defense, our losses could be cut to 60 million—still a lot, we admit, but 70 million fewer than without the defenses.

The price tag for saving these 70 million Americans is put at $30 billion, or about $430 per person. That may seem high, but remember that is less than one-third of this year's national budget.

And the destruction of life and property which would result from an all-out attack on this country could not be measured except in the trillions. The $30 billion price tag is almost a discount, bargain price.

At the heart of the defense system is Nike X, a system of radars, computers and guided nuclear missiles—Sprint missiles manufactured by the Martin Co. at Orlando.

It is curious that Mr. McNamara believes a missile defense system against Red China has some merit, as does a nationwide fallout shelter program for 240 million Americans. His only objection to a broadscale Nike X program appears to be that he doesn't think Russia would risk all-out war with the U.S.

It is doubly curious he feels this way in view of the findings of our intelligence that Russia has been working for several years on an antimissile system and has started protecting Moscow with one.

The Armed Services Committees of Congress have voted to provide an additional $167.9 million for the Nike X program. The question now is whether Secretary McNamara will even use the money, since he has the power of veto as to what his department will or will not do.

In this connection, it is time President Johnson—who has the power of veto over Mr. McNamara himself—should step in and tell his defense secretary to get on with Nike X.

Suffolk University Alumni Admitted To Practice Before the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 16, 1966, I had the honor of being the guest speaker at a luncheon held here on Capitol Hill under the auspices of the Washington Metropolitan Area Chapter of the Suffolk University Alumni Association to honor 56 Suffolk University Law School alumni who were admitted on that day to practice before the Supreme Court.

The cochairmen of the event were two Suffolk University alumni who are well known on Capitol Hill, Gerard F. Devlin, class of 1959, legislative assistant to the Honorable Dominic V. Daniels, and Richard D. Hupmann, class of 1946, the Librarian of the Senate.

Also representing the Massachusetts delegation was my good friend and colleague, the Honorable Hastings Keith. Sharing the head table with us were the Honorable John E. Fenton, the president of Suffolk University who recently retired after 28 years as a judge of the Massachusetts Land Court, and Donald R. Simpson, dean of the Suffolk University Law School.

Among the Suffolk alumni admitted to practice on May 16 was the Honorable George V. Kenneally, Jr., the State senator who represents my hometown of Milton in the Massachusetts General Court. Also admitted to practice before the Supreme Court was another member of the State senate, the Honorable Stephen C. Davenport, of the Fifth Suffolk Senatorial District. Senator Davenport, a graduate of the Boston University Law School, also joined with the Suffolk group, but as Dean Simpson advised me, he has been a good friend of the Suffolk University for many years and the university was deeply honored by his presence.

Mr. Speaker, for more than half a century, Suffolk University, which was founded in September 1906, has provided an opportunity for young men and women to advance themselves in the business and professional worlds. Throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, thousands of successful men and women owe their achievements in life to the quality of training which they received inside the red brick buildings located behind the statehouse in Boston.

The Suffolk Law School, the first unit of the university, received its charter to grant degrees from the general court in 1914. The college of liberal arts was founded in 1934, the graduate school of law in 1935, the college of journalism in 1936, and the college of business administration in 1937.

Mr. Speaker, Suffolk has made great contributions to the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for many years, but I am sure that its greatest days lie ahead. On this occasion I would like to pay tribute to the fine faculty and administrative staff who have made this fine old school what it is today. Massachusetts is justifiably proud of all its many great institutions of learning, but even among this distinguished company Suffolk University stands out.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the Congressional Record the names of 56 outstanding young attorneys who have joined the ranks of those members of their profession who have been admitted to practice before the highest Court in the Nation:

Leonard N. Augello, 19 Fairmount Street, Winchester, Massachusetts.

Arnold S. Brown, Esquire, 18 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Pasqualino F. P. Caruso, Esquire, 161 Endicott Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Benjamin T. Connolly, 60 Exeter Street, Arlington, Massachusetts.

Nicholas C. Crossen, Jr., Esq., 25 Pierpoint Road, West Roxbury, Massachusetts.

David Walter DiNardi, Esquire, 131 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

George S. Drew, 168 Newport Street, Arlington, Massachusetts.

John E. Fenton, Esquire, 20 Derne Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Clifford Edward Elias, 20 Derne Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

John E. Fenton, Jr., Esquire, 20 Derne Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Irving Goodman, 73 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Francis Glynn, Esquire, 15 Court Square, Boston, Massachusetts.

Michael J. Harney, Esq., 176 H Street, South Boston, Massachusetts.

Frederick John Harris, 92 Landseer Street, West Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Murray Duncan Harris, Criminal Division, Department of the Attorney General, 41 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Harry P. Haveles, Esquire, 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Simon L. Horvitz, 381 Washington Street, Braintree, Massachusetts.

George Indelicato, Esq., 131 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

John Edward Kalsh, 213 Beaver Dam Road, Scituate, Massachusetts.

Bernard S. Kaplan, Esquire, 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

George V. Kenneally, Jr., Esquire, 512 Gallivan Boulevard, Boston, Massachusetts.

Norman Kerman, Esquire, 1 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Shirley May Kerman, 1 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Nicholas G. Krochmal, Esquire, 445 Brown Avenue, Manchester, New Hampshire.

Richard A. Leahy, State Street Bank and Trust Company, Boston, Massachusetts.

Eleanor L'Ecuyer, 6 Barclay Road, West Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Herbert Lemelman, Esquire, 20 Derne Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Rocco Liberatore, Jr., 23 James Street, Framingham, Massachusetts.

John E. Lonergan, 36 Oliver Street, Somerville, Massachusetts.

Mario J. Lucchesi, 150 Causeway Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Antonio Luongo, 100 Purchase Street, Fall River, Massachusetts.

Herbert S. Mades, Esquire, 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Baron H. Martin, Esq., 150 Causeway Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

John G. Miller, Esquire, 80 East Haverhill Street, Lawrence, Massachusetts.

Edward T. Monahan, Esquire, 44 Newport Street, Dorchester, Massachusetts.

John Petze, Esquire, Main Street, Norwell, Massachusetts.

Gerald G. Portney, Esquire, 55 Tremont Street, Room 446, Boston, Massachusetts.

Francis A. Pozzi, Jr., 7 Willow Street, Lynn, Massachusetts.

William J. C. Pucciarelli, Esquire, 41 Walnut Street, Newtonville, Massachusetts.

Frank Ramacorti, Esq., 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Irving J. Rich, Esquire, 665 Washington Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Paul Edward Ryan, 114 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Patrick Shaughnessy, Jr., 148 Bellevue Street, West Roxbury, Massachusetts.

Ashelen P. Senopoulos, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Miss Helen A. Smith, 91 Faneuil Street, Brighton, Massachusetts.

Jacob W. Smith, Esquire, 1137 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Rose Z.(orfas) Smith, 1137 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts.

Thomas L. Sullivan, Esquire, 21 Bentley Street, Brighton, Massachusetts.

Francis J. Tominey, 1073 River Street, Hyde Park, Massachusetts.

John H. Varney, Esquire, 2235 Belvedere Drive, Toledo, Ohio.

Laurence J. Walsh, Esquire, 13 Oakley Road, Watertown, Massachusetts.

Richard J. Walsh, Esquire, 131 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

George K. McKenzie, 777 Third Avenue, New York 10017, N.Y.

Roger James Wilson, Chandler Building, Machias, Maine.

George Raymond Drew, 168 Newport Street, Arlington, Massachusetts.

Philip C. Keefe, 350 Central Avenue, Dover, New Hampshire.

Flood Protection Progress for Our Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 27, 1966

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, last September a devastating hurricane—Betsy—struck my district and State. Recently I had the opportunity to appear before one of the leading civic federations in my area to give a report on the progress made since then in minimizing a recurrence of such a disaster. At that time I reviewed the work of the Congress and the other agencies in hurricane protection in some detail and under leave to extend my remarks I include my report in full:

FLOOD PROTECTION PROGRESS FOR OUR AREA

(Address of HALE BOGGS, Member of Congress, to the Civic Council of East Jefferson, Inc., Friday, May 13, 1966)

It is a great pleasure to be asked by your president, Mr. Blakeman, to meet with you this evening. Particularly, I am pleased to be asked to address this distinguished group of leaders of Jefferson Parish. For our area, there is no more important topic of discussion than the progress of flood control protection. I am very happy to report that we are making real progress in this vital work.

"So the hurricane passed—tearing off the heads of the prodigious waves, to hurl them a hundred feet in the air—heaping up the ocean against the land—upturning the woods. Bays and passes were swollen to abysses; rivers regorged; the sea marshes were changed to raging wastes of water. Before New Orleans the flood of the mile-broad Mississippi rose six feet above the highest water mark. One hundred and ten miles away, Donaldsonville trembled at the towering tide of the LaFourche. Lakes strove to burst their boundaries. Far-off river steamers tugged wildly at their cables—shivering like tethered creatures that hear by night the approaching howl of destroyers. Smokestacks were hurled overboard, pilot houses torn away, cabins blown to fragments."

This graphic description could have been hurricane Betsy as she struck Grand Isle and swept inland through south Louisiana. It easily could have been Betsy, but it wasn't. Rather it is Lafcadio Hearn's description, beautiful and awesome and terrible, of the giant tidal wave which raged out of the Gulf in 1856 and engulfed Last Island, some forty miles west of Grand Isle. Prior to that time, as you have read, Last Island was the fashionable resort spot on our coast where the people of New Orleans and the neighboring parishes enjoyed themselves on weekends and in the summertime. Every person who was dancing that night in August almost 110 years ago—dancing at the Last Island Hotel—was drowned by the hurricane tidal wave. Only one creature survived that furious storm—a cow. A tragic story, beautifully told. Of course, Lafcadio Hearn, in his book, *Chita: A Memory of Last Island*, relates the fictional survival of a young girl after this hurricane and tidal wave.

The Last Island tragedy was 110 years ago. In the century that has passed since then, south Louisiana has been hit by many powerful hurricanes. In 1893, the most terrible hurricane, in terms of loss of life to Louisiana citizens, ripped through Jefferson Parish just west of the Mississippi and killed some 2,000 people. That same year was the first year in which official United States Weather Bureau meteorological records were kept on hurricanes in our country.

In all the hurricanes which have struck south Louisiana since New Orleans was founded, more than 3,000 people have died. Since the terrible 1893 storm, some 44 or 45 hurricanes have hit the Louisiana coast and swept inland. This is an average of two hurricanes every three years. Since World War II, four hurricanes have pursued a course to bring death, injury and damage to Louisiana citizens and property. Those four storms came in 1947 (and many of you remember what that hurricane did to east Jefferson), in 1956 (Flossy), in 1964 (Hilda), and last year, of course, Betsy. As we all well know, Betsy was one of the most destructive natural disasters ever to strike anywhere in our country, in terms of property losses.

As an Army Corps of Engineers report notes, seventy-five per cent of the people killed in a hurricane die from the tidal wave whipped up by the violent winds. Furthermore, virtually all of the heavy property damage comes from hurricane flood waters.

Through their expert studies, the New Orleans district engineers, under the able direction of Colonel Tom Bowen who is with us tonight, have developed a standard Project Hurricane, which encompasses the salient feature and traits of a characteristic hurricane. With this information, the engineers have determined that Betsy could have brought much more havoc and destruction (if that's possible) had it taken the most "critical path." That most critical path, resulting in the most severe flooding, would have been straight out of the gulf towards New Orleans, then curving northeastward across Lake Borgne * * *.

In their report, the district engineers stated:

"Had Betsy followed this critical path, the results would have been catastrophic—almost beyond description. Suffice it to say that the damages to the Lake Pontchartrain and vicinity area from tidal overflow (excluding the wind damage) would have been at least four times greater than that which occurred from Betsy in the same area." A not too pleasant thought to say the least. It is extremely difficult for any of us to imagine a hurricane more devastating than Betsy.

All of you know too graphically how severe and destructive was Betsy. There is no need to recount in detail the devastating effects of that monster storm. For a quick recap: in loss of human life in our State, the number was 72. With Florida and Mississippi added, the death toll was 76. Louisiana citizens injured numbered 17,600—the total injury toll was 21,000. Property losses and Federal, State and local expenditures for rescue, relief and rehabilitation, exceeded $1 billion. The breakdown: Insurance companies paid out $897 million on property losses; governmental and Red Cross expenses were more than $186 million; and Federal property lost or damaged was almost $20 million.

As you have read, more than 138,000 personnel of the National Government, the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, civilian defense and many other groups, joined in the relief and restoration work after Betsy. But there were many more thousands of our own private citizens, like yourselves, who worked just as valiantly and devotedly to restore south Louisiana to full harness. You, as civic and business leaders of Jefferson Parish, are to be commended for your splendid role in helping to restore the parish to full operating order and to revitalize her forward march.

You all know what temendous growth and prosperity Jefferson is enjoying today. I have pledged myself—and I do again tonight—to do everything I can to assure that the people of this parish realize their full potential, and enjoy all the benefits available in this great country of ours. Jefferson Parish was my home for many years—both on the East and West Banks—as I grew to manhood. The people of this parish have always been close to my heart.

Hurricane Betsy is behind us. We all pray that our area will not face such a storm for decades to come, if ever again. But we cannot halt completely the forces of nature. We can only take constructive action to alleviate their effects. Natural disasters, as we know, will continue to strike. But we can—and we are—taking various positive measures to ease their impact and provide our people with greater protection. By so doing, our people and our area will be better able to rebound more quickly and effectively.

These steps being taken by your National Government, through Congress and with the cooperation of State and local governments and private industry, do not constitute "a hand-out." You and I and all the taxpayers of Louisiana are paying for these efforts, these programs. But they are well worth the price—and we will benefit by them.

To go back to Betsy's aftermath for just a moment, as you recall, the Congress enacted an historic piece of legislation after Betsy—the Southeast Louisiana Hurricane Disaster Relief Act. I say historic because it was the first time in the history of our country that Congress has ever passed legislation to give (retroactive) direct financial assistance—in the form of "forgiveness" on Small Business Administration loans—to citizens whose homes or other property were destroyed or damaged by any natural disaster.

This law "forgives" up to a maximum of $1,800 on disaster relief loans. I am pleased to report that, to date, more than 26,000 loans totalling $113.35 million have been approved by S.B.A. for our people. Of this sum, more than $30 million already has been "forgiven." Of the loans approved, 24,626 of them, totalling some $84.8 million, were for home repairs and restoration; and 1,376 loans totalling some $28.5 million were for business restoration and construction.

This legislation has done much for our people—but it helps to meet the distster after-the-fact. Until now, the National Government, through the Congress, has met some of the needs of disaster victims on a disaster-by-disaster basis. To date, there is no permanent and continuing disaster legislation enacted by Congress. This approach has not always been satisfactory to all concerned.

Senator LONG and I and others believe that natural disasters, such as Betsy, are really national in their scope and effects; they should be attacked with coordinated programs from the national level. Of course, the success of such programs depends upon the full cooperation and counsel of officials of State and local governments and of private industry.

Now, there are two principal avenues in progress to bring expanded and improved hurricane and flood water protection for our people.

First, I would like to discuss the work we are doing and the progress we are making with a study on the feasibility of a Government-supported disaster insurance program to cover damage by flood waters. When I say flood waters, I mean those waters from inland bodies (rivers, lakes, bayous, etc.) which overflow their banks, or those waters swept inland from the ocean or the gulf by hurricane winds. As you know, no such flood damage insurance is available today from any source, public or private. But the results of this study may provide our people and those of all America with the opportunity to buy, at reasonable rates, flood water protection.

Last fall when Senator LONG and I sponsored passage of the Betsy bill, we included in the legislation a directive that the new Department of Housing and Urban Development conduct an extensive study on the possibilities of establishing a national insurance program against flood waters. Included in this current study is a review of the now-dormant Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, enacted ten years ago by Congress, but never implemented.

In the Betsy bill, we directed that the study be concluded and recommendations submitted this summer, hopefully before the end of July. I am happy to tell you that officials of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Dr. Marion Clawson, are making good progress with this study. Dr. Clawson, who is a veteran of twenty years service in our Government, has told me that he is receiving splendid cooperation from all public and private organizations. He has had many meetings with other Federal departments and private company executives, including our own Ellie Schill of New Orleans, chairman of the disaster force committee of the National Association of Home Builders. Mr. Schill's association and the American Insurance Association are working closely with Dr. Clawson and his associates. Both associations support the establishment of such a national disaster insurance program. Officials of the Corps of Engineers, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and other Federal agencies also are joining in this effort.

Just prior to my trip home today, Dr. Clawson said he is planning a meeting early next month with a special advisory committee for this study. The committee will include representatives of insurance companies; insurance brokerage firms, banks and other lending institutions; general counsels to State governments and others.

This committee will provide needed advice and counsel on the report. Dr. Clawson and his assistants are thus bringing to this study the finest expertise and the best data that can be collected. I am most hopeful that we can take action on this report by drafting and enacting a bill before Congress adjourns this year. You can rest assured that Senator LONG and I and other members of our delegation will make every effort to achieve this important program for you and all the people of our State and Nation.

The second principal avenue for providing flood protection assistance for our area is the extensive hurricane protection plans and projects under way in the Lake Pontchartrain area.

One of the proudest achievements of my career in Congress has been to realize the completion of the Lake Pontchartrain levee project for East Jefferson, this levee-building project, which began about 16 or 17 years ago after the 1947 hurricane inundated vast areas of East Jefferson and Metairie, was completed earlier this year. The fine levees which the Army Engineers built along the south shore of the lake and between the Orleans and Jefferson line and the Jefferson and St. Charles line, have proved their worth three times in recent years.

Had these levees not been built, Hurricane Betsy surely would have driven lake waters into East Jefferson last September. The damage and destruction to your homes and businesses would have been much more severe. And the death and injury toll could have been higher. Earlier, Hurricane Hilda would have brought lake waters into the parish in 1964, as would Hurricane Flossy in 1956. But work on these levees had progressed far enough to prevent the flooding of East Jefferson.

After the 1947 hurricane I sponsored legislation to construct these protection levees. From the first appropriations for this worthy project, I have continued to press for additional funds to finish the job. Thank God the Army Engineers completed this project in such a splendid manner. Our National Government provided $6 million, and local agencies added some $3.13 million. I can tell you that I thanked God when I visited here the day after Betsy struck and saw the East Jefferson protection levees holding firm. I was grateful to all who had made this invaluable protection possible. What it meant in the saving of lives and property no one can tell.

But the completion of this project by no means ends the flood control and flood protection work for our area. In fact, for the Lake Pontchartrain area it is really only the beginning. What is to come in the years ahead will provide our area with the finest possible hurricane protection to be found anywhere in the world.

Now the Congress has approved a massive hurricane barrier plan for the entire Lake Pontchartrain and vicinity. Last October we secured in Congress the first funds—$450,000—to begin detailed planning for this immense project. The entire south shore of the lake will be ringed with flood protection walls in the years to come. These barriers will extend to the Chef and Rigolets at the east of New Orleans. Key earthen dams and flood gate control structures will be built at the Chef Menteur pass and the Rigolets. In addition, the existing levees along the Jefferson and Orleans south shore will be strengthened; a new levee will be constructed along the lakeshore for Citrus and New Orleans East; the protective works between U.S. Highway 90 and the gulf intracoastal waterway in Orleans Parish, and along the intracoastal waterway itself, and on both sides of the inner harbor navigation canal (industrial canal) will be improved. Further, the Chalmette area and downtown New Orleans below the industrial canal—the area hardest hit by Betsy—will be protected by an independent loop levee running down to Bayou Dupre and along the bayou to Violet. Another feature of the plan will be the construction of a Seabrook Lock.

In addition to the initial $450,000 in planning funds, I am working closely with the Corps of Engineers and members of the Louisiana delegation to obtain another $450,000 in planning money for the fiscal year beginning this July first. Beyond that, another $400,000 will be needed to complete the engineering plans for the barrier plan. The Corps of Engineers now estimates that the entire project will cost close to $100 million—with the National Government, through Congress, providing some $66 million and the local interests providing the balance.

In the coming fiscal year, it is hoped that actual construction can also begin in critical areas, not in my own district but adjacent thereto, where the immediate need is deemed the most severe. Including, among others, the levees for the industrial canal for the Chalmette area; and for the north bank of the Mississippi River-to-gulf outlet between the industrial canal and the Michoud plant.

This $100 million project is worth every penny, of that I can assure you. In fact, it is one of the best bargains your money can buy. With long experience and expertise in building flood control structures of all kinds, the Army Engineers have estimated that the benefit ratio of this project is 17 to 1—that is, for every dollar spent, 17 dollars will be returned in the savings which these flood control barriers and related facilities will provide. Furthermore, this benefit ratio is one of the highest ever to be computed for any flood control or flood protection project constructed by the Army Engineers.

It is important to point out that Senator LONG and I are also bringing the west bank into this hurricane barrier plan. At our urgence, the House and Senate Public Works Committees have approved resolutions for a study of flood control and hurricane protection needs for the west bank. The Corps of Engineers will conduct the study, so as to include all of the west bank in the hurricane protection plan.

We will act to provide a chain of connecting levees and other flood control works to help safeguard New Orleans, Gretna, Harvey, Marrero, Westwego, Bridge City, Lafitte, Barataria, Grand Isle, St. Charles Parish, and the remainder of the west bank. In other words, the west bank of Orleans, Jefferson, and St. Charles Parishes will be included in this hurricane barrier plan for the metropolitan area.

So, all in all, I believe we are making great progress in bringing the finest hurricane and flood control protection possible to our area. I am proud of the fine support which the people and the officials here at home are giving to this hurricane barrier plan. I look forward to working with you and the officials of the parish and our neighboring parishes to bring this worthy project to completion as soon as possible.

Freedom of Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, in the last week, two newspapers in my district printed editorials supporting the freedom-of-information bill.

I am inserting these statements in the Record, so that we can all take note of their views:

[From the Elizabethton (Tenn.) Star, May 17, 1966]

BIG GOVERNMENT NEEDS

Hopes are high in newspaper circles that Congress may soon pass the first "freedom of information" bill in many, many years.

There has been a bill of one form or another in both houses of Congress for the past several years. In 1964 one was passed overwhelmingly by the Senate but died in a House committee.

Last year, as a new two-year Congress session began, hearings were held before both House and Senate committees. They again had separate bills—one in Sen. EDWARD LONG's Senate Judiciary Committee, one in Rep. JOHN MOSS' House Government Operations Subcommittee. Again, the Senate passed its bill handily, but the House did not act during the portion of the session held last year.

But now it appears that the House is about to act on the Senate bill—that is, vote on the bill that the Senate has already passed without subjecting it to the added process of a conference committee (a committee to draw a single bill from both Senate and House versions).

This is the closest any of these bills has ever come to passage. It is a moment long awaited by many within the various newspapers organizations that have been working on the bills.

But not only newspaper associations. Last year, in the midst of the "free press and fair trial" debate between newsmen and attorneys, the American Bar Association joined with news groups in heartily endorsing the information bills.

The current bill is relatively mild. It would reemphasize the basic right of the public to free access to information about government agencies—and their policies and practices. But it would exempt military and diplomatic matters.

The bill's principles are open to interpretation and will likely be interpreted in many and opposite ways. But, very importantly, the bill now seemingly on the verge of approval would provide for prompt recourse to the courts by any newsman, or any individual or group who feels that information is being wrongfully withheld. This should be an effective restraint on those who would, when in doubt, withhold.

Having spent some little time ourselves lobbying for the Senate bill now before the House—Senate Bill 1160—including testimony before both House and Senate groups a year ago, the whole matter takes on a personal as well as a professional importance.

Primarily, these will eliminate foggy language now part of government directives on release of information. For example, some state that a government employe may withhold "for good cause." Now what does that mean? This new bill would be very specific about what may be withheld with all else presumed to be available.

Access to information about government has always been vital. But access to information about government becomes increasingly important the larger the government becomes and the greater its influence on the people.

And that is specifically what is happening right now.

[From the Bristol (Tenn.-Va.) Herald Courier, May 21, 1966]

INFORMATION BILL SHOULD BE PASSED

Freedom of the press, of course, is basic to America and its form of government. But freedom of information can be another thing indeed. The public's right to know may be frustrated by many and, unfortunately, often is.

For the past several years, Congress has considered and killed a number of "freedom of information" bills. This year, however, chances for success seem good and newspapers all over the nation are urging action. The bill in question has been passed by the Senate and a House vote appears imminent.

Considered a relatively mild step, the measure would re-emphasize the right of free access to information about government agencies, their policies and practices. It would exempt military and diplomatic matters.

Recourse to the courts would be provided for any person or group who feels information has been improperly withheld.

In short, the bill reasserts what the U.S. Constitution clearly sets forth. But because of the tendency of officials—particularly minor officials—to withhold because of doubt, the redundancy is necessary.

While newsmen all over America are openly lobbying for the measure, it is important to note that this is no "newspaper bill." It deals with information, a subject vitally important to every citizen. Since newspapers are the primary means of disseminating information in this nation, it follows that newsmen would have an abnormal interest in the progress of this particular proposal.

Still, this bill is important to everyone. It deals with the public's right to know. And since the public's right and the newspapers' right are, in this case, one and the same thing, support for the bill may be drawn from a wide spectrum of society.

The American Bar Association, for instance, has endorsed the "freedom of information" bill. This group—increasingly at odds with the American press of late—recognizes the clear need for open channels of information in government.

We hope every citizen shares this recognition. And particularly do we hope that a majority of Congress is aware of the problem and is ready to do something about it.

HAVEN, Inc.—Help Addicts Voluntarily End Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Robert W. Baird, is the founder of an organization known as HAVEN, Inc.—Help Addicts Voluntarily End Narcotics. This organization, under Dr. Baird's leadership, held its third annual dinner on May 14 in its drive to curtail and wipe out the narcotic habit. I present to my colleagues for consideration their program here set forth:

The Haven Fund was founded by a doctor who conducted a free ambulatory narcotics withdrawal clinic in his office for eight years in Harlem, the narcotics capital of the United States. In addition, a lecture and information center and a weekly parents' committee were developed.

Taking care of these addicts in the past 3 years, night after night from 10:00 p.m.–4:00 a.m. and when necessary and Saturdays and Sundays and having patients completely off narcotics, made him realize expanded facilities were urgently needed.

Dr. Robert Baird sought the aid of some responsible civic-minded citizens and he was fortunate to find a core of unselfish people willing to help. He has outlined a plan for seeking a hospital which will be voluntary and non-profit with a program directed at rehabilitation job procurement and 24-hour clinical services. This is an outline of its goals. The HAVEN Clinic is free to all who seek its help.

1. To procure a hospital in which to place drug addicts for a period of detoxification using other drugs rather than narcotics, except in the few recalcitrant cases, and to have ambulatory narcotics clinics not using narcotics for withdrawal.

2. After the period of detoxification in the hospital, to get the cooperation of unions, school systems, etc., to help teach and train these boys and girls for some vocation such as plasterers, carpenters, clerks, etc. (practical application of job interest).

3. After this period of training (six to eight months) during which time they are still at this hospital but in an informal set-up, they would then be allowed an afternoon or evening a week out, then to return to the hospital at night, gradually giving them more and more liberties after they have proven themselves.

4. If this period of one day a week has been successful, allow them a weekend at home so that temptation could be overcome and transition made easier.

5. During this time, if training has been successful or if they already have a vocation, we would then procure a job for them! At the end of the day they would return to the Haven center to sleep. The idea would be to gradually get them to have confidence in themselves and be able to withstand the temptation of the community.

6. The clinic is to be established on a 24-hour basis open at night so that if an addict should suddenly develop a compulsive craving or desire to return to the use of narcotics, he could talk it over with someone and in

this way help to get over the rough period. This will not be a 9–5 clinic. Addicts do not take drugs or develop problems on a 9–5 basis!

7. To disseminate the problem of narcotics and its ramifications to all concerned: public schools, churches, philanthropic organizations, parent groups, etc. by competent lecturers.

8. To further research in the field of drugs and the causes for taking them.

9. To employ hospital personnel who are dynamic and driving and whose appearance and demeanor are smart, bright and alert so that the addict can look up to these people as leaders and make some identification. Too many in this field now are sloven, nonarticulate and inspire nothing but chagrin and hopelessness.

10. Because of the magnitude of the narcotics problems with its social, economic and legal implications, discussions of possible programs directed toward cooperative solutions with other agencies have been omitted, but subsequent brochures will define these projects concerning summer camps, community social groups, restoring licenses, reclaiming endemic narcotics areas, etc.

CONTEMPLATED LEGISLATION [1]

11. Make illegal any cough medicine preparations containing codeine or any derivatives of opium unless prescribed by a doctor.

12. Impose economic sanctions on countries to whom we give foreign aid (green stuff) and who in turn then send us illicit exports of heroin (white stuff). They would then make an attempt to maintain better narcotics traffic control.

13. Legislation to the effect that all diplomatic personnel have baggage inspected by dual inspectors (country of his origin or his embassy plus our custom officers).

14. Levy a fine against the mode of transportation (ship, planes) in which the narcotics come, as well as a fine against unions who vouch for said individual. This would further more thorough screening of all personnel by employers and unions.

15. Inspection for possible heroin addiction of all personnel, (commercial or armed services) coming in and out of our country.

16. Unannounced physical examination of all elementary high school and college students in Sept., Jan. and June of each year to check for early addiction by inspecting arms and other sites, such as mouth, nose and fingers.

17. A part of hygiene courses from the 3rd grade on should incorporate the explanation of the advanced reactions of gluesniffing, heroin, goof balls, and pep pills, to let the youngsters actually know how very sick they can get on these medications, including the possibility of death. (Never make it bizarre or glamorous but factual and sobering.)

18. Revocation of the licenses of pharmacists who sell narcotics, cough preparations, derivatives of opium and other synthetic addicting drugs, barbiturates and amphetamines without a prescription. The penalty should be the same for the professional heroin pusher—50 years.

19. The penalty for the non-addict pusher should be 50 years without probation or parole. As a safeguard against those who would plead that they are addicts, urine analysis and blood tests should be given with careful observation for withdrawal symptoms over a period of ten days.

20. The illicit manufacturer of barbiturates, amphetamines, cough preparations which have been flooding the black market, should be classified in the same category as the professional drug pushers, and further, receive a 50 year sentence. All pills should have a lot number, manufacturer's name and code.

21. Redemption of various licenses for former drug addicts who are drug-free for one year or more.

22. Revocation of driver's license of known narcotics addicts who are actively using drugs.

23. Stiff penalties for any merchant who sells airplane glue to a child.

24. Development of M.D. narcotics specialists with probationary commitment powers.

25. Commitment to an institution of any drug addict by a family member.

26. The possession of LSD or marijuana must always be considered a felony. A lesser penalty would promote increased sales and increased use.

It is rather discouraging for HAVEN to note that there is a minority of uninformed doctors and othe professional who have access to radio and television. These men are minimizing the so-called mild effects of marijuana. At the same time they are saying that they themselves would willingly and casually experiment with LSD. We chastise these people severely since we have a most difficult problem in trying to convince high school and college students of the dangers of these drugs. The students often refute our warnings by quoting from these supposed "experts" who have never treated drug addicts and yet claim that these drugs are not dangerous.

Please help us get some of the above programs adopted. We have been advocating these approaches for the past five years in newspapers, on radio and on television. With your help and encouragement we can look forward to more rapid action.

It is felt if such a program as outlined were instituted, we might gain success in this field since that would be the first all-encompassing practical approach which has never before been employed.

To many years of contemplative research and statistic and meetings have passed while the problem continues to grow rampant.

We do not want a new generation to be born whose only outlook will be that there is a strong possibility of becoming addicted to this disease which we have been talking about for the past 50 years with no definitive action!

Let a positive approach to action be undertaken now!

Ellsworth Calls for New Look at Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting a statement by my able colleague, the Honorable ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of the State of Kansas, on the subject of U.S. policy in South Vietnam. Representative ELLSWORTH's statement follows:

ELLSWORTH CALLS FOR NEW LOOK AT VIETNAM POLICY

It is now time for the Johnson Administration to shape up in South Vietnam or get out.

As a Member of Congress I have repeatedly voted for measures to support our Armed Forces in Vietnam and to give the President all the authority he has asked for.

But I am rapidly losing confidence in this Administration's ability to see to it that our military operations are effectively backed up by the necessary political stability in Saigon. This, in turn, has undercut our efforts to move the Vietnam conflict from the battlefield to the negotiating table.

Over 400,000 people have already been killed in this war—yellow, white, and black.

More than 3,000 Americans have been killed.

We now have 300,000 Americans on the scene in Vietnam, and by the end of the year we will probably have 500,000.

Helicopters, air support, and modern firearms give our troops in Vietnam four to five times the striking power our soldiers had in World War II.

We have already dropped the equivalent of a ton of bombs for every Viet Cong soldier.

Since 1954, we have given over three billion dollars in aid to South Vietnam.

In March, 1963, General Harkins, then our Commanding General in South Vietnam, stated that the South Vietnamese Armed Forces had "all that is required for victory."

In May of 1963 the Pentagon told us: "The corner definitely has been turned."

In October, 1963, Secretary of Defense McNamara said: "The major part of the military task can be completed by the end of 1965."

Early in 1964 Secretary McNamara told Congress that neither more combat troops nor more money would be needed in South Vietnam.

Late in 1964, Secretary McNamara, returning from a personal inspection of Vietnam, said: "We have stopped losing the war."

A credibility gap exists between what the administration tells us and what actually happens.

After all these years, all these efforts, and all these sacrifices, there is no evidence that the American presence has brought political maturity or political stability to the people or the government of South Vietnam. Just the opposite is the case: anti-government riots have shown an alarming influence in the very cities we and the South Vietnamese regimes have claimed to control. The spring of this year has seen chaos, turmoil, and rioting in the streets of South Vietnam, and curtailment of our military operations because of it.

Soldiers and officers of the South Vietnamese Army have removed their uniforms and put on civilian clothes in order to participate in anti-American riots.

At the height of the riots, we began for the first time to experience a higher death rate among our own American troops than the South Vietnamese forces were sustaining themselves. The anti-Communist South Vietnamese were so busy wrangling among themselves that they didn't have time to fight the Communists.

The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese are close to winning the conflict in Vietnam on the political front.

Here at home, our Vietnam expenditures are largely responsible for the inflation that wracks our own country, for material shortages, and for government interference in wage and price decisions. The Vietnam War is a profound threat to our whole economy. When Chairman Gardner Ackley of the President's Council of Economic Advisors was before the Joint Senate-House Economic Committee on February 1 this year, discussing the President's Economic Report, he admitted in response to a question from me that he was "either ill-informed or a poor guesser about the trend of Vietnam expenditures."

Our dollar outflow to Vietnam accounts fore more than half of our present annual balance of payments deficit.

No matter how much military power we focus in South Vietnam, no matter how magnificent the morale of our fighting men is, no matter how much effort and sacrifice they pour into the Vietnam conflict, and no matter how much strain it put on our own society here at home, it will all be wasted unless the South Vietnamese can be effectively organized on a political basis. This the Johnson administration has failed to do.

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[1] These quotes are from "Narcoticsville, U.S.A." by R. W. Baird, M.D.; publisher Doubleday.

The political initiative in South Vietnam, in the sixth year of our American presence there, now rests with the anti-Americans.

If there is a single vital lesson to be drawn from our experience in Vietnam, it is that foreign aid for economic development plus foreign aid for military development are practically useless without a strong program of political development among the people we are trying to help. Unless the people of a country can learn to participate in politics—to band together for community projects—to build the forms of citizen action, which we in this country take for granted and which have been the source of our progress—unless the people of a country can do these things, then all the money in the world for economic development, and all the bombing and killing of which we are so clearly capable, cannot bring much progress or much stability. This lesson of Vietnam the Johnson Administration still has to learn.

Lack of political cohesion among the anti-Communist forces in South Vietnam is and has been for a long time our most immediate and pressing problem. The Johnson Administration has failed effectively to do very much about it.

This Administration must now make it perfectly clear to all political leaders in South Vietnam—religious and military alike—that we do not intend to fight on in Vietnam unless they can get their own house in order, stop fighting each other, and start fighting the Communists.

Neither the American people nor the Congress will support the war in Vietnam much longer, unless the South Vietnamese are required to and do make an effective effort to establish political stability.

The sacrifice of our men's lives can have meaning only if our purpose is clear and our efforts are not wasted.

I, therefore, propose:

1. The Johnson Administration must immediately ask and get reasonable political stability in South Vietnam; otherwise, we must prepare to withdraw and quit wasting the efforts and sacrifices of our troops and our people.

(a) The original agreement to hold elections in August for a Constituent Assembly to draft a national Constitution should not be delayed to September or October or some later date, despite "trial balloons" along that line recently floated from the Ky regime in South Vietnam.

(b) It must be made clear that we expect the Constituent Assembly to complete its task in a specified and reasonable length of time so that a representative government can be established.

(c) We must insist that the leaders of all major anti-Communist religious sects subordinate their differences to the immediate task of fighting the Communist threat to their freedom, if they expect us to help them.

(d) A firm pledge of loyalty to the government must be exacted from each military officer in the Vietnamese Armed Forces, with compelling sanctions against violation of such pledges.

(e) We should also require, from all the main factions, pledges of full cooperation in broad and intensive programs for educating the urban and rural people of South Vietnam so that a foundation is laid for them to be able to control their own destiny.

If the government and people in South Vietnam are unwiling to make and keep these pledges, the United States should withdraw its forces. We are not there to impose our will on the people of Vietnam. If the government and people of Vietnam are not willing to take the minimum steps necessary to achieve enough political stability so that they can fight effectively, then the sacrifice of American lives will serve no purpose.

2. At the same time the Johnson Administration must renew and redouble its efforts to move the Vietnamese conflict from the battlefield to the negotiating table. This, however, it must do against a background of reasonable political stability in South Vietnam and by the use of real and meaningful diplomacy.

Real and meaningful diplomacy is not the use of grandiose public relations efforts. A truce in Korea was made possible not by the dispatch of big-name Presidential envoys to hold press conferences in far-flung capitals of the world, but by a President who convinced the Communists that he sincerely desired to bring an end to the conflict.

The Suez Crisis was resolved, not by a flamboyant appeal for a U.N. debate which was never followed up by a real debate, but through a sincere effort to seek U.N. help to avoid a world crisis.

Successful negotiations for a test ban treaty did not come through spectacular Presidential journeys to Honolulu or other exotic spots, but through quiet, tough, patient diplomacy.

The twin pillars of peace in Vietnam are stability in Saigon and diplomacy in Washington. Peace cannot be secured without both.

It is now time for the Johnson Administration to require reasonable political stability in South Vietnam and to move the Vietnamese War from the battlefield to the negotiating table, or to get out of Vietnam.

Open Letter From the Archbishop of Washington, Patrick A. O'Boyle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the archbishop of Washington, the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, issued an open letter which specifically and beautifully stated the case against bigotry and discrimination in education, housing, job opportunities, and social life.

The letter is so eminently worthy that I thought all Members would be pleased to read it, and thus, I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON,
Washington, D.C., May 22, 1966.

DEARLY BELOVED IN CHRIST: As you well know, I have on more than one occasion spoken to you regarding the teaching of the Church on the moral aspects of civil rights. Most residents of the Archdiocese are familiar with precepts. However, the Washington area has many transients, and this is a continuing issue. It should be helpful to all of us, residents and visitors alike, to review briefly the spiritual basis on which the concept of social justice with charity is founded.

In the Gospels we read the following words of Our Lord, addressed to each one of us: "It is not the man who says to Me, 'Lord, Lord' who will enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he who does My Heavenly Father's will." (Matt. 7, 21)

Doing the will of God in this life is the price of our eternal reward. It is also the price of peace and contentment in our homes and our community.

We know what the will of God means in relation to our neighbor. It means treating him as a fellow son of God, recognizing him as an equal image of the infinite God who is our Creator, our Redeemer and our Judge. This fact was emphasized repeatedly by the Apostles in the society of their day, rife as it was with deep cleavages and animosities. St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians (3: 28) said, "For you are all the children of God through faith in Christ Jesus. For all you have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor freeman."

The Bishops of this country, in 1958, applied the doctrine of Christ to the social problems of today when they said, "The heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. If our attitude is governed by the great Christian law of love of neighbor and respect for his rights, then we can work out harmoniously the techniques for making legal, educational, economic, and social adjustments."

Thank God, great advances have been made in developing a Christian attitude in the field of civil rights, with consequent gains in equality in education, housing, job opportunities and social life. These gains are assurances that further progress is possible. But further progress is assured only if we continue to condemn individually the denial of equal housing, education and job opportunities as morally wrong, just as we condemn other sinful actions which are part of the crime wave afflicting so many of our great cities. Those who deny a neighbor, solely on the basis of race, the opportunity to buy a house, enjoy equal educational and job opportunities are in effect denying that right to Christ Himself.

As Christians, we cannot select which part of the moral law we are to obey. We cannot grant ourselves personal privilege or exemption from any part of it. We cannot be part-time Christians or partially-loyal Christians. We are brothers of Christ and sons of God only if we accept His law fully—and that means accepting the dignity of every other person. If any one of us is a son of God, everyone is a son of God—with the same duties and same opportunities.

To fulfill the law of Christ our attitude must be, "What can I do to help my neighbor—every neighbor but especially him who needs most my help?"

Faithfully yours in Christ,
PATRICK A. O'BOYLE,
Archbishop of Washington.

Mission of Mercy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR. Mr. Speaker, Davis Elkins, whose father and grandfather were U.S. Senators from West Virginia, has been in Vietnam for the past several months distributing 2,400 tons of relief supplies for the Vietnamese people as a gesture of good will from the Americans. In traveling around the country he found an orphanage at Di An which had no water supply system, so he had a water supply system built, and paid for out of his own pocket, next to the orphanage in order to save the children carrying water in buckets for about a mile and a half according to this report. Such actions and good deeds should be brought to the attention of us all:

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Post, Apr. 6, 1966]

Plaque at Orphanage in Vietnam Honors West Virginia Soldiers, Major Elkins

There's a shiny new plaque on the well of an orphanage at Di An in South Vietnam that reads: "Dedicated to the men of West Virginia who gave their lives in service to God and their country in the Republic of Vietnam. Also in memory of Major Davis Elkins, U.S. Army 7th Inf. Regt., Belleau Woods and Argonne Forest, France, 1916-1919."

Behind it there's quite a story, the story of a young West Virginian who went to South Viet Nam on a mission of mercy and found himself all but overwhelmed by the needs of the people of that war-torn nation.

The story came to light when former Morgantown radio announcer Bill (Bucky) Harris, now an Army lieutenant in South Viet Nam, ran into Davis Elkins, widely known in Young Republican circles, and a resident of Elkins when he isn't busy with his political and business interests. He's a WVU graduate whose father and granddad were U.S. Senators from West Virginia.

Lt. Harris reported the encounter in a letter to a friend James Welden, another former radio announcer.

Here's how Lt. Harris tells the story:

In case you didn't know it already, our good friend Davis Elkins has been here in Viet Nam for the past several months on a mission from the Young Republicans, the Young Democrats and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. He came here with 2,400 tons of relief suppiles for the Vietnamese people as a gesture of good will from the Americans. You'd never believe how badly this type of thing is needed and how much good it has done already.

Well, old Davis did some traveling around the countryside and he got pretty wrapped up in this place and its problems. They've got this orphanage over at Di An which houses over 400 children who lost their parents as a result of the war. He was there with Col. Lambert, who is pretty much of a legend in Viet Nam. He's only got one eye and he is a war hero in the past three U.S. conflicts. Right now he's free-lancing for the Army as a special assistant to Gen. Westmoreland with the mission of helping the Vietnamese people in any way possible. He's quite a colorful character and the Vietnamese people love him.

Before gooing to Di An, they had spent about a month traveling around the countryside supervising the distribution of the foodstuffs. Actually it was quite a venture for Davis because Col. Lambert is fearless and they went a few places where the proverbial "angels fear to tread." Some of the roads they traveled are only used by convoys normally, and then not without trouble from the VC.

They moved about in a pickup truck, just the two of them, with Davis reading two months old hometown papers to keep him from thinking of the possibility of VC reception committees. Col. Lambert insisted there was no real danger because he never moved an inch without his trusty pen knife for protection. They were quite the talk of III Corps.

As I started to tell you earlier, they were visiting this orphanage at Di An. You may have read about it in the papers. Two American sergeants were shot in the back, one fatally, while they were working there on their own time. They were from the First Infantry Division.

Anyway, Davis learned that the orphanage had no water supply system. Previously, they had carried water in buckets for about a mile and a half. I guess the kids sort of got to him. Before he left there, he had built and paid for, out of his own pocket, a water supply system next to the orphanage. Madame Ngai, a well-known Vietnamese philanthropist who built the orphanage, insisted that he have a plaque placed on the well. So, Elkins purchased a bronze plaque.

It was a tremendous help to Madame Ngai's orphanage and it really helped to convince the area U.S. intentions were directed at their welfare. It is impossible to place too much emphasis on American civic action and the results that it produces. The work that many Americans are doing over here on their own time and at their own expense is invaluable and it is easy to see that this type of thing must be done if we are to win the support of the Vietnamese people.

Davis will be going back to work in the States in a few days and Col. Lambert is expecting to retire pretty soon. III Corps is going to miss them to say the least.

Secretary McNamara's Credo: The United States Has No Mandate To Police the World and No Charter To Rescue Floundering Regimes Who Fail To Meet the Expectations of Their Citizenry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara delivered a historic speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Montreal, Canada, last week.

Among other things, Secretary McNamara said:

> The United States has no mandate from on high to police the world, and no inclination to do so. There have been classic cases in which our deliberate non-action was the wisest action of all.
>
> Certainly we have no charter to rescue floundering regimes, who have brought violence on themselves by deliberately refusing to meet the legitimate expectations of their citizenry.

I consider this one of the most important pronouncements emanating from the Johnson administration since the President took office.

I believe that all of those "nervous nellies" who have been sharpshooting at the President's policies and complaining that we have no policy ought to read Secretary McNamara's speech in its entirety. I should like particularly to call their attention to the quote cited above.

I believe that Secretary McNamara's unequivocal assertion that we do not intend to police the entire world should be a great source of comfort to those who, along with President Johnson, seek an end to world hostilities.

Mr. Speaker, I am placing Secretary McNamara's speech in the Record today in its entirety because I consider it one of the most significant pronouncements of our times. It spells out concisely the magnitude of our problems ahead, but it also makes clear the conditions under which this Nation will aid its allies.

Mr. Speaker, Secretary's McNamara's speech follows:

Address by Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, Before American Society of Newspaper Editors, Queen Elizabeth Hotel, Montreal, Canada, Wednesday, May 18, 1966

President Royster, ladies and gentlemen, any American would be fortunate to visit this lovely island city, in this hospitable land.

But there is a special satisfaction for a Secretary of Defense to cross the longest border in the world—and realize that it is also the least armed border in the world. It prompts one to reflect how negative and narrow a notion of defense still clouds our century.

There is still among us an almost eradicable tendency to think of our security problem as being exclusively a military problem—and to think of the military problem as being exclusively a weapons-system or hardware problem.

The plain, blunt truth is that contemporary man still conceives of war and peace in much the same stereotyped terms that his ancestors did. The fact that these ancestors—both recent and remote—were conspicuously unsuccessful at avoiding war, and enlarging peace doesn't seem to dampen our capacity for cliches.

We still tend to conceive of national security almost solely as a state of armed readiness: a vast, awesome arsenal of weaponry.

We still tend to assume that it is primarily this purely military ingredient that creates security.

We are still haunted by this concept of military hardware.

But how limited a concept this actually is, becomes apparent when one ponders the kind of peace that exists between the United States and Canada.

It is a very cogent example. Here we are, two modern nations: highly developed technologically, each with immense territory, both enriched with great reserves of natural resources, each militarily sophisticated—and yet, we sit across from one another, divided by an unguarded frontier of thousands of miles * * * and here is not a remotest set of circumstances, in any imaginable timeframe of the future, in which our two nations would wage war on one another.

It is so unthinkable an idea as to be totally absurd.

But why is that so?

Is it because we are both ready in an instant to hurl our military hardware at one another?

Is it because we are both zeroed in on one another's vital targets?

Is it because we are both armed to our technological teeth that we do not go to war?

The whole notion—as applied to our two countries—is ludicrous.

Canada and the United States are at peace for reasons that have nothing whatever to do with our mutual military readiness.

We are at peace—truly at peace—because of the vast fund of compatable beliefs, common principles, and shared ideals.

We have our differences and our diversity—and let us hope for the sake of a mutually rewarding relationship we never become sterile carbon copies of one another.

But the whole point is that our basis of mutual peace has nothing whatever to do with our military hardware.

Now this is not to say, obviously enough, that the concept of military deterrance is no longer relevant in the contemporary world.

Unhappily, it still is critically relevant with respect to our potential adversaries.

But it has no relevance whatever between the United States and Canada.

We are not adversaries. We are not going to become adversaries. And it is not mutual military deterrance that keeps us from becoming adversaries. It is mutual respect for common principles.

Now I mention this—as obvious as it all is—simply as a kind of reduction ad absurdum of the concept that military hardware is the exclusive or even the primary ingredient of permanent peace in the mid-twentieth century.

In the United States—over the past five years—we have achieved a considerably improved balance in our total military posture. That was the mandate I received from Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; and with their support, and that of the Congress, we have been able to create a strengthened force structure of land, sea, and air components—with a vast increase in mobility and materiel—and with a massive superiority in nuclear retaliatory power over any combination of potential adversaries.

Our capabilities for nuclear, conventional, and counter-subversive war have all been broadened and improved; and we have accomplished this through military budgets that were in fact lesser percentages of our gross national product than in the past.

From the point of view of combat readiness, the United States has never been militarily stronger.

We intend to maintain that readiness.

But if we think profoundly about the matter, it is clear that this purely military posture is not the central element in our security.

A nation can reach the point at which it does not buy more security for itself simply by buying more military hardware—we are at that point.

The decisive factor for a powerful nation—already adequately armed—is the character of its relationships with the world.

In this respect, there are three broad groups of nations: first, those that are struggling to develop; secondly, those free nations that have reached a level of strength and prosperity that enables them to contribute to the peace of the world; and finally, those nations who might be tempted to make themselves our adversaries.

For each of these groups, the United States—to preserve its own intrinsic security—has to have distinctive sets of relationships.

First, we have to help protect those developing countries which genuinely need and request our help, and which—as an essential precondition—are willing and able to help themselves.

Second, we have to encourage and achieve a more effective partnership with those nations who can and should share international peace-keeping responsibilities.

Third, we must do all we realistically can to reduce the risk of conflict with those who might be tempted to take up arms against us.

Let us examine these three sets of relationships in detail.

First, the developing nations.

Roughly 100 countries today are caught up in the difficult transition from traditional to modern societies.

There is no uniform rate of progress among them, and they range from primitive mosaic societies—fractured by tribalism and held feebly together by the slenderest of political sinews—to relatively sophisticated countries, well on the road to agricultural sufficiency and industrial competence.

This sweeping surge of development, particularly across the whole southern half of the globe, has no parallel in history.

It has turned traditionally listless areas of the world into seething cauldrons of change.

On the whole, it has not been a very peaceful process.

In the last eight years alone there have been no less than 164 internationally significant outbreaks of violence—each of them specifically designed as a serious challenge to the authority, or the very existence, of the government in question. 82 different governments have been directly involved.

What is striking is that only 15 of these 164 significant resorts to violence have been military conflicts between two states.

And not a single one of the 164 conflicts has been a formally-declared war.

Indeed, there has not been a formal declaration of war—anywhere in the world—since World War II.

The planet is becoming a more dangerous place to live on—not merely because of a potential nuclear holocaust—but also because of the large number of de facto conflicts and because the trend of such conflicts is growing rather than diminishing.

At the beginning of 1958, there were 23 prolonged insurgencies going on about the world. As of February 1, 1966, there were 40.

Further, the total number of outbreaks of violence has increased each year: in 1958, there were 34; in 1965, there were 58.

But what is most significant of all is that there is a direct and constant relationship between the incidence of violence and the economic status of the countries afflicted.

The World Bank divides nations, on the basis of per capita income, into four categories: rich, middle-income, poor, and very poor.

The rich nations are those with a per capita income of $750 per year or more. The current U.S. level is more than $2700. There are 27 of these rich nations. They possess 75% of the world's wealth, though roughly only 25% of the world's population.

Since 1958, only one of these 27 nations has suffered a major internal upheaval on its own territory.

But observe what happens at the other end of the economic scale. Among the 38 very poor nations—those with a per capita income of under $100 a year—no less than 32 have suffered significant conflicts. Indeed, they have suffered an average of two major outbreaks of violence per country in the eight year period. That is a great deal of conflict.

What is worse, it has been, predominantly, conflict of a prolonged nature.

The trend holds predictably constant in the case of the two other categories: the poor, and the middle-income nations. Since 1958, 87% of the very poor nations, 69% of the poor nations, and 48% of the middle-income nations have suffered serious violence.

There can, then, be no question but that there is an irrefutable relationship between violence and economic backwardness. And the trend of such violence is up, not down.

Now, it would perhaps be somewhat reassuring if the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations were closing; and economic backwardness were significantly receding.

But it is not. The economic gap is widening.

By the year 1970, over one half of the world's total population will live in the independent nations sweeping across the southern half of the planet. But this hungering half of the human race will by then command only one-sixth of the world's total of goods and services.

By the year 1975, the dependent children of these nations alone—children under 15 years of age—will equal the *total* population of the developed nations to the north.

Even in our own abundant societies, we have reason enough to worry over the tensions that coil and tighten among underprivileged young people, and finally flail out in delinquency and crime. What are we to expect from a whole hemisphere of youth where mounting frustrations are likely to fester into eruptions of violence and extremism?

Annual per capita income in roughly half of the 80 underdeveloped nations that are members of the World Bank is rising by a paltry one per cent a year or less. By the end of the century, these nations—at their present rates of growth—will reach a per capita income of barely $170 a year. The United States, by the same criteria, will attain a per capita income of $4,500.

The conclusion to all of this is blunt and inescapable: given the certain connection between economic stagnation and the incidence of violence, the years that lie ahead for the nations in the southern half of the globe are pregnant with violence.

This would be true even if no threat of Communist subversion existed—as it clearly does.

Both Moscow and Peking—however harsh their internal differences—regard the whole modernization process as an ideal environment for the growth of communism. Their experience with subversive internal war is extensive; and they have developed a considerable array of both doctrine and practical measures in the art of political violence.

What is often misunderstood is that communists are capable of subverting, manipulating, and finally directing for their own ends the wholly legitimate grievances of a developing society.

But it would be a gross oversimplification to regard communism as the central factor in every conflict throughout the underdeveloped world. Of the 149 serious internal insurgencies in the past eight years, communists have been involved in only 58 of them—38% of the total—and this includes seven instances in which a Communist regime itself was the target of the uprising.

Whether communists are involeved or not, violence anywhere in a taut world transmits sharp signals through the complex ganglia of international relations; and the security of the United States is related to the security and stability of nations half a globe away.

But neither conscience nor sanity itself suggests that the United States is, should, or could be the Global Gendarme.

Quite the contrary, experience confirms what human nature suggests: that in most instances of internal violence, the local people themselves are best able to deal directly with the situation within the framework of their own traditions.

The United States has no mandate from on high to police the world, and no inclination to do so. There have been classic cases in which our deliberate non-action was the wisest action of all.

Where our help is not sought, it is seldom prudent to volunteer.

Certainly we have no charter to rescue floundering regimes, who have brought violence on themselves by deliberately refusing to meet the legitimate expectations of their citizenry.

Further, throughout the next decade advancing technology will reduce the requirement for bases and staging rights at particular locations abroad, and the whole pattern of forward deployment will gradually change.

But—though all these caveats are clear enough—the irreducible fact remains that our security is related directly to the security of the newly developing world.

And our role must be precisely this: to help provide security to those developing nations which genuinely need and request our help, and which demonstrably are willing and able to help themselves.

The rub comes in this: we do not always grasp the meaning of the word security in this context.

In a modernizing society, security means development.

Security is not a military hardware—though it may include it. Security is not military force—though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity—though it may encompass it.

Security is development.

Without development, there can be no security.

A developing nation that does not in fact develop simply cannot remain "secure."

It cannot remain secure for the intractable reason that its own citizenry cannot shed its human nature.

If security implies anything, it implies a minimal measure of order and stability.

Without internal development of at least a minimal degree, order and stability are simply not possible. They are not possible because human nature cannot be frustrated beyond intrinsic limits. It reacts—because it must.

Now, that is what we do not always understand; and that is also what governments of modernizing nations do not always understand.

But by emphasizing that security arises from development, I do not say that an underdeveloped nation cannot be subverted from within; or be aggressed upon from without; or be the victim of a combination of the two.

It can. And to prevent any or all of these conditions, a nation does require appropriate military capabilities to deal with the specific problem. But the specific military problem is only a narrow facet of the broader security problem.

Military force can help provide law and order—but only to the degree that a basis for law and order already exists in the developing society; a basic willingness on the part of the people to cooperate.

The law and order is a shield, behind which the central fact of security—development—can be achieved.

Now we are not playing a semantic game with these words.

The trouble is that we have been lost in a semantic jungle for too long. We have come to identify "security" with exclusively military phenomena; and most particularly with military hardware.

But is just isn't so. And we need to accommodate to the facts of the matter, if we want to see security survive and grow in the southern half of the globe.

Development means economic, social, and political progress. It means a reasonable standard of living—and the word "reasonable" in this context requires continual redefinition. What is "reasonable" in an earlier stage of development will become "unreasonable" in a later stage.

As development progresses, security progresses; and when the people of a nation have organized their own human and natural resources to provide themselves with what they need and expect out of life—and have learned to compromise peacefully among competing demands in the larger national interest—then, their resistance to disorder and violence will be enormously increased.

Conversely, the tragic need of desperate men to resort to force to achieve the inner imperatives of human decency will diminish.

Now, I have said that the role of the United States is to help provide security to these modernizing nations—providing they need and request our help; and are clearly willing and able to help themselves.

But what should our help be?

Clearly, it should be help towards development. In the military sphere, that involves two broad categories of assistance.

We should help the developing nation with such training and equipment as is necessary to maintain the protective shield behind which development can go forward.

The dimensions of that shield vary from country to country; but what is essential is that it should be a shield, and not a capacity for external aggression.

The second—and perhaps less understood category of military assistance in a modernizing nation—is training in civic action.

"Civic action" is another one of those semantic puzzles. Too few Americans—and too few officials in developing nations—really comprehend what military civic action means.

Essentially, it means using indigenous military forces for non-traditional military projects—projects that are useful to the local population in fields such as education, public works, health, sanitation, agriculture—indeed, anything connected with economic or social progress.

It has had some impressive results. In the past four years, the U.S. assisted civic action program, worldwide, has constructed or repaired more than 10,000 miles of roads; built over 1,000 schools; hundreds of hospitals and clinics; and has provided medical and dental care to approximately four million people.

What is important is that all this was done by indigeneous men in uniform. Quite apart from the developmental projects themselves, the program powerfully alters the negative image of the military man, as the oppressive preserver of the stagnant status quo.

But assistance in the purely military sphere is not enough. Economic assistance is also essential. The President is determined that our aid should be hard-headed and rigorously realistic; that it should deal directly with the roots of under-development, and not merely attempts to alleviate the symptoms. His bedrock principle is that U.S. economic aid—no matter what its magnitude—is futile unless the country in question is resolute in making the primary effort itself. That will be the criterion, and that will be the crucial condition for all our future assistance.

Only the developing nations themselves can take the fundamental measures that make outside assistance meaningful. These measures are often unpalatable—and frequently call for political courage and decisiveness. But to fail to undertake painful, but essential, reform inveitably leads to far more painful revolutionary violence. Our economic assistance is designed to offer a reasonable alternative to that violence. It is designed to help substitute peaceful progress for tragic internal conflict.

The United States intends to be compassionate and generous in this effort, but it is not an effort it can carry exclusively by itself. And thus it looks to those nations who have reached the point of self-sustaining prosperity to increase their contribution to the development—and, thus, to the security—of the modernizing world.

And that brings me to the second set of relationships that I underscored at the outset; it is the policy of the United States to encourage and achieve a more effective partnership with those nations who can, and should, share international peace-keeping responsibilities.

America has devoted a higher proportion of its gross national product to its military establishment than any other major free world nation. This was true even before our increased expenditures in Southeast Asia.

We have had, over the last few years, as many men in uniform as all the nations of Western Europe combined—even though they have a population half again greater than our own.

Now, the American people are not going to shirk their obligations in any part of the world, but they clearly cannot be expected to bear a disproportionate share of the common burden indefinitely.

If, for example, other nations genuinely believe—as they say they do—that it is in the common interest to deter the expansion of Red China's economic and political control beyond its national boundaries, then they must take a more active role in guarding the defense perimeter.

Let me be perfectly clear: this is not to question the policy of neutralism or nonalignment of any particular nation. But it is to emphasize that the independence of such nations can—in the end—be fully safeguarded only by collective agreements among themselves and their neighbors.

The plain truth is the day is coming when no single nation, however powerful, can undertake *by itself* to keep the peace outside its own borders. Regional and international organizations for peace-keeping purposes are as yet rudimentary; but they must grow in experience and be strengthened by deliberate and practical cooperative action.

In this matter, the example of Canada is a model for nations everywhere. As Prime Minister Pearson pointed out eloquently in New York just last week: Canada "is as deeply involved in the world's affairs as any country of its size. We accept this because we have learned over 50 years that isolation from the policies that determine war does not give us immediately from the bloody, sacrificial consequences of their failure. We learned that in 1914 and again in 1939 . . . That is why we have been proud to send our men to take part in every peace-keeping operation of the United Nations—in Korea, and Kashmir, and the Suez, and the Congo, and Cyprus."

The Organization of the American States in the Dominican Republic, the more than thirty nations contributing troops or supplies to assist the Government of South Vietnam, indeed even the parallel efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Pakistan-India conflict—these efforts, together with those of the U.N., are the first attempts to substitute multinational for unilateral policing of violence. They point to the peace-keeping patterns of the future.

We must not merely applaud the idea. We must dedicate talent, resources, and hard practical thinking to its implementation.

In Western Europe—an area whose burgeoning economic vitality stands as a monument to the wisdom of the Marshall Plan—the problems of security are neither static nor wholly new. Fundamental changes are under way, though certain inescapable realities remain.

The conventional forces of NATO, for example, still require a nuclear backdrop far beyond the capability of any Western European nation to supply, and the United States is fully committed to provide that major nuclear deterrent.

However, the European members of the Alliance have a natural desire to participate more actively in nuclear planning. A central task of the Alliance today is, therefore, to work out the relationships and institutions through which shared nuclear planning can be effective. We have made a practical and promising start in the Special Committee of NATO Defense Ministers.

Common planning and consultation are essential aspects of any sensible substitute to the unworkable and dangerous alternative of independent national nuclear forces within the Alliance.

And even beyond the Alliance, we must find the means to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. That is a clear imperative.

There are, of course, risks in non-proliferation arrangements; but they cannot be compared with the infinitely greater risks that would arise out of the increase in national nuclear stockpiles.

In the calculus of risk, to proliferate independent national nuclear forces is not a mere arithmetical addition of danger. We would not be merely adding up risks. We would be insanely multiplying them.

If we seriously intend to pass on a world to our children that is not threatened by nuclear holocaust, we must come to grips with the problem of proliferation.

A reasonable nonproliferation agreement is feasible. For there is no adversary with whom we do not share a common interest in avoiding mutual destruction triggered by an irresponsible nth power.

That brings me to the third and last set of relationships the United States must deal with: Those with nations who might be tempted to take up arms against us.

These relationships call for realism. But realism is not a hardened, inflexible, unimaginative attitude. The realistic mind is a restlessly creative mind—free of naive delusions, but full of practical alternatives.

There are practical alternatives to our current relationships with both the Soviet Union and Communist China.

A vast ideological chasm separates us from them—and to a degree, separates them from one another.

There is nothing to be gained from our seeking an ideological rapproachement; but breaching the isolation of great nations like Red China, even when that isolation is largely of its own making, reduces the danger of potentially catastrophic misunderstandings, and increases the incentive on both sides to resolve disputes by reason rather than by force.

There are many ways in which we can build bridges toward nations who would cut themselves off from meaningful contact with us. We can do so with properly balanced trade relations, diplomatic contacts, and in some cases even by exchanges of military observers.

We have to know where it is we want to place this bridge; what sort of traffic we want to travel over it; and on what mutual foundations the whole structure can be designed.

There are no one-cliff bridges. If you are going to span a chasm, you have to rest the structure on both cliffs.

Now cliffs, generally speaking, are rather hazardous places. Some people are afraid even to look over the edge. But in a thermonuclear world, we cannot afford any political acrophobia.

President Johnson has put the matter squarely. By building bridges to those who make themselves our adversaries, "we can help gradually to create a community of interest, a community of trust, and a community of effort."

With respect to a "community of effort" let me suggest a concrete proposal for our own present young generation in the United States.

It is a committed and dedicated generation: it has proven that in its enormously impressive performance in the Peace Corps overseas; and in its willingness to volunteer for a final assault on such poverty and lack of opportunity that still remain in our own country.

As matters stand, our present Selective Service System draws on only a minority of eligible young men.

That is an inequity.

It seems to me that we could move toward remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad.

We could encourage other countries to do the same; and we could work out exchange programs—much as the Peace Corps is already planning to do.

While this is not an altogether new suggestion, it has been criticized as in appropriate while we are engaged in a shooting war.

But I believe precisely the opposite is the case. It is more appropriate now than ever. For it would underscore what our whole purpose is in Vietnam—and indeed anywhere in the world where coercion, or injustice, or lack of decent opportunity still holds sway.

It would make meaningful the central concept of security: a world of decency and development—where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.

Mutual interest—mutual trust—mutual effort; those are the goals. Can we achieve those goals with the Soviet Union, and with Communist China? Can they achieve them with one another?

The answer to these questions lies in the answer to an even more fundamental question.

Who is man?

Is he a rational animal?

If he is, then the goals can ultimately be achieved.

If he is not, then there is little point in making the effort.

All the evidence of history suggests that man is indeed a rational animal—but with a near infinite capacity for folly. His history seems largely a halting, but persistent, effort to raise his reason above his animality.

He draws blueprints for Utopia. But never quite gets it built. In the end, he plugs away obstinately with the only building material really ever at hand: his own part-comic, part-tragic, part-cussed, but part-glorious nature.

I, for one, would not count a global free society out.

Coercion, after all, merely captures man. Freedom captivates him.

Thank you very much.

NLRB Disregards the Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the records are becoming replete with questionable actions on the part of the National Labor Relations Board. Scores of instances are piling up which strongly indicate repeated misuse of authority and the assumption of unwarranted power on the part of the NLRB and its regional offices.

Today I desire to add another instance to the record of cases that have been badly mishandled. I have sought and obtained factual information relating to it. I am referring to a case involving Patio Foods, Inc., of San Antonio. Here is a brief chronology of some events which strongly indicates prejudice and prejudgment of issues on the part of the NLRB and its employees:

In February 1965, the company was notified that a union, the IUE, was undertaking an organizational effort in its plant.

The company, in June, requested an election from NLRB, and an election was held on July 22, 1965. The union was soundly defeated, by a margin of 235 to 160.

In September the company learned that some 23 charges of unfair labor practices had been filed against it, following the election.

On December 8, 1965, the company received a notice from the NLRB in Houston to the effect that the NLRB had refused to certify the election, and cited three of the charges as the reason, without any ruling on the other 20 that were pending.

Then, on December 10, 1965, the company wrote to Mr. Clifford Potter, NLRB's Houston Regional Director, and pointed out the following coincidences:

First. That it took the Board 139 days to give a decision on the election; whereas in an other election, involving another company, held about the same time as the one at the Patio Foods plant, where the union won, the Board gave its decision in only 77 days.

Second. That it was unusual that the decision in the Patio Foods case was held within 1 week before the same union involved was holding an election at Standard Electric in San Antonio, which contest was widely used as propaganda designed to influence the election at Patio Foods.

Third. That organizers of the union in the company's plant circulated rumors about future developments against the company, and did so several days before the company received any information from the NLRB's office.

Another coincidence occurred on the afternoon of the day the regional director received the letter from the company: that afternoon the company's attorney received a telephone call from Potter's assistant in Houston advising him it had been decided to file 13 more unfair labor practice charges, all relating to the previous June and July.

This was followed by the appearance, within 3 days, of two men in the company's San Antonio plant, who filed three more unfair labor practice charges.

Mr. Speaker, the unsavory manner in which the NLRB's Houston office handled this case is highly suspect. It smacks of prejudice and a total lack of judicial temperament. Obviously, the filing of the new charges was a form of retaliation against the company because of the writing of the letter to Potter on December 10. This conduct was, on its face, highhanded and reprehensible. Here we have every indication of a conspiracy on the part of the NLRB's regional office, which in conjunction with the defeated and disgruntled union, seemed determined to make life miserable for the management of Patio Foods.

If the NLRB has any desire to be fair and judicial in the discharge of its functions under the law, the regional office in Houston should be thoroughly investigated. The director there should be either discharged or admonished to desist from repeating such practices in the future.

Most of the charges of unfair labor practices in connection with plant elections relate to expressions by management. Surely members of the NLRB know, or should know, that the rights of freedom of speech by management, as well as that of labor, was spelled out in a law enacted by the Congress in 1947. Let us here refer to the wording of section 8(c) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which states:

> The expressing of any views, argument, or opinion, or the dissemination thereof, whether in written, printed, graphic, or visual form, shall not constitute or be evidence of an unfair labor practice under any of the provisions of this Act, if such expression contains no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit.

Yet we know that despite the clear and concise wording and meaning of the law, with respect to freedom of speech on the part of management, the NLRB, in case after case, ignores that provision in its interpretation of charges relating to unfair labor practices.

How long is the Congress going to countenance this practice? Several bills are pending in the Congress now which would overhaul the NLRB and create a fair and responsible agency to handle labor-management issues. The one and only function of such an agency should be to interpret the law the Congress has enacted, and do so in a fair and judicious manner.

Let us hope that the Supreme Court will resolve this issue in a responsible manner when decisions on several cases now pending before that tribunal are handed down. And let us hope that the members of the NLRB will do some soul searching and recognize the legal limitations of their authority in the performance of their duties. The public interest can ask no more and can be satisfied with nothing less.

Hearings Held in Minneapolis on War in Vietnam—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, two additional experts appeared at the Minneapolis hearings on Vietnam which I conducted. One is Edward Coen, associate professor of economics at the University of Minnesota, and the other is Carl A. Auerbach, professor of law at the University of Minnesota. Their role was to summarize and comment on questions brought up by the previous speakers.

The summaries follow:

EDWARD COEN, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

PROFESSOR COEN. I would like to address myself to the problem of the proper terms of settlement.

We have said to the Communists that all we want them to do is to get out of South Viet Nam and they have said to us that all they want us to do is to get out of South Viet Nam and it is hard to see what sort of compromise in the middle of those two demands is feasible.

It's something like the Cuban Missile crisis. Khrushchev wanted to put fifty missiles on Cuba and we didn't want any and looking back it doesn't seem as though he would have settled for twenty-five.

Now, if this is the case then we have to give much more thought to the gravity of this situation than would be the case if there were some middle ground and I want to argue that if it is necessary to get out of Viet Nam in order to prevent the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives I think we should leave.

We may be able to find some face saving device, and if we can that will be all to the good but nevertheless as of now I would say we ought to leave.

Now, it is felt that this would be a terrible blow to our prestige and again I'd like to mention again what happened in Cuba. Khrushchev backed down one hundred per cent and you would think that would ruin his prestige from then on, but if you will think about it, as a result of what he did we, without being conscious of the fact, came to realize that he was a rational man, not given to total recklessness, and we began to feel much more secure than we had before.

In fact, we began to feel so secure with him that we were upset when he was turned out of power later on by his fellow Communists and I believe that the rest of the world regards this present problem in the same light.

Our newspapers have not told us this, but most countries in the world, almost every country in the world, thinks that our conduct in this affair is barbaric and reckless and they would be most reassured if we were to pull out and prove that we have a moral responsibility that goes with the holding of the greatest amount of military power.

Now, I'd like to develop the arguments in favor of our withdrawal. One argument that has been given for us staying there goes as follows:

Secretary Rusk has said we are not in Viet Nam to save face; we are there to save South Viet Nam; and I would like—well, none of us are against salvation—but I would like to examine more carefully what he means by saving the South Vietnamese.

SAVING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE

You may have noticed a few months ago that at a press conference General Ky said that the man he most admired in the world was Adolph Hitler and what South Viet Nam needed was another Adolph Hitler. Moreover, General Ky is not unrepresentative of the social class from which he comes and whose power we are engaged in protecting; that class which will rule South Viet Nam when we have won our war and left: That class, by the almost unanimous testimony of responsible American observers in that country, is corrupt and selfish and totally without social conscience.

Now, the question is as follows: How many people are we prepared to ask to die, how many people are we prepared to kill so that the survivors can live under a right wing dictatorship by General Ky instead of a left wing dictatorship headed by Ho Chi Minh? What is the margin of superiority of the Saigon Government over the Hanoi Government which justifies us in committing all this brutality and killing all these people?—And not merely just our own soldiers?

NATURE OF THE WAR

The next point I'd like to make concerns the nature of the war that we are fighting. You all remember a few weeks ago that we bombed by mistake a little Village called Deduc and when one of the fighter pilots was interviewed afterwards he described how he peeled off and went in to attack the Village. "I could see people standing around in the street," he said, "but that wasn't unusual; I have seen people before in similar attacks."

O.K. What does that mean? It means that when the Viet Cong go to a Village and ask for food or ask the Villagers to nurse their wounded or just to shelter them, that Village becomes unfriendly and that's the Village that we are entitled to bomb and we go over there and even if they are standing around in the streets we drop our phosphorous bombs on their children.

I'd like to read to you a piece from the New York Times a few days ago. The headline is: "Rumble Depicts the Agony of a Town in Viet Nam":

"Do Son is a complex of five prosperous fishing hamlets set among fruit groves on the beach. In mid-August United States and Vietnamese Military Officers decided that the Communists were using Do Son as a base. Now, if they want to use it as a base they don't ask the mayor if they can come in. They come in regardless. So, the next two months until the Viet Cong finally withdrew it was periodically and ferociously shelled by 7th Fleet Destroyers and bombed by Vietnamese and American planes.

"Vietnamese Government Officials are certain that at least one hundred and eighty-four civilians died, but they conceded that because of lack of records and because the confusion is still great no one really knows how many. Some reasonable estimates run as high as six hundred. The number of wounded is also not known but is believed much higher than six hundred.

"When an American visits Do Son these days the Villagers seem to find a peculiar relief in telling horror stories of how many of the inhabitants were killed by bombs and shells.

" 'There,' said a fisherman pointing to a bomb crater beside a ruined house, 'a woman and her six children were killed in a bomb shelter when it got a direct hit.'

"At least ten other hamlets in this heavily populated province of about seven hundred thousand persons have been destroyed as thoroughly as the five in Do Son. Each month six hundred to a thousand civilians wounded by bomb shells and Napalm are brought to the provincial hospital. Officials say that about thirty per cent of these cases require major surgery. A recent visitor found several children lying on cots under mosquito netting their bodies horribly burned by Napalm. Officials believe a majority of the civilians who are wounded never get to a hospital because of a lack of transportation because they live in areas still controlled by the Viet Cong."

Now, those are just a sample and I think it is significant that while our government tells us how many Americans are killed each week, how many South Vietnamese are killed each week, how many Viet Cong are killed each week, they never tell us or give us the vaguest estimate of how many civilians they are killing each week. I think the number is so large you would be ashamed to hear of it.

Now, in the newspaper tonight it says that we may put as many as half a million men into South Viet Nam and the Communists are capable of putting in another half a million and they are going to run back and forth killing each other a little bit but mostly killing civilians because the Communists aren't going to be able to bring the rice the several hundred miles that they need from North Viet Nam and they are going to force the peasants to give them part of their rice crop and we are going to bomb the same peasants for doing it or take away their rice from them so that they cannot give it to the Viet Cong.

Now, our soldiers will get fed and the Viet Cong will get fed but I think millions of civilians will starve and will die from disease.

Now, this in effect is a sort of coalition, a coalition between us and the Viet Cong to see how how much terror we can inflict on the people of South Viet Nam in the name of freeing.

ESCALATION

Now, I'd like to talk a little bit about escalation. The theory of escalation, I suppose, is somewhat as follows: We both escalate but we are assuming that they are going to quit first. O.K. Now the question is are they and how soon? Does our government really know how soon they will quit? They haven't done a very good job of predicting up to this point because sometime ago Secretary McNamara said that he thought by December, 1965, we would be able to start bringing home most of the American Troops.

I'd like to just make this one fundamental point: There is a limit, a strict limit, to the benefit which we can bring to these people. We cannot give them democracy. We can only give them a right wing dictatorship. O.K.?

Is there some level of casulaties such that if it occurs it will make the pain and the brutality and grief ten times greater than this benefit? Now, the people who advocate escalation here, are they prepared to say with some high probability that the Communists will give in before the level of casualties has reached a figure that totally dwarfs any conceivable benefit from "winning this war?"

Thank you.

CARL A. AUERBACH, PROFESSOR OF LAW, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Congressman FRASER. Now, our last speaker before we get to the real exchange within and among the panel is Professor Carl Auerbach.

Professor AUERBACH. Thank you, Congressman FRASER.

I have been given a rather impossible job as the last speaker to reply in this short time to two totally different proposals.

One, that we get out entirely, and the other, the more moderate proposal as made by Mr. Coen's predecessor, but I do believe that I ought to concentrate on what Mr. Coen had to say and let the panelists discuss other matters of what went before.

I think it is rather reprehensible of Professor Coen to imply with as much fervor as he has implied that only those who are opposed to American policy in Viet Nam are fully appreciative of the horrors of the war. There isn't a man on this panel who hasn't lived through those horrors and seen them day by day.

It is not enough to get simply indignant or eloquent. We need not be reminded that any kind of war and particularly thermonuclear war is a crime against humanity.

The question is to use the intelligence and the brains that God gave us to try to see straight what ought to be done. I would have been more sympathetic with his eloquence if he had one word to say about the barbarities committed by North Viet Nam, not in South Viet Nam, but in North Viet Nam itself.

Even before our bombing began, by 1958 two very serious events had occurred which alerted our government to what we might expect. The first was the activities of the Communist party up in North Viet Nam in their own country.

As soon as Ho Chi Minh assumed power he engaged in the land reform program in a situation which did not call for it because North Viet Nam particularly was always a country of small land holdings in which a landlord was called someone who owned probably two acres or less.

Estimates of the brutalities and of the executions of the peasants in North Viet Nam total in the hundreds of thousands. He thoroughly purged his own Communist opposition. Ten thousand Trotskyreests were murdered and these are the extreme left wing which at that time were inimical to Ho Chi Minh.

In South Viet Nam as the Vietminh under the Geneva Accords withdrew to the North they left terror, they bombed buildings contrary to the Geneva Accords. By 1958 they had killed thirty thousand Village chiefs, school teachers, social workers, and Village notables or elders in general. Ever since 1964, North Viet Nam has been determined to destroy the social and economic fabric of South Viet Nam.

There isn't one iota of evidence that the progress made in North Viet Nam exceeds that made in South Viet Nam either on the agricultural or the industrial front contrary to what Mr. Romeyn Taylor gave us in a new mystique that it takes authoritarian leftists to achieve social and economic reform. That's simply bunk.

The only area in which the progress of the North Vietnamese industrially has exceeded that of South Viet Nam is in the area where South Viet Nam completely lacks raw materials: For example, coal. In other areas the achievements are comparable.

There is a man of great importance and great background and learning in this area who is not an American and who has just returned from South Viet Nam. He is a University of London Reader in Vietnamese Studies which is the rank in British Universities just below that of full professor. This man reports that there isn't one shred of evidence that he could find that there is popular support in South Viet Nam for the National Liberation Front. The National Liberation Front as an indigenous movement is a segment in the imaginations of people like Professor Coen.

He reports that there is growing support of the government in South Viet Nam.

I deplore with Professor Coen Premier Ky's statement, which he later withdrew but not completely to my satisfaction. The hope, however, is that in time as some tranquility is restored to South Viet Nam that a government can be created which will achieve for the people of South Viet Nam what they hoped that Diem would achieve in 1954, a man who cruelly disappointed their hopes as time went on. He reports that there is growing support on the part of University Students who for the first time have volunteered to help in South Viet Nam enterprises of all sorts without being paid for it which is quite a commentary on the students there but nevertheless is progress measured by the past.

TERMS OF A SETTLEMENT

It is very easy as members on the panel have said to chart out briefly or at length what the terms of a settlement might be like. We would all like the bombings of North Viet Nam to cease, but we would all like, too, to see the Viet Cong terror and destruction in the south stop.

We would like to see both sides get out. We would like to see the people of South Viet Nam have some chance to determine their own destiny, but anybody who believes that the victory of the Viet Cong is a precondition for the achievement by the South Vietnamese people of their own destiny is cruelly mistaken. Unfortunately, wishing will not make it so.

Just as it takes two to tango it takes more than one to negotiate. We have repeatedly offered to negotiate on a basis that will assure the right of the South Vietnamese people to determine their own destiny. I would even settle for a basis that would allow—as tranquility is restored—elections in South Viet Nam even though there would be no elections in North Viet Nam. That too is a concession we have to make to the interests of peace, but to assume that by getting out we will solve any problems is a cruel hoax, a hoax that may lead us into a more barbaric and a more total war than even this cruel war in which we are now engaged.

If our word, if our political responsibility in Southeast Asia is denied by a unilateral withdrawal, what hope will people in other areas—in Australia, in Japan, in India, in Indonesia not to speak of Laos and Burma—what hope will they have that we are committed or involved in their destinies whatsoever?

What hope will we have for a lasting peace when the Red Chinese will be able to say to the Soviet Union, "You see, the United States is a paper tiger after all. Your arguments were completely wrong. You broke with us because you thought that wars of national liberation would endanger world peace. We told you they would never endanger world peace, that co-existence was a fraud from the Communist's point of view because the Americans are paper tigers. You see, we were right."

Can you imagine that this would be followed by a period of peaceful co-existence or peaceful cooperation with the Communist world or that the trends toward liberation in the Communist world will be improved? We must stay there if for no other reason than to prove to the Red Chinese that wars of liberation will not pay off and that they have more to gain by a policy of peaceful co-existence with the United States than they do by a policy of armed insurrection which disregards the wishes of the people of Southeast Asia.

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Clevenger, Raymond F., *Mich.*	
Cohelan, Jeffery, *Calif*	1028 New House Office Building
Collier, Harold R., *Ill*	
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Conable, Barber B., Jr., *N.Y.*	
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Conyers, John, Jr., *Mich*	
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Corbett, Robert J., *Pa*	
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Craley, N. Neiman, Jr., *Pa*	
Cramer, William C., *Fla*	6215 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
Culver, John C., *Iowa*	
Cunningham, Glenn, *Nebr*	
Curtin, Willard S., *Pa*	
Curtis, Thomas B., *Mo*	
Daddario, Emilio Q., *Conn*	
Dague, Paul B., *Pa*	
Daniels, Dominick V., *N.J*	
Davis, Glenn R., *Wis*	
Davis, John W., *Ga*	
Dawson, William L., *Ill*	
de la Garza, Eligio, *Tex*	
Delaney, James J., *N.Y*	
Dent, John H., *Pa*	
Denton, Winfield K., *Ind*	
Derwinski, Edward J., *Ill*	
Devine, Samuel L., *Ohio*	
Dickinson, William L., *Ala*	
Diggs, Charles C., Jr., *Mich*	
Dingell, John D., *Mich*	
Dole, Robert, *Kans*	6136 Beachway Dr., Falls Church, Va.
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Duncan, John J., *Tenn*	
Duncan, Robert B., *Oreg*	914 Lakeview Dr., Falls Church, Va.
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Edwards, Don, *Calif*	9201 Fox Meadow La., Potomac, Md.
Edwards, Edwin W., *La*	
Edwards, Jack, *Ala*	
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Erlenborn, John N., *Ill*	
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Everett, Robert A., *Tenn*	
Evins, Joe L., *Tenn*	5044 Klingle St.
Fallon, George H., *Md*	
Farbstein, Leonard, *N.Y*	
Farnsley, Charles P., *Ky*	
Farnum, Billie S., *Mich*	
Fascell, Dante B., *Fla*	
Feighan, Michael A., *Ohio*	
Findley, Paul, *Ill*	
Fino, Paul A., *N.Y*	
Fisher, O. C., *Tex*	Calvert-Woodley
Flood, Daniel J., *Pa*	The Congressional
Flynt, John J., Jr., *Ga*	
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Foley, Thomas S., *Wash*	
Ford, Gerald R., *Mich*	514 Crown View Dr., Alexandria, Va.
Ford, William D., *Mich*	
Fountain, L. H., *N.C*	The Westchester
Fraser, Donald M., *Minn*	
Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B., *N.J.*	3014 N St.
Friedel, Samuel N., *Md*	
Fulton, James G., *Pa*	
Fulton, Richard, *Tenn*	
Fuqua, Don, *Fla*	
Gallagher, Cornelius E., *N.J.*	
Garmatz, Edward A., *Md*	
Gathings, E. C., *Ark*	
Gettys, Tom S., *S.C*	
Giaimo, Robert N., *Conn*	
Gibbons, Sam, *Fla*	
Gilbert, Jacob H., *N.Y*	
Gilligan, John J., *Ohio*	
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Grider, George W., *Tenn*	119 7th St. SE.
Griffiths, Martha W. (Mrs.), *Mich.*	
Gross, H. R., *Iowa*	
Grover, James R., Jr., *N.Y*	
Gubser, Charles S., *Calif*	
Gurney, Edward J., *Fla*	
Hagan, G. Elliott, *Ga*	
Hagen, Harlan, *Calif*	
Haley, James A., *Fla*	
Hall, Durward G., *Mo*	
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Halpern, Seymour, *N.Y*	
Hamilton, Lee H., *Ind*	
Hanley, James M., *N.Y*	
Hanna, Richard T., *Calif*	
Hansen, George, *Idaho*	
Hansen, John R., *Iowa*	800 4th St. SW., Apt. S-701
Hansen, Julia Butler (Mrs.), *Wash.*	
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Harsha, William H., *Ohio*	
Harvey, James, *Mich*	
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind*	
Hathaway, William D., *Maine.*	
Hawkins, Augustus F., *Calif.*	
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Hechler, Ken, *W. Va*	
Helstoski, Henry, *N.J*	
Henderson, David N., *N.C*	
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*	
Hicks, Floyd V., *Wash*	
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*	
Holland, Elmer J., *Pa*	
Horton, Frank J., *N.Y*	
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*	
Howard, James J., *N.J*	
Hull, W. R., Jr., *Mo*	
Hungate, William L., *Mo*	
Huot, J. Oliva, *N.H*	
Hutchinson, Edward, *Mich*	
Ichord, Richard (Dick), *Mo.*	
Irwin, Donald J., *Conn*	
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr., *Ind*	
Jarman, John, *Okla*	
Jennings, W. Pat, *Va*	
Joelson, Charles S., *N.J*	
Johnson, Albert W., *Pa*	
Johnson, Harold T., *Calif*	
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Jonas, Charles Raper, *N.C*	
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Jones, Robert E., *Ala*	
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Keogh, Eugene J., *N.Y*	The Mayflower
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King, Cecil R., *Calif*	
King, David S., *Utah*	
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*	
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*	
Kornegay, Horace R., *N.C*	
Krebs, Paul J., *N.J*	
Kunkel, John C., *Pa*	
Kupferman, Theodore R., *N.Y.*	
Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*	
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*	

Appendix

Current Concepts in Corrections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include a very fine address delivered by Myrl E. Alexander, Director of U.S. Bureau of Prisons, before the Council of Judges, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, New York City, N.Y., on May 12, 1966, for the reading and information of the Members:

CURRENT CONCEPTS IN CORRECTIONS

(Address of Myrl E. Alexander, Director, U.S. Bureau of Prisons)

When the penitentiary was created in Philadelphia in the latter part of the 18th century, its founders had little realization of the speed with which their new idea of punishment would sweep the world. Indeed, the world had been struggling for a century to find a more humane and more effective means of punishing law violators. Mutilation, transportation and exile of criminals to far off new lands, widespread executions, physical torture—none of these had stopped or even curbed criminality.

The Philadelphians had acted under direct Quaker influence and the widely studied essay of the Italian de Beccaria who reasoned that crime could be curbed most effectively if the severe traditional punishments were replaced by punishment which imposed only that amount of pain necessary to exceed the pleasure of committing crime. The Quakers sought a humanitarian method of rectifying criminal behavior. The Beccarian theory was consistent with their concepts. And so the Quakers reasoned that the jail . . . previously used only for detaining criminals awaiting trial and sentence . . . might be used for detention as punishment for a specified number of years during which the offender in isolation might reflect on his wayward ways, read the Bible, pray and reach a state of penitence. And they called the place a penitentiary.

The idea was revolutionary. News of the American experiment spread throughout the world. Charles Dickens came to Philadelphia to study the new penitentiary at first hand. De Toqueville in his visits and study of the new American government devoted much time to the new nation's method of punishment. And as the penitentiary spread rapidly throughout our new country, it was also adopted by most of the world.

The creation of the penitentiary was a gigantic step forward in man's search for better methods of punishment and control of law breakers. It contributed to a more orderly method of sentencing. The concept of deprivation of liberty for specified periods of time became accepted as a standard of punishment. But despite the Quakers' reasoning, the new institution became all too often an institution of man's isolation, rigorous control and massive regimentation which more often confirmed and induced criminality than it achieved the original noble goals.

Inevitably, then, a re-examination of the penitentiary and its underlying philosophy was attempted from time to time. Notably, following the Civil War, a great prison reform movement swept the country. Even a President, Rutherford B. Hayes, became so dedicated to the prison reform movement that he helped found a national reform organization and served as its President for some years after he left the White House. In those days, for the first time, particular attention was given to the youthful offender. A modified form of the penitentiary was developed at Elmira, New York, and soon became known as a reformatory. Soon other states adopted the reformatory idea. Education, military training, vocational training, and an earned release under community supervision, called parole, were innovations in the new reformatory.

In the meantime, the beginnings of control and supervision in the community were emerging and became known as probation.

As the years have gone by, the philosophy and concepts of management of the offender in the institution and in the community have changed, evolved and shifted. In the past few decades, increasing use has been made of the evolving behavioral sciences: psychiatry, psychology, social work, education, vocational training, and others.

But the problem of crime and delinquency remains with us. Indeed, it becomes more acute as we become more mechanized, industrialized, and affluent. There is evidence, in Glaser's Study of the Effectiveness of a Prison System, for example, that we are more successfully intervening in criminal causes than in years gone by. But the progress is slow and lacking in the tools and precision of the physical sciences.

As we deal with offenders in the courts and in the total correctional process . . . whether on probation, in correctional institutions or on parole . . . we are all acutely aware that the effectiveness of our systems of controlling and treating the offender must be vastly improved. We must use all the insights and knowledge of the behavioral sciences. Through research and bold experimental programs, we must indeed contribute to the advance of behavioral knowledge. We must speed up the day when our tools and methods will have precision in diagnosis and high predictability in the treatment of offenders comparable to that of the physical sciences.

And it is precisely at this point that the courts and the correctional process must seek the kind of unity of goals and methodology which will speed the day of a truly effective administration of justice: highly successful and predictive intervention in delinquent and criminal careers. Drastic reduction of recidivism is an essential ingredient in the War on Crime.

I submit, then, that even as the creation of the penitentiary was a revolutionary step in the administration of justice and control of the offender, we today stand on the threshold of another new great stride forward in our search for the answer to the causes of crime and delinquency in our society. The prison per se hasn't produced the effectiveness required. The dichotomy of institutional or community treatment and control must be broken down and bridged by a continuity of process. The gap between courts and corrections is narrowing and must be fully bridged if we are to achieve the effective control we seek.

From here on, I will address myself to the subject of recent Federal legislation which has a direct impact on the courts and Federal correctional practice.

The first recent significant Federal legislation was in 1958 when Congress passed Public Law 85-752. Sponsored by Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, the act was designed to improve the administration of justice in the Federal courts by authorizing the Judicial Conference of the United States to establish institutes and joint councils on sentencing and by providing additional methods of sentencing.

Another provision created a procedure whereby a Federal judge is authorized to commit a defendant to the custody of the Attorney General for a period up to 90 days for study and observation leading to recommendations which the Director of the Bureau of Prisons believes would be helpful in determining disposition of the case.

A third feature of the law gave judges the additional choice of imposing sentences in which either the date of parole eligibility could be fixed as part of the sentence at a time less than one-third of the sentence, or the question of parole eligibility is left entirely to the discretion of the parole board.

Finally, a provision was included to enable judges to apply the flexible Federal Youth Corrections Act to young adult offenders up to the age of 26 whenever there are reasonable ground to believe that the defendant will benefit from such treatment.

This law deals with several important issues. Although the provision for sentencing institutes acknowledges the problem of disparity in sentencing, it also recognizes the issues which revolve around sentencing objectives, principles and guides, and an awareness of the capacities and limitations of correctional agencies.

If a judge is to perform his duty well in choosing among alternatives of disposition, he must have information about the offender upon which to base this decision. For a number of years, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency has insisted upon the requirement that no disposition be made of any serious case, whether classified as felony or misdemeanor, until the sentencing judge has been furnished a complete presentence investigation report, supported by clinical findings where necessary. Only in this way can a disposition be made to fit the offender rather than the offense. While the Federal Judiciary and several other jurisdictions have generally met the NCCD standard for presentence reports, it was not until the 1958 law was passed that a uniform procedure was authorized to insure that these reports could be augmented by clinical and observation studies.

Probation, institutionalization and parole should be terminated ideally when these services and controls are no longer needed. But there is no way of determining this in advance. Most judges with whom I have talked in recent years readily agree that release from an institution should be an administrative, rather than a judicial decision, based upon performance, achievement and expectations of the offender's future adjustment in the community. It was with widespread judicial consensus that the provision granting broader authority to the Parole Board was incorporated in the 1958 law.

The provision authorizing judicial discretion in applying the flexibility of the Federal Youth Correction Act to offenders up to the age of twenty-six has important implications. However inexact corretional methods may be, an underlying and growing belief exists that concerted effort to intervene in continuing criminal careers must concentrate on the younger offenders. The idea of trying to provide help, rather than punishment, for a twenty-four or twenty-five year old offender, as we should for a teenage delinquent, is not easy for some people to accept. Yet, there is agreement that any promising attempt to insure that the first offense is the last can be fully justified. The sooner this can happen in an offender's lifetime, the better.

Does Public Law 85–752 work? Since 1958, when the law was enacted, the Judicial Conference of the United States has conducted eight regional sentencing institutes for Federal judges, and two more are scheduled this year. These institutes, four of which have been held at Federal correctional institutions, have brought together over 250 judges, correctional officials, law professors, psychiatrists and others with interest and knowledge in the various aspects of the administration of criminal justice. These are workshop sessions in which philosophies and principles of sentencing are discussed, actual inmate classification committee meetings and Parole Board hearings are often conducted, and laboratory exercises are held in sentencing problems on a variety of difficult cases.

Many of the values of these institutes are intangible and cannot be documented, such as increased cooperation and communication between judges and correctional agencies. That the institutes have increased judges' awareness and use of the many sentencing options available to them is evident. Probation, as an alternative to imprisonment, is being used more frequently and a steady increase has occurred both in commitments for observation and study and under indeterminate sentences. The printed proceedings of the sentencing institutes constitute a handbook for courts on the treatment of offenders. These are constantly being revised as new techniques are developed, new studies become available, agreed-upon sentencing principles are modified in the light of experience, and new legislation is passed. A few of the Federal judicial districts are beginning to take advantage of the sentencing council provisions of Public Law 85–752. This is how one such council works:

The meetings are held weekly in the chambers of the chief judge, and he presides over them. Attendance is generally limited to the participating judges and to the Chief Probation Officer, although Government agents are requested to attend when more detailed information relative to certain cases is desired. Five days in advance of each meeting, presentence investigation reports on the offenders to be sentenced are furnished each judge. Before coming to the meeting, each judge indicates on a "disposition study sheet" what he believes to be the essential factors in reaching a decision, and his specific recommendation as to penalty. Each case is presented by the judge before whom the defendant was arraigned and by whom he will be sentenced. The other judges comment on this and disclose their recommendations which, of course, are not binding on the judge having jurisdiction. These exchanges of viewpoints serve to create a better understanding of sentencing goals, facilities and practices of correctional agencies and policies of the Parole Board.

The number of offenders committed for observation and study prior to final court disposition has increased steadily each year, from 157 in 1959 to 741 in 1965. The courts accept our recommendations as to type sentence, length of sentence and use of probation in over seventy-five per cent of the cases. Similarly, the percentage of commitments under indeterminate sentences has increased from 6.4% in 1959 to 21.5% in 1965. We find significant numbers of "young adult offenders" . . . those between 22 and 26 . . . being sentenced under the provisions of the Federal Youth Corrections Act. Last year, for example, we received 261 such commitments—about ten per cent of all commitments in this age group.

Another gigantic step forward was taken last September 10th when President Johnson signed into law the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act of 1965. Public Law 89–176. The essential provisions of this law atuhorize the Attorney General (to whose custody all sentenced Federal prisoners are committed) to establish residential treatment centers, extend the limits of confinement and permit work furloughs.

In the language of the Act, the Attorney General may:

(1) "Designate as a place of confinement any available, suitable and appropriate institution or facility, whether maintained by the Federal Government or otherwise, and whether within or without the judicial district in which the person was convicted, and may at any time transfer a person from one place of confinement to another."

(2) "He may extend the limits of the place of confinement of a prisoner as to whom there is reasonable cause to believe he will honor his trust, by authorizing him, under prescribed conditions, to—

(a) "Visit a specifically designated place or places for a period not to exceed thirty days and return to the same or another institution or facility. An extension of limits may be granted only to permit a visit to a dying relative, attendance at the funeral of a relative, the obtaining of medical services not otherwise available, the contacting of prospective employers or for any other compelling reason consistent with the public interest; or

(b) "Work at paid employment or participate in a training program in the community on a voluntary basis while continuing as a prisoner of the institution or facility to which he is committed."

This new statute provides several additional techniques that are critical to effective correctional practice—constructive uses of punishment. Correctional administrators have become increasingly aware of the need of some offenders for a transitional or halfway step between total incarceration to complete release to the community, even under parole supervision. Half-way houses are being established in the United States at a rapid rate.

In the Federal System, experimentation in the use of Pre-Release Guidance Centers for selected juvenile and youth offenders began in 1961. Six of these Centers are now being operated in Los Angeles, Chicago, Kansas City, Detroit, New York, and Washington, D.C. With a full-time staff of five people, each Center draws heavily upon local resources to provide counseling, guidance, employment opportunities, recreation, religious and clinical services to young offenders who live at the Center in groups of about twenty-five for three or four months as they become increasingly involved in the day-to-day life of the community. As they progress, they move on to regular parole supervision.

Over the past five years, 1402 youngsters have gone through this kind of transitional experience. Some of them failed and were returned to institutions for further treatment and training, but the statistics collected thus far indicate that the success rate of former offenders who had the advantages of a Pre-Release Guidance Center is twice that of offenders who have not.

The encouraging results of our Pre-Release Guidance Centers led to extension of this concept to adult offenders in the new law. As we plan the establishment of the first of these, we are considering operating models that will be designed specifically to meet the various needs of adult offender groups. An example may well be emphasis on providing the temporary "live-in" accommodations for inmates on work release, thus enabling them to accept employment in their home communities that will be relatively permanent.

From a correctional standpoint, one of the most "compelling reasons for granting furloughs is to re-enforce family ties, where these exist with parents, spouses and children. Correctional workers have long been accustomed to witnessing the steady, and often inevitable erosion of family ties even while preparing offenders for normal community life, including the resumption of family ties and responsibilities. While substantial investments in offenders are being made in institutions, little or no work is being done with offenders' families. The timely and judicious use of home furloughs can do much to alleviate the imbalance.

By now we have granted over 150 furloughs. Most of these have been for such family emergencies as terminal illness or death. More recently, we have begun to permit selected inmates nearing their release dates to leave the institution for interviews with prospective employers and two men were granted week-long furloughs to attend a special manufacturers' course in the maintenance of heavy equipment. Plans are being formulated to permit 48-hour furloughs on a highly selective basis for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening family ties.

By the end of 1965, at least nineteen states had adopted the principle of a 1913 Wisconsin law which enables sentenced offenders to be employed on regular jobs in nearby communities while returning to the institution during non-working hours. Only the laws of North Carolina, Maryland, Michigan and the Federal Government make work release available to felony offenders. Public Law 89–176 differs from other similar legislation in several respects, the most important being specific safeguards to protect both the community and work release inmates from any kind of exploitation.

Work Release can be a highly effective correctional tool. As its full potentials for inmates are realized, it can mean that former offenders who have achieved success in institutional correctional programs will be assured full employment and acceptance when transferred to community parole supervision. The effects of work release on institutional management is revolutionary. The focus of institutional programs is moving toward the community rather than to inside the walls. For Parole Boards, work release can eliminate much of the guesswork involved in parole decision making. The public is afforded better protection by close institutional controls over the more gradual transition back to freedom.

Although only a few months have elapsed since the passage of Public Law 89–176, we now have over 500 inmates on work release and, by the end of the year, the total should approach one thousand. With remarkable cooperation of labor unions, social service agencies and State and local government, work release inmates have been accepted for employment in dental laboratories, commercial art establishments, the building trades, many service occupations and industrial production jobs. Exceptional accomplishments have achieved in placing men and women in work release jobs for which they were prepared by vocational training within the institutions. Three nationally known industries have brought training programs to the institutions, at no cost to the government, so that future work release candidates can have the advantage of special skills and manufacturing techniques.

Although Public Law 89–176 most directly affects operations of the Federal Prison Service, two other laws enacted at about the same time have broad and significant implications. Public Law 89–178, the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act, focuses on another area of problems and needs—the numbers and kinds of people needed to perform the multiple tasks of corrections. Under this new law, studies and evaluations will be made of all correctional programs and services to determine present and future manpower needs. It is expected that these studies will lead to eventual recommended standards for the training and recruitment of persons entering the correctional field, determinations of staff organization and functions and personnel development.

The Law Enforcement Assistant Act, Public Law 89-197, was enacted in response to the President's 1965 message on crime. In collaboration with the President's Crime Commission, this law is being administered by the Department of Justice and, for the first time, enables the Department to award financial grants for study, training and demonstration in the broad field of administration of criminal justice at all levels of government.

The pace is quickening and a number of additional unresolved issues are being challenged. In his 1966 crime message, President Johnson stated that "the plainest fact we can see is that piecemeal improvements will not be enough." He proposed, and the Congress is considering, this three-stage national strategy:

First, for immediate action: improve the quality of local law enforcement throughout the country, control the weapons with which so many crimes are committed; intensify the campaign against organized crime; modernize the criminal laws; reform the bail system; establish a coordinated Federal correctional system; and deal realistically with drug addiction.

Second, press forward for greater knowledge, better tools and deeper insights. To expand these tasks which the National Crime Commission has already embarked upon, the President has asked the Attorney General to work with the Governors of the 50 states to establish a statewide committees on law enforcement and criminal justice.

Third, attack crime at its roots. In the President's words, "An effective strategy against crime must also rest on a base of prevention. And that base can come only from action against the wellsprings of crime in our society. Whatever open opportunity and hope will help to prevent crime and foster responsibility. Effective law enforcement and social justice must be pursued together, as the foundation of our efforts against crime."

In my view, the single and most important ingredient, the catalyst which is bring about these long-overdue changes, is the sharing of responsibility for crime and delinquency in our society. This is more than a matter of better communications and cooperation between law enforcement, the courts and correctional agencies. It includes the development of effective working relationships between correctional agencies and other segments of our communities. And it includes a willingness to commit total resources to the solution of total social problems.

To those of you who have spent long years on the bench, just as to some of us who have trod grim prison corridors, these are new and revolutionary phenomena. But they are not peculiar to our Nation alone.

They are part of a world-wide awakening to the meaning and importance of life in a free society. As a member of a university faculty and again as a delegate to the United Nations Congress in Stockholm last summer, I have seen this trend taking shape in other countries in Europe, in Southeast Asia, in Latin America and in the emerging African nations whose leaders are striving to learn how they can avoid the burdens and costs of mounting social problems as they progress to a democratic, industrialized society.

In summary: It is abundantly clear that a new national and world ferment has produced a determination to pursue the ancient goal of controlling adverse and unlawful human behavior. New insights and knowledge have developed which hold exciting promise of innovative approaches in the administration of criminal justice, of which corrections is an integral part.

This is an era of change and growth in human affairs. It is a day of re-examination of the old, the stabilized, the crystallized approaches to the management of human behavior. In the management and control of delinquent and criminal behavior, all elements involved in the administration of justice must be in constant dialogue—indeed, must be locked in together as we move forward in forging methods vastly improved over those of the past.

This is precisely why I have so warmly welcomed this evening's opportunity to share with you these views on the new developing concepts in corrections.

Revenue Sharing With States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. **BROCK**. Mr. Speaker, Idaho's Gov. Robert E. Smylie, who is the most senior Governor currently serving in the United States, delivered a very important speech before the Western Governors' Conference in Las Vegas, Nev., on April 25, 1966. Governor Smylie, who is also chairman of the Republican Governors' Association, pointed out that the demands on State government are growing every day and that the financial resources of the States to meet these demands in a responsible way are being strained to the limit.

Last year I introduced a bill, H.R. 10696, which would direct the Federal Government to share up to 5 percent of its tax revenues with the States with the provision that the funds be earmarked for education. This type fiscal federalism is very much needed if our States are to have the financial resources to meet the increasing demands for quality education.

I join with Governor Smylie and leaders of government, tax specialists, and educators in asking for prompt consideration by the Ways and Means Committee of this measure. With most Governors backing the tax-sharing concept and with the solid bipartisan support it has received, I feel it is incumbent upon us as Representatives of the people to at least hold hearings on this important legislation which would help erase the growing disparity of tax resources between the Federal and State-local governments.

I have unanimous consent that Governor Smylie's enlightening speech be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

NEWS FROM THE OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

I am indeed grateful for this opportunity to address a group that shares not only my concern for the strengthening of our state government, but also understands from their own daily experiences both the difficulties and opportunities that lie before us in the accomplishment of this task.

We live in an era when events constantly challenge our ability to respond to them at every level of government.

While the accelerated pulse of life requires that we develop dramatic new solutions to the problems of today and those of the 1970's and 1980's, too much of present day politics is caught up in the rhetoric of the 1930's.

It is to acknowledge a simple fact of which you are all aware when I say that the United States is entering upon a period of domestic turbulence—a period in which a new and younger population will confront issues different in kind and in scope from those of the past generation.

I discount as a result of my own experience the suggestion that state governments are artifacts from a simpler past and will contribute little to the solution of these problems.

Rather, the sort of problems we are now facing in education, social welfare, water and air pollution, and mental health are problems that we have developed some skill in solving at the state level.

This universality should convince us that the exciting areas of political action, with great new opportunities for boldness and creativity and innovation, will be found more and more at the state level.

The question before us today is whether or not those of us operating at a state level of government can keep abreast of the changing times and take the lead in solving these problems, or will we give way to the host of federal administrators who rush into every service and political vacuum we leave unattended.

I am not here to find fault with the federal government, nor to glorify the state governments.

Each of you know that much of the responsibility for the shift in political power to the central government lies with the failure of state governments to answer the demands of their citizenry for improved services.

The American people are not prepared to accept this kind of frustration apathetically. When they are denied assistance in the solution of their problems at the state level, they have shown a remarkable ingenuity in gaining this assistance at the federal level.

And, federal officials have often shown an inordinate desire not only to welcome such pleas for aid, but to openly solicit them.

Now it may seem that I am presenting two divergent views of the ability of state governments to solve the pressing problems of the day.

On the one hand, I have argued that the state and local governments have both a tremendous capacity and an almost unlimited potential to solve social problems.

On the other hand, I have noted that the states have often fallen short in fulfilling their obligations of public service to their citizenry.

I think the great tragedy of our political system would be to accept the latter fact as a measure of our concern or ability.

In the past we have not failed because of a lack of concern for public needs or because we are inherently inferior in administrative abilities to our federal counterparts.

The major causes of our failures may be traced to an absence of legislative support for our programs from the metropolitan areas that are in most desperate need of aid in solving their problems and from simple lack of funds.

The first of these hurdles to the development of more responsible state governments is now being removed by the reapportionments that have taken place or are taking place or will take place in the near future in each of our states.

State legislatures next year will see city populations more equitably represented than at any time in recent history.

We can expect as members of the executive branch to find greater support for those parts of our legislative programs dealing with the problems of these areas.

But there will be little profit to us if we invigorate state governments through fairer representation in legislatures only to face the many new problems they will bring us with empty treasuries.

Each of you has shared my despair in having to tell a sponsor of a worthy cause—legislatively within the domain of the state to solve—that there are simply no funds to cover the costs of his program.

And, reapportionment will increase sharply the number of such claims for our support.

Exploding populations, rapid urbanization, higher prices, and advanced technology will place new pressures on state and local governments.

In fact, vast new sums are needed if even the most ordinary ongoing functions are to be adequately maintained.

Programs such as education, fire and police protection, streets and highways, health and sanitation, recreation, welfare and transportation, must be cut back.

Not can we allow these matters to fall into the web of administrative chaos that would follow if control over such concerns was to slip further into federal hands.

That is why we have doubled our outlays at the state level over federal outlays for domestic expenditures.

But, let us consider the ways the bills are piling up.

Eighteen years is not a long time, yet state and local expenditures were more than six times greater in 1965 than in 1947.

State and local outlays for education alone increased from 3 billion dollars at the end of World War II to 22 billion dollars last year.

And, over the past ten years state and local expenditures have risen at 8 percent a year—twice as fast as Gross National Product.

But the sad fact is that present financial resources are not sufficient to meet current needs—as the sharp increase in state bonded indebtedness clearly shows.

Now, the federal government has shown itself willing to fill some of the gaps between our financial needs and resources with grants-in-aid.

Too often, however, the federal grant programs waste money on outdated operations and harebrained schemes while the real needs of today are unmet.

Furthermore, as the financial squeeze tightens at the state level, our state and local governments are unable to raise the matching funds necessary to participate in the grant programs.

What can be done to ease this fiscal crisis in our states?

Taxes can be reformed and adjusted. Millages can be juggled. Federal grants can be reviewed and streamlined. But, none of these options can give more than limited relief.

The real irony here is that while the states are hard put to meet their obligations and have few sources of revenue that show promise of increased contributions to the state coffers, the federal government is enjoying a substantial annual increase in revenues through the federal income tax.

Billions of dollars are deducted from payrolls of our citizens and sent to Washington. What happens to that money in terms of direct benefits to our communities and states?

Given the shell game played by the federal budget bureau it is unlikely that we will ever know the answer to that question at any point in time.

I believe that the answer to this problem lies in the sharing of federal revenues with the states. This is not a novel or partisan suggestion—in fact, it was approved by the Nation's Governors at their meeting last year in Minneapolis.

But, I do believe it is an urgent suggestion and that we should get the dialogue on what particular form this return of revenues should take into the halls of Congress.

By using existing state facilities for allocation of such funds to the great variety of governmental functions that have customarily belonged to our States, we could begin to realize the great potential of the service functions of our state administration.

We could demonstrate to all who doubt that our state governments are vital, creative institutions awaiting only adequate funds to perform the services demanded by a changing world.

In closing, let me say that I believe we have in the reapportionments now being accomplished and in the tax-sharing proposals the basic ingredients for revitalizing state governments.

If we fail to accomplish this task, I believe that we may go down in history as the band of men and women who presided at the demise of state government.

We must share a common courage to use the tools of government to solve the problems confronting our states and cities; and then add to this courage a pragmatic willingness to grapple with people's concerns, not to flee from them. Finally, and most important of all, we must show a willingness—in fact, an ambition—to take responsibility for public needs.

Medicare and the Shortage of Health Personnel

SPEECH
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 23, 1966

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, it is a truism to say that progress brings problems, and nowhere is this more true than in the field of health care.

Here, in fact, the problems have reached crisis proportions—but not because of any lack of concern or ignorance or absence of resources. On the contrary, because we do care, because we do know the importance of medical attention, and because we are a prosperous people, we are faced with the paradox that we cannot obtain the care we want and can pay for.

The key, Mr. Speaker, is personnel: the shortage of nurses, doctors, and the variety of others engaged in the healing arts on whom we must depend for the care our people's need. Our failure has been one of planning and judgment. Ever since the end of World War II, we have seen increasing evidence that the training of health personnel was not keeping pace with the demand for health services. Yet, our response has not been equal to the challenge.

Today, we are on the verge of reaping the disappointment and frustration of our failure to plan. The advent of medicare, an expanded medical assistance program, the so-called military medicare program, and other advanced and progressive health care programs enacted by Congress have compounded the already heavy demand for health services and personnel created by our growing affluence, our burgeoning population, and our increased awareness of the importance of good health.

Two weeks ago, as I informed our colleagues, I wrote to the President applauding his decision to appoint a distinguished panel of experts and laymen to study the health personnel needs of the country. I proposed at that time that he supplement this move by mobilizing existing Federal resources—in terms both of Federal-aid programs and programs administered directly by the Government—to help meet the immediate problem brought about by the start of medicare on July 1.

Since that time, as I have subsequently reported, others have added their voices and recommendations, urging the President and Congress to take both short-range and long-range actions to deal with this difficult situation.

Most recently, I have been gratified to receive a letter from the director of the legislative program of the American Nurses' Association expressing the support of the ANA for this effort. And, yesterday, the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE] addressed himself to this problem.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the letter from the ANA and the speech of Senator CASE:

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION, INC.,
New York, N.Y., May 20, 1906.

Hon. FLORENCE P. DWYER,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. DWYER: The American Nurses' Association has read with appreciation your extension of remarks in the Congressional Record of May 10, 1966, concerning the shortage of medical personnel, particularly professional nurses, in this country.

We have long been pressing for increased funds to train the young men and women of this country for nursing services. While the Nurse Training Act of 1964, provided the beginning of aid to overcome these shortages, much more must be done. We of the ANA have long been aware of this and are acutely conscious of the increased strain on our nursing forces imposed by the passage of Medicare. We supported Medicare and we also have been actively seeking additional Federal help for nursing education. Remarks such as yours greatly assist this fight and we hope that your awareness will be transmitted to others. The crisis foretold by President Truman's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation is now upon us. The danger to the people of the community, from children to those of older years, from a lack of nursing personnel and in particular lack of skilled, qualified, professional personnel is imminent.

The ANA applauds your efforts to arouse Congress to this fact and we assure you of support for your efforts in this regard.

Sincerely,
HELEN V. CONNORS, R.N.,
Director, Legislative Program.

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE AT CORNERSTONE LAYING CEREMONIES FOR A NEW WING OF THE DAUGHTERS OF MIRIAM HOME AND INFIRMARY FOR THE AGED AT CLIFTON, N.J., SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1966

Progressive in response to the challenges of a changing society, cognizant of the plight of the impoverished, and charitable to the limits of its capability—this describes the Daughters of Miriam Home and Infirmary for the Aged since it was founded by Nathan Barnert on a 46-acre estate in 1921.

This ceremony is in keeping with that tradition.

Certainly it will be clear to almost everyone that the cornerstone we put in place today is symbolic of progress in response to the challenge currently presented by enactment of Medicare and other vastly expanded health programs.

What may not yet be clear to everyone, however, is the magnitude of the challenge posed by Congress when it placed adequate health care within the financial reach of our citizens.

There probably are few who realize that Medicare itself provides only a portion of the challenge. There are about 19 million Americans—an estimated 659,000 of them in New Jersey—who are eligible for the benefits of Medicare. There are at least 35 million Americans who may qualify for publicly-financed care under the expanded programs provided for under the 1965 Social Security amendments for the "medically indigent" of all ages.

The precise role of this Home in the Medical Assistance programs for the needy cannot be known until our State Legislature defines the program in New Jersey. At least 27 other States have taken steps to set up the program in their areas and I hope action by our State legislature will not be delayed much longer.

We all want this expanded aid to be made available quickly to the aged, the blind, the disabled, families with dependent children and others of all ages whose incomes are too low to enable them to pay for the health and medical care they need.

But our legislature's eagerly-awaited action still will leave us face to face with an even greater problem which I have been concerned about for some time: The Federal legislation which reduced the financial barriers to adequate medical care does nothing to solve the chronic shortage of personnel and facilities needed to deliver that care.

As Dr. Philip R. Lee, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, has so perceptibly put it, medicare and the medical assistance programs promise payment for medical services—but do not promise delivery of the service.

Our historic shortage of medical personnel and facilities will be aggravated to a crisis stage when Medicare patients begin to seek services July 1 and as more and more states put into effect programs for expanded care for the needy.

Many of us in Congress have seen this coming and sought to head it off. The problem already was acute 20 years ago when I came to Congress and began pressing for more aid for both training and facilities.

With others I strove for large expansion of the Hill-Burton program for construction and modernization of hospitals and nursing homes, aid to medical schools for training of doctors, the Nurses Training Act and the Health Professions Training Act.

We were successful in part, but unfortunately only in part.

The Medicare Bill itself contained my proposal for a study of nursing homes by a high level conference when it was passed by the Senate last year. Regrettably, this provision, essential to adequate preparation for the demand for nursing home services, was opposed by the administration. This opposition undoubtedly was the reason the provision was eliminated in conference before the bill was given final approval.

Within the past few weeks, Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen testified before the House Ways and Means Committee that the nation needs 150,000 more general-hospital beds and 300,000 more beds in nursing homes. Naturally, I welcome this recognition of the problem although it is both belated and inadequate.

Equally serious is the shortage of medical personnel—doctors, nurses, medical specialists and para-medical personnel. A recent study, for example, showed that of 42,000 registered nurses in Massachusetts, only half were working in the nursing field.

The Public Health Service estimates the number of non-practicing nurses in the United States at 230,000. A survey by the Public Health Service about a year ago showed that only about 50 per cent of the "skilled care" nursing homes in the country employ registered nurses on a full-time basis.

On March 1, President Johnson proposed a 10-year program of government loans and grants which would provide up to $8 billion for modernizing existing hospitals and nursing homes in this country. Other funds would be provided to stimulate training of doctors, nurses and para-medical personnel.

The President's program is welcomed but it is very late. It represents extension of existing programs which a number of us supported and attempted to expand in the past.

With money, the shortage of hospitals, nursing homes and equipment can be remedied in a reasonable time. But it will take a long time at best to train more doctors, nurses, pathologists, anesthesiologists, radiologists and others.

Long term programs are praiseworthy, but is there anything we can do now? I think there is.

For example, I think we should take steps to get back into service those 230,000 nurses who have either retired or taken more lucrative jobs in other fields with better working conditions. At this time of crisis we cannot afford to waste any of our available talents or training.

We must, I believe, find ways to utilize fully all the medical and para-medical personnel we now have, find ways of bringing back into the field those who have training they are not using, and find ways to upgrade the skills of those who now have partial training.

Just as you have here at the Daughters of Miriam Home, hospitals, nursing homes and medical officials already have taken steps in this direction. These efforts have been praiseworthy indeed. But they need to be coordinated and intensified.

Accordingly, I am asking the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to convene, as quickly as possible, a conference of leaders from all the health professions.

This conference would be an intensive working session aimed at gathering the best knowledge and practice of the professions and organizing a coordinated attack on the problems that will be presented when Medicare begins. It would specifically advise what actions should be taken by government at all levels.

At the conference, representatives of all segments of the profession would exchange ideas on how to put all available facilities and personnel to most effective use.

There is no time to waste. We must act at once to meet the challenge we will face only a few weeks from now as patients begin to seek the services provided for under Medicare and related programs.

Statement of Joseph Eichler on the Housing Civil Rights Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most famed homebuilders of the post-World War era is Joseph L. Eichler of San Francisco. Joe Eichler is an old and valued personal friend and I, as well as many others, have a particular respect for his abilities and judgment. His concept of home development has won him international prizes and acclaim. In building and selling over $100 million worth of homes and apartments in the last 18 years, his projects have been well known for creative and imaginative design, solid construction and careful planning of both the individual home and the whole project to provide for recreational family living and open space development.

Mr. Eichler has consistently based his homselling on the principle of fair housing and his experience is one which we should examine very closely in our discussions about the administration's civil rights bill. He has submitted the following letter to the Judiciary Committees in the House and Senate but I feel this statement is so very crucial that I inserted it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I urge its thoughtful reading.

JOSEPH L. EICHLER,
San Francisco, Calif., May 11, 1966.

The Honorable EMANUEL CELLER,
Chairman, House Judiciary Committee,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.
Re Civil Rights Bill—1966.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am very much interested in the Fair Housing Section of the above captioned bill.

I am the founder and have been the President of Eichler Homes, Inc., a large California based home building company since its inception in 1947. During that period my firm has built in excess of 9,000 homes and has a policy of selling houses to any person who is financially qualified and whose references are sufficient for us to believe him to be a good neighbor. The color of a man's skin or his racial characteristics, his religious beliefs or his politics have never been standards by which we make this determination. We have not done this as a crusade nor have we ever advertised that we do not discriminate nor have we ever used a quota system.

The result has been that although we have built a large number of residential developments, some large and some small, in only one instance did we ever experience any difficulty because of our policy. This occurred about eight years ago and was resolved by my calling a meeting, and after a frank discussion harmony prevailed.

Members of all types of the so-called minority groups reside in nearly all of the many developments that we have built in the past seventeen years. I have often heard it stated that this causes both visual and financial deterioration. I have found the contrary to be the case. Almost every development that I have built has experienced substantial increase in resale value and in many cases these increases have been extraordinary and I have never seen any of the other dire predictions materialize that have been made regarding integrated communities.

At the outset I believed that handling this problem in this manner would prove to be successful provided I did my share of the job. This was to provide imaginative developments, well designed and well constructed housing at a fair price and at good financial terms. The point that I am trying to make here is that the overriding consideration is value and if the people who live in a development are reasonably intelligent and decent, the project will be successful. This has invariably proved to be the case.

I am enclosing herewith some data that perhaps will further describe our activities.

I strongly urge that the Fair Housing Section of this bill as proposed by the Administration be retained.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH L. EICHLER.

An Open Letter to L.B.J. on Maritime Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in observance of National Maritime Day our colleague, Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, addressed the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Washington, D.C., on May 23, 1966, at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Representative MAILLIARD's remarks were entitled "An Open Letter to L.B.J. on Maritime Day" and knowing that the President peruses the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD daily I include hereafter the full text of those remarks in the hope that this speech will catch his eye.

As our colleague said, and I quote:

> There is but one man today who can remedy the current inadequacies of the Government's role in maritime affairs. That one man is the President of the United States.

AN OPEN LETTER TO L.B.J. ON MARITIME DAY

(Remarks of the Honorable WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, ranking minority member, Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, U.S. House of Representatives, before the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Washington, D.C., on National Maritime Day, May 23, 1966, at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C.)

For more than a year now, I have been prodding agencies of the Executive, attempting to stir them into taking constructive action on the problems of the American Merchant Marine. I have made public speeches. I have spoken on the floor of the House. I have appeared before Congressional Committees. I have communicated with the Maritime Administrator, the Under-Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, the Secretary of Commerce, various members of the Department of Defense, and yes, even the Secretary of Defense himself. I stand before you this evening, feeling like a 20th Century Paul Revere whose cries of alarm have fallen upon deaf ears.

Let us not, therefore, delude ourselves any further. You know and I know there is but one man today who can remedy the current inadequacies of the government's role in maritime affairs. That one man is the President of the United States. For no matter how arduously Congress may labor to bring about a constructive maritime program, success or failure is wholly dependent upon Executive implementation. Therefore, this evening I will make my presentation to you in the form of an open letter to the President of the United States.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It seems appropriate that, since you have set aside this day, May 23, 1966, for the 34th annual celebration of National Maritime Day, I should address you on this occasion, expressing my sincere and profound personal concern over the ever-deepening crisis developing in the American Merchant Marine. I unfortunately find little cause for celebration on this festive occasion, since it is my personal belief as a private citizen, as a Naval officer, and as a Member of Congress that, because of the present attitude of the federal government, the American merchant marine today is being steered along a course to disaster. If we hope to preserve the American merchant marine as a useful and effective national asset, we must come to grips with its problems without further delay. Conditions have been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that now, Mr. President, you and you alone can rescue the American Merchant Marine from the arena of endless academic debate.

We have endured patiently at least five years of extensive study of the ills of the American Merchant Marine by various groups sponsored by the Executive. Each group has published its respective recommendations. None have been disposed of, either through Congressional or Administrative action. To the contrary, each and every study has served only to provide additional material for debate over alternative courses of action which may be taken to revitalize the industry. With more than 80% of our present merchant fleet reaching the end of its economic life within the next five years, we can no longer afford further pursuit of this dilatory and most unprofitable course.

We had hoped that the "new" maritime policy which you promised in your State of the Union Message in January 1965 would resolve this conflict. However, more than sixteen months have now elapsed, and we still have no new maritime policy. Instead, we have two additional and conflicting reports on what should be done. We have received also a bill to create a new Department of Transportation, in which the Maritime Administration will be submerged much in the same manner it now is within the Department of Commerce. None of these events has served to abate the conflict. Rather they have served to increase its severity, raising further doubt over the role of the government in maritime affairs and the future course of the American Merchant Marine.

So confused has this matter become that today we are unable even to get agreement on the existing condition of the merchant marine, much less on a new policy. We have, for example, the Maritime Administrator stating that, and I quote: "Our present fleet is, for the most part, physically obsolete." The Deputy Maritime Administrator states, and I quote: ". . . I, for one, fail to find that our merchant marine is in a disastrous situation." Finally, we have the Secretary of Defense, to whom a considerable amount of responsibility for the industry appears to have been abdicated contrary to existing law, stating that the American Merchant Marine is "adequate." Yet high-ranking professional Naval officers frequently have stated that it is *not* adequate.

Mr. President, this current confusion is simply a manifestation of my worst fears entertained in 1961 when the Maritime Administration was placed within the Department of Commerce. In a word, we are bankrupt—bankrupt in federal maritime leadership; and because of it we find ourselves in this present deplorable state of affairs. Only you, Mr. President, can bring some semblance of order out of this chaos.

I respectfully suggest that there are answers to the current problems facing the American Merchant Marine. The situation is not incapable of solution, but we must get on with a realistic ship construction program.

In your proclamation setting aside this day as National Maritime Day, you stated that, and I quote: ". . . we will continue to need ships—fast, modern descendants of the famous 'Clippers'—to carry our products to the far corners of the earth." I fear that under existing conditions these ships will never be constructed. The subsidized ship replacement program today is more than 90 ships behind schedule. Yet the Congress has before it your budget request for fiscal year 1967, which will allow the construction of only 9 to 11 ships. I respectfully suggest that this level of federal expenditures for ship construction is totally inadequate. We are, for example, scrapping ships from our National Defense Reserve Fleet at ten times the rate of construction provided for under this current request.

I believe you will find upon examination of budget requests over the last several years that the allocation of our national resources to maritime affairs is becoming progressively smaller, while the problems of the industry are getting progressively larger and larger. Even compared with last year's inadequate federal budget for ship construction, this year's request represents a substantial reduction, a cut of about one-third in both dollars and numbers of ships. It is one-half the amount of federal funds requested for ship construction in fiscal 1959 at a time when the total federal budget was only about 60% of that being requested today. Clearly, this is indicative of a shocking de-emphasis of the role of the federal government in maritime affairs.

This budgetary privation can have but one inevitable result, and that is to postpone to some future date the time when we shall have to allocate a substantially greater amount of federal funds to overcome this ever-mounting deficit. A realistic and ongoing subsidized ship replacement program may require that the current level of federal expenditures in ship construction be doubled or even tripled above current levels.

You also stated in your Maritime Day proclamation that, quote: " . . . we will continue to need ships . . . [to] return with the raw materials essential to our national prosperity," and to transport, quote: ". . . surplus commodities to many of the underdeveloped countries." Unless we take prompt and effective action, we will not have the necessary ships to accomplish either of these aims.

Bulk trade represents approximately 80% of our total water-borne commerce, yet today American-flag ships engaged in this trade carry less than 5%. So deficient have we become in this type of ship capability that I have serious doubts whether we have sufficient American-flag ships today to carry even 25% of this year's aid cargoes referred to in your proclamation, much less the statutory requirements of 50%.

We must put to sea a competitive fleet of bulk cariers, and we must set out to do this now. Too long has this segment of the maritime industry been made to wait, hat in hand, for the perfection of an administrative program under existing statutory authority. The only realistic course of action now open to us is to follow the example set by Mr. Truman in 1950 and use the provisions of Title VII of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Under this Title, these ships can be constructed for the government's account, placed under charter for operation, and ultimately sold by competitive bids to American-flag operators. It is to my mind the only plausible course left to inaugurate a meaningful program to correct in a reasonable time an alarming gap in national capability.

Non-subsidized American-flag operators must be provided also the ability to accumulate funds for the construction of future replacement ships. This can be accomplished by the simple expedient of amending the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, and extending to these operators the same privilege now afforded subsidized operators of depositing earnings into tax-deferred reserve funds. Several bills now are pending before the Congress to accomplish this end. Successful enactment, however, is greatly dependent upon a change in attitude in those agencies of the Executive which have opposed similar measures in the past.

Significant benefits would flow directly from a ship construction program of this magnitude. First, it would represent a commitment by the government to live up to its responsibilities to the American Merchant Marine. This, in turn, would restore some measure of confidence in the future, which would bring about the necessary climate to inject stability into maritime labor relations and permit both management and labor to make maximum contributions to long-range programs to improve productivity and efficiency.

There also would be a more profitable investment of the taxpayer's dollar in the form of more ships for dollars invested. This could be accomplished through multiple ship construction providing a potential saving of about one-half million dollars per ship. Combined with some degree of standardization in vessel design this potential cost saving might even be doubled.

Our National Defense Reserve Fleet also would benefit from this program. Presently, through a combination of apparent neglect and natural deterioration, the responsive capability of this fleet is today severely limited. We are now paying the price for our folly in permitting this to come to pass. The average reactivation cost to prepare these ships for service in Viet Nam is running about $1½ million each. Five years from now, the cost will be astronomical, and it is doubtful even then whether we will be able to obtain the caliber of ships required to meet our national needs. An effective ship construction program would result in the opportunity to place in our Reserve Fleet some of the better traded-in vessels. With adequate preservation and a periodic ship repair program, we could be assured of future availability of the reserve shipping capacity which our nation requires.

I would contemplate, of course, that the construction of these ships would be accomplished in Ameircan shipyards. I sharply disagree with your Maritime Administrator, who has said repeatedly that, and I quote: "We may very well end up sinking our fleet in the name of preserving our shipyards." The truth of the matter is that in recent years we have not held forth the promise to American shipyards of a ship construction program of sufficient magnitude to supply any real incentive. We should, at the very least, provide them with an opportunity to meet this challenge and not close the door prematurely in their face. Moreover, in light of the current position of our balance-of-payments and the drain upon our gold reserves, it is to me totally inconsistent to, on the one hand, request American business to reduce expenditures abroad, and at the same time have an officer of the Executive promote, both here and abroad, the construction of American ships in foreign yards.

Mr. President, I recognize that the suggested programs will not be without increased cost to the government. However, we cannot afford to continue this shopping around in the bargain-basement. Soviet Russia has recognized this fact and is, even today, spending hard curency to build up her maritime power. It is incongruous to me that we should become so preoccupied in our competition with communist nations in other areas, yet totally ignore this direct challenge for control of the seas.

Your Maritime Administrator has stated before our Committee that the reason such programs have not already been inaugurated is because there is, and I quote: "No money." I, for one, know of no request that has been made in recent years for additional money from the Congress for merchant ships construction. I cannot believe a nation which is approaching a Gross National Product exceeding $700 billion cannot afford to underwrite the cost of a reasonable promotional program for a strong American Merchant Marine. To the contrary, from the standpoint of national security, I would think that we cannot help but face up to this cost.

This is not merely a matter of budget cost, but rather a question of what the country receives in return for its tax dollar. If, for example, we can afford to spend $5 billion a year in space efforts without any assurance whatsoever of a return on our investment, then the expenditure of one-tenth of that amount in the construction of a modern merchant marine holding forth the promise of a tangible return is equally deserving of support. I would further venture to say that an investment in the maritime industry would withstand any cost-benefit ratio test. As a matter of fact, your own Maritime Administrator has himself noted, and I quote: ". . . there are substantial domestic economic benefits from the merchant marine. The maritime industry, including the merchant portion of the shipbuilding industry, generates about $1.5 billion in Gross National Products and pays about $75 million in federal and local taxes. In addition, the 100,000 maritime employees pay about $80 million in personal income taxes. The provision of shipping services by U.S.-flag ships conserves about $800 million of our dollar exchange each year, thus aiding our balance of payments position."

I would like to bring to your attention also, Mr. President, the fact that the funds needed to finance such a martime promotional program need not constitute wholly additional expenditures by the government. The Department of Defense is proposing to construct from 20 to 40 Fast Deployment Logistics ships at a cost of $40 million each. This represents a potential expenditure of between $800 million and $1.5 billion. Under this proposal, the federal government would bear the total cost of both constructing and manning these ships. Frankly, I have very grave doubts that this would constitute an efficient use of either capital or of manpower, especially when a more profitable investment mechanism is available.

Your Secretary of Defense has repeatedly stated that he is interested in "getting more bang for the buck." If this be so, then I would respectfully suggest that you have him explore the possibility of investing these federal funds under the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, or in the proposal currently being formulated by the Committee on American Steamship Lines. Under either approach, the government would not bear the total cost but rather would share the cost with private industry. Certainly, such proposals warrant serious consideration if only for the fact that they hold forth the promise of a greater return from the investment of the taxpayer's dollar.

Mr. President, my proposals are neither revolutionary nor are they inclusive of all the actions which might be taken to cure our maritime ills. They would, however, constitute a constructive step toward ending the current impasse. They would transpose words into deeds, assuring the continuation of what you yourself referred to in your proclamation as the ". . . long tradition of essential service to the American economy and defense," by the American merchant marine. All we require is your support, and I am sure most members of Congress, both of your Party and of mine, would welcome the chance to move our merchant marine forward.

To sum up—I suggest that we immediately.

(1) Double our present ship replacement program, to head off impending block obsolescence in the liner fleet;

(2) Inaugurate a government ship construction program under Title VII of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, and provide new tax deferments to overcome our alarming deficiency in bulk carriers;

(3) Reaffirm the government's role in maritime affairs and restore confidence to the industry;

(4) Establish a more favorable climate in maritime labor relations, setting the stage for technological advances in ship design and providing career incentive to American maritime personnel; and

(5) Up-grade our National Defense Reserve Fleet, and thereby assure its continued availability in times of national emergency.

Mr. President, I recognize that you are preoccupied with many pressing matters such as our commitment in Viet Nam. But, let me remind you that the prosecution of that limited war in Southeast Asia would not be possible without the American Merchant Marine. For, as you yourself have said, and I quote: ". . . our ships are necessary to insure continuous supply of the military material that helps to prevent or defeat aggresion by any country." I fear that the day is not to far off when you will no longer be able to rely upon the American Merchant Marine to respond to such demands. We may, in fact, see just how overtaxed our shipping capability is if the current British seamen's strike continues for any appreciable period of time. For so dependent have we become upon the shipping capacity of foreign nations that we would be sorely pressed if at any time these services were to be denied to us.

In conclusion, let me call to your attention the theme for this National Maritime Day of 1966—"American Ships Chart America's Future." If our country's future does sail with American ships, then we urgently need a strong and competent navigator, and I respectfully request, sir, that you take hold of this situation, reconcile the conflict within the government, and get us back on course. You and only you, Mr. President, can do it.

McNamara's Bungles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I have never failed to defend the Armed Forces when I felt support for essential programs and appropriations was necessary. Nor will I refuse to criticize the Department of Defense and its Secretary, Robert McNamara, when I feel American military policy is wrong.

In the May 8 Memphis Commercial Appeal there appeared an enlightening editorial about Mr. McNamara's unwarranted administrative delays in making progress in new weaponry. Under unanimous consent I include the column, "Mr. McNamara's Bungles," in the Appendix of the RECORD:

MR. MCNAMARA'S BUNGLES

It is not likely that the war in Vietnam will be lost for want of a pair of pants, but the congressional investigation of the trouser shortage certainly should cause Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara to reconsider his operations.

When Mr. McNamara took office in January, 1961, he promised to streamline the operations of the Defense Department. He came to the task with a record of accomplishment in the management of an automobile manufacturing business, so it appeared likely he would be able to make good on that promise.

Instead, it appears that he has created an unwieldy superstructure for the department that makes civilians as well as the military look back upon the old days of inter-service rivalries with longing.

The defense hierarchy has grown from 15 assistant secretaries to 16; from 11 deputy assistant secretaries to about 30; a joint staff for the Joint Chiefs from 100 officers to 400 plus an unauthorized Organization of the Joint Cheifs of Staff numbering another 1,170 military and civilian personnel. Representative Charles S. Gubser, Republican, of California, has estimated that 34,000 persons are responsible to Mr. McNamara's own Office of the Secretary of Defense, not counting the separate service departments.

And Mr. McNamara rules over this personal department with a computer-like mind, checking each item and detail down to the proper procedures for mowing the lawns on the department property.

Within this corporate structure the "thinkers" and the "doers" are separated so effectively that no real progress has been made in development of military hardware for six years despite the fact that the intelligence services report that Russia in the same time has been steadily cutting the time span between conception and execution of its new weaponry.

Vice Adm. Hyman Rickover has charged that the McNamara insistence upon perfection on paper has caused important naval developments such as nuclear aircraft carriers to be studied to death in the department. Senator John Stennis, Democrat, of Missisippi, has made the same charge in relation to the B–70 and other weapons systems.

Red tape has accumulated, according to Washington reports, to the point where at least 50 signatures are needed on most defense contracts before production can begin. Some administrators who are required by law or administrative orders to sign such contracts twice sometimes must be briefed a second time because the time lapse between signatures is so great they have forgotten what the contract was about.

There have been warnings that shortages of materials were developing in the armed forces, but the Defense Department and others have usually attributed these to service brass jealous over the seizure of control of the department by its civilian officials.

There are warnings going around again now—and not just about a shortage of pants for the troops in the field. These warnings say that in the years immediately ahead this nation could easily lose its military superiority over the Russians by just this sort of flubbing and bungling in the Pentagon.

Congress can forget about the pants scandal now. Let's get on with the task of making sure we don't lose the race in weapons.

Let's Talk Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on numerous occasions, WGR–TV and WGR radio station in Buffalo, N.Y., brings to the attention of their listeners editorials of great interest.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues, two recent editorials entitled "Let's Talk Turkey," and "Profit," which follow:

Let's Talk Turkey

It's extremely interesting that the Department of Defense has substituted turkey, among other items, for high priced bacon, ham and pork chops for servicemen stationed in the United States. It makes sense, because turkey is relatively cheaper.

It's even more interesting to know why turkey is cheaper. A couple of years ago the turkey raisers had a referendum and voted against government price support and against government control of growers. Prior to the election, a Department of Agriculture representative was reported to have threatened the growers with fewer government purchases if they voted out controls. The growers voted them out anyway.

Since then the turkey raisers have operated in an unfettered market in honest competition. Turkey prices have remained at a reasonable level, determined by the still honorable economic law of supply and demand.

We applaud the turkey farmers for voting to go it without government help.

We applaud them again when, through the principles of private enterprise, they're able to help the government.

Profit

Have you noticed lately how the word "profit" has become a dirty word?

Many businessmen seemed ashamed of the word and refer to "earnings" or "net." But rarely "profit."

We can't understand why this should have happened.

Let's be frank * * * it was mainly the profit motive which transformed our nation from a wilderness to what it is today.

If you analyze the word profit you'll realize that it is the fundamental cause for most human endeavors.

For instance * * * every wage earner sells his skills or experience for the maximum profit.

A social worker is striving for profit * * * although in this case the profit is paid in happiness, health or well being.

Even the artist, if he's not interested in money, seeks a profit in offering his work to the world and obtains his reward (or profit) in the joy he brings others.

So * * * don't let's knock the word "profit."

Prof. Ray Scott of Hawaii Renders Outstanding Service in Retirement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, there is a man in Hawaii who is about to modify such familiar sayings as "Young man on the go," and "Up-and-coming young man," to "Older man on the go," and "Up-and-coming older man." He is 75-year-old Dr. R. Ray Scott, chairman of Hawaii's newly established permanent commission on aging.

In a recent interview with Star-Bulletin Reporter Ligayo Fruto, Dr. Scott revealed his views on elder citizens with such objective comments as:

> Everyone should resist the temptation to talk to older people about their illnesses . . . They might tell you for hours what's wrong with them.

Dr. Scott brings to this important position a range of experiences that is difficult to match. His postretirement activities are as significant as were his preretirement careers, which included organizing the University of Hawaii's extension division while serving as an associate professor of education, and supervising the Armed Forces Institute in the Pacific area during World War II as its commandant.

After retiring from his university post, he went to work as an administrative analyst in an agency of the old Territorial government. And when Governor Burns asked him to serve as chairman of the newly formed State commission on aging, Dr. Scott was serving as president of the 800-member Hawaii State Retired Teacher's Association.

Dr. Scott reveals that a growing public interest in the aged is reflected by the increased financial support that is being received from both the State and Federal Governments. He relates that two additional organizations have expressed their interest in programs for the aged—the Foster Grandparents Project at Waimano Training School and Hospital and the Senior Opportunity Center, both in Honolulu. He adds that one of the Commission's most important functions is that of an information and referral center for the aged.

The article on Dr. Ray Scott appeared in the April 28 issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and I am pleased to submit it for inclusion in the Congressional Record, especially in view of my friendship with him over the years. I take this means of commending Dr. Scott in the hope that his story will inspire emulation.

He's an Older American: He Gets Things Done

(By Ligaya Fruto)

Dr. R. Ray Scott, 75, deplores the way older persons limit their interests to ailments and food.

The witty and active chairman of the State Commission on Aging tells this story to illustrate his point:

"A young man met an old man on the street, and quite casually asked him, 'How are you, Bill?'

"The old man looked at his watch, and fixing the young fellow with a look, asked in turn, 'How much time do you have?'

RESIST THE TEMPTATION

"Everyone should resist the temptation to talk to older people about their illnesses," Scott added. "They might tell you for hours what's wrong with them."

Nobody can charge the commission chairman with limited interests.

He has a doctor of philosophy degree in education from Ohio State University and came to Hawaii in 1935 to help the University of Hawaii reorganize the extension division. He was at the same time an associate professor in education.

He taught at the university until 1953—with four years of military leave during World War II. He was a major in the Army and was also commandant of the Armed Forces Institute in the Pacific area.

HE RETIRED IN 1953

He retired in 1953 from the university, but after six months decided to go back to work. He took some civil service exams and was hired as an administrative analyst in the then-Department of Welfare, now a division of the Department of Social Services.

He stayed on that job for seven years, retiring when he became 67.

He was president of the Hawaii State Retired Teachers association—800 members—when Governor John A. Burns asked him to serve as chairman of the newly formed permanent Commission on Aging.

He demurred at first, fearing that he might be charged with conflict of interest.

THE GOVERNOR WAS RIGHT

"But the Governor told me he was sure I could be objective," said Scott, "and, you know, he was right."

The unretired retiree has been kept so busy he said he has not had time for his homework—"You know, house maintenance, disciplining my wife," he quipped. (His wife is also a retired teacher.)

Scott looks on the public consciousness which has earned legislative support for the commission as a major achievement.

"The commission used to exist as a foster child, existing on the Governor's contingent fund," he said.

"Now it has both State and Federal support. Without funds, the commission would be just another organization, unable to function."

PROUD OF THE PROGRAMS

The chairman is proud of some of the programs for the aged already successfully operating under the commission.

Among these are the Foster Grandparents Project at Waimano Training School and Hospital, and the Senior Opportunity Center on Beretania Street.

One of the commission's most important functions, according to Scott, is to give helpful information and refer the elderly to agencies where they can get help.

"A number of elderly people go to quacks for their health problems," he said, "when they can get good medical service somewhere else."

The commission is housed in a refurbished warehouse on Ahiahi Street, but eventually it might find a home in plusher surroundings.

MAY BE IN NEW CAPITOL

"I understand there is a little section in the new State Capitol that the architects did not know what to do with, so they labeled it Commission on Aging," said Scott. "It has room for just a desk and a chair."

Breaking his rule about not giving advice, he warns the elderly to refrain from making protracted visits to relatives unless they are fulfilling a real need.

He also tells them to assess their own values and characteristics and to pinpoint their problems; become acquainted with the resources in their community; and to join organizations.

SHOULD CONTINUE SAME ACTIVITIES

People should keep on doing what they had been doing before retirement, he added, probably in a curtailed version.

"The older person's first reaction after retiring is, 'No, I'm tired to death. I won't do anything.'

"Give him three months, and he'll get into some kind of activity. This is specially likely if there is a problem of income."

Even those with means could go "flapping around the world and not enjoy what they are doing," according to Scott. "People should do what they enjoy doing, or they'll be discontented, floored by life."

The commission recently received two requests which show the scope of the interest it inspires.

One was from Hale Nani, the retirement home, which asks that the commission set up a nurses' aides training program, offering the 238-bed facility as training center.

EXTENSION OF PROGRAM ASKED

The other, from the Hawaii Association to Help Retarded Children, asks that the Foster Grandparents Project be extended to other programs for the retarded.

Retirement can open up new fields for the senior citizen, Scott said, and he can receive some training in whatever he is fitted for, and take on the job that can give additional interest or income.

Of course there are those whose interests are not easily determined, said the chairman, his eyes twinkling.

He told the story of a worker who confronted an older person with a questionnaire, ticking off various suggested interests.

She was getting no reaction until she got to a question which she felt sure should interest the senior citizen.

"How about folk dancing?" she asked brightly, her pencil poised over the section.

"Folk dancing?" the older person echoed, bristling. "All I want to do is sit and look on—I'm 93 years old!"

Everybody's Moon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette backs President Johnson's proposed space treaty and finds prospects for an international agreement fairly encouraging.

The Post-Gazette bases this view on the fact, as it points out in an editorial, that many of the concepts underlying an agreement on outer space have been embodied in previous accords.

One is the 1959 agreement on Antarctica, which was ratified by both the United States and Russia. Another is the 1963 treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and outer space. A third is the 1963 resolution of the United National General Assembly pledging member nations not to station weapons of mass destruction in space.

I offer the editorial for the RECORD so that my colleagues may study the Post-Gazette's reasoning in favor of prompt negotiations toward international law governing outer space:

NO MAN'S MOON

With either the United States or the Soviet Union expected to land a man on the moon in the next two or three years, President Johnson was acting none too soon in proposing the other day a treaty to prevent any nation from claiming sovereignty to the moon and other celestial bodies.

Regardless of whether an American or a Russian is the first to make a lunar landing, such a treaty is needed. The treatment of the moon by rival nations is likely to set a precedent for future space exploration. And no nation—regardless of how far ahead it is in the space race today—can afford to take the risks over the long future of an unbridled contest for extraterrestial bases and property.

To avert such a competition, with all of its attendant dangers, Mr. Johnson has announced that the United States will seek through the United Nations a treaty which, among other things, would provide that:

The moon and other celestial bodies should be free for exploration and use by all countries.

No country should be permitted to advance a claim of sovereignty.

There should be freedom for, and cooperation in, scientific investigations relating to celestial bodies.

No country should be permitted to station weapons of mass destruction on a celestial body or test weapons or hold military maneuvers.

Since many of the concepts of the proposed moon treaty have already been incorporated in the 1959 accord on Antarctica, ratified by both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., the prospect for a new international agreement of the same nature is fairly encouraging. Other precedents for the moon pact are the 1963 treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space, and a UN General Assembly resolution of the same year in which all members pledged that they would not station weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

The obvious need now is for expeditious negotiations leading another step toward law for outer space before some nation thinks it would have a dominant advantage in holding back from agreement.

The Challenge to State and Local Government

SPEECH

OF

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the benefits of sound city planning and zoning have been widely recognized by public officials throughout the country and, increasingly, sound planning is being made a condition for a community applying for Federal grants-in-aid. Much of the development taking place in urban areas today is influenced by local plans and their related zoning ordinances, subdivision regulations, and capital improvement programs. In metropolitan areas, however, much of this is planning for individual cities rather than effective planning for the entire urban area. What is missing is coordination of those municipal planning and zoning actions that have an effect beyond local boundaries.

The April 7, 1966, edition of the Times Chronicle, published in Montgomery County, Pa., contained an editorial entitled "A Challenge to Local Government." The editorial briefly reviews a State legislative proposal prepared by the advisory commission on intergovernmental relations to improve the effectiveness in coordinating municipal planning and zoning actions that have an effect beyond local boundaries. The commission's proposal, contained in its "1966 State Legislative Program," suggests a procedure in metropolitan areas be established for county review and approval of certain local planning and zoning actions that have an effect beyond local boundaries or that affect development essential to countywide needs. While there is room for debate about the degree to which counties or regional planning groups should be involved in this process, the need for the areawide coordination seems to me to be clear cut and I commend the Times Chronicle editorial to our colleagues.

A further illustration of both the need for and the progress of regional coordination was provided in an article in the May 16 issue of the Washington Post by Mr. William Raspberry in which he discussed the current status of the Metro-

politan Washington Council of Governments.

On a related matter, Mr. Bruce Biossat in a column in the Washington Daily News of May 10 called attention once again to the need for the States to deal effectively with the need for greater coordination and cooperation between cities and suburbs, a problem to which the advisory commission on intergovernmental relations has devoted extensive and constructive attention.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the editorial and the two articles:

[From the Times Chronicle, Apr. 7, 1966]

A Challenge to Local Government

Ask whether zoning power should be transferred from townships and boroughs to county government, and you are sure to get two diametrically opposed answers. The Citizens Council of Montgomery County asked last week, and it heard the two opposing viewpoints.

On one hand, an analyst for the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations told the council that local government, to act responsibly, must be large enough to represent a diversity of opinion and must take a broader and more objective view than many small municipalities are taking. He outlined a proposal to give counties an advisory role in municipalities with over 5,000 people and actual zoning power in municipalities with less than 5,000 people.

On the other hand, Montgomery County Controller Philip Pendleton, who also is mayor of the small borough of Bryn Athyn, said broader control of zoning and planning would be just another step in removing power from local government. "We need small government rather than big government," Pendleton told the council. "We are being reduced to numbers, which is destructive to human freedom."

Pendleton's sentiment is generally shared here, and the orderly, prosperous development of most area communities is evidence enough that strong local government works well. When it comes to zoning and planning, however, there is much to the viewpoint that broad coordination is necessary. It is doubtful whether complete control should be handled to county government; it is hard to imagine, for example, a county zoning board member from Green Lane voting intelligently on a sideyard variance for a Bryn Athyn home. But it is clear that more intermunicipal cooperation is essential to sound development.

A comprehensive plan for Montgomery County should be helpful in this area, and county officials already have started to lay the groundwork for a plan. Another answer is more consultation among communities. Major zoning changes along municipal borders certainly should be discussed with the neighboring municipality, lest we find industry across from AA residential homes. In fact, examples of such zoning clashes exist in Montgomery County today. The county planning commission cites two cases—one along the Upper Gwynedd-Worcester line and one along the Lower Providence-West Norriton line—where high residential districts in one township stand across the street from industry in the other.

Despite the reservations about county zoning power, it is the feeling here that discussing the idea can serve a real purpose. That purpose is to make local government aware that it is not an island, that it must look beyond its own boundaries in planning for the future.

[From the Washington Post, May 16, 1966]

Council of Governments Finally Coming Into Its Own

(By William Raspberry)

The Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments? What's that?

It's a question Walter A. Scheiber, executive director of the 9-year-old agency, gets used to hearing "I guess we'll have arrived when people stop asking," he said recently.

In a sense, it seems strange that so few people know about COG, which is almost certain to have a major impact on metropolitan problems in the years to come. The voluntary organization—composed of elected officials of the major governments in the National Capital region, was established in 1957 to assist local communities in resolving areawide problems. But for most of its life, COG has been just another planning agency.

It was the same old planning story. The planners were professionals who knew about land use and acquisition, growth trends and the rest of it. But it was up to elected officials to implement the plans, and there was the rub.

"It's really a part of our history," Scheiber noted. "During the 19th century, local government in America went through a period of great agony in an attempt to democratize cities to the ultimate. We elected just about every official; there was no professionalization. We had plumbers elected dogcatchers and storekeepers as road superintendents.

"In response to the inevitable abuses that crept into government, the city manager idea came into being. It is against that background that city planning developed. People felt they could not trust political leaders to devise long-range plans.

"But for most of that time, the planning commissions were generally independent of elected officials. We are now trying in COG to bring political leaders and planners together for the first time. Unless the political leaders participate in the planning, they don't feel any moral responsibility for carrying it out.

Now Scheiber sees "an exciting new dimension" in COG's future. "We now have the ability to cut away the curtain between those who plan and those who implement," he said. "Because COG is made up of locally elected officials, who have the responsibility for putting plans into action, we are able to bring in the decision makers at the earliest stages of the planning."

COG's general counsel and deputy director, John J. Bosley, agrees. "Heretofore, we had to react to planning recommendations by others. Now we have the capability as an organization to put before the decision makers data that will permit them to cope with a variety of regional problems such as water supply and pollution abatement, air pollution, transportation and law enforcement."

The big reason for COG's new outlook is a provision in the 1965 Federal Housing Act that makes regional coordination a prerequisite for Federal planning grants. COG was named by the Department of Housing and Urban Development as the coordinating agency and funding vehicle for metropolitan Washington, giving COG important new leverage in implementing long-range plans. It is this leverage, Scheiber said, that now makes it possible for COG to come down out of the planner's ivory tower and start to attack specific regional problems. For one thing, unanimity among the local jurisdictions is no longer a requirement.

"It is inconceivable that all our decisions will be made on unanimous votes," Scheiber said. "Of course we will strive for unanimity, but we won't let the lack of it stop the organization dead in its tracks as might years ago."

If the Housing Act is COG's ordination, its Bible is a recent report by planning consultant Harold F. Wise—A Program for Comprehensive Planning and Development in the National Capital Region: A Design for Decision Making and Action.

Wise's report, yet to be adopted by COG constituents, goes beyond the traditional planner's arena of physical planning and finance and urges the agency to tackle such problems as jobs, crime, health and welfare and housing on a regional basis.

Another reason for Scheiber's optimism is the fact that the smaller jurisdictions no longer fear COG as a potential "supergovernment" as they once did. "Problems are pressing in on us to such a degree that obviously solutions have to be found," he said. "Local governments moving through COG can control solutions and prevent Federal takeover on an item-by-item basis."

Or as Wise likes to tell local officials, "We're asking you to give up a degree of sovereignty that you never had to solve problems that you couldn't otherwise solve."

[From the Washington Daily News, May 10, 1966]

Suburb vs. City

(By Bruce Biossat)

A highly respected mayor broke in on a recent scholarly inquiry into state legislatures with a lament that suburban legislators in his state were showing painful disinterest in critical city problems.

U. S. big-city mayors everywhere could appreciate the irony underlying this comment, made to scholars, public officials, businessmen and others attending Columbia University's American Assembly in Harriman, N.Y.

Acting mostly under court duress, some four-fifths of the legislators have at long last shaken off decades of rural domination maintained thru malapportioned representation.

But the changes generally are coming too late.

The mayor's complaint to Assembly participants spoke volumes. There is mounting evidence that suburbs newly and increasingly endowed with a legislative voice will be no more sympathetic to crushing urban problems—poverty, slums, congestion, pollution, crime—than were the previously dominant farmers.

Said one specialist in Government:

"A great chasm exist between suburbs and cities today. How to close it may be the biggest challenge facing state legislatures.

"The people in the suburbs in many cases ran from the city. They don't want to have to deal with the problems they left behind, nor to spend money to meet them."

Half of the country's 30 largest cities lost population in the 1950–60 decade, including eight of the first 10. By 1970, more losses may be recorded. Tho the United States population is three-fourths urbanized, less than 30 per cent of the people live in cities of 100,000 or more.

When the 1970 census is taken, most urbanized Americans will be living in the suburbs, not the core cities. And the gap will grow, say the population experts.

As core city votes decline in number, either absolutely or relatively, so will the power of big city mayors shrink. Nevrtheless, the immense problems of the core cities—many of them now entangled with the racial struggle—have a durable look to them. One official attending the American Assembly argued that state legislators will not carve out a bigger role for themselves unless they dig into these difficulties.

Since the suburbanites seem disinclined, this official contends that governors, tho jealous of their own often-hobbled authority, must push the changing legislatures into action.

The alternative is plain. If the states don't, Washington will handle them. A top executive aide here already has on his desk a tome as thick as a phone book, listing all the Federal-city programs which largely bypass state authority. The total is growing.

The political power of the cities may well drop off sharply, but their problems are too acute for the nation to ignore.

If the states—better equipped legally to deal with the suburb-city relationship—do not tackle these matters in a big way, futility may be consequence of making their legislatures more modern and more fairly representative. They will have abdicated, and the Federal-city program book will become a multi-volume work.

Highway Beautification Off to a Poor Start

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, since enactment of the very controversial Highway Beautification Act of 1965, many of us who are truly interested in the beautification of our highways have been closely following the activities of the Department of Commerce in implementing the act. On May 20, 1966, the Honorable WILLIAM C. CRAMER, ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Works, spoke to the Roadside Business Association on the subject of the Highway Beautification Act and the draft standards and criteria which have been issued by the Department of Commerce. His remarks clearly and concisely outline the present situation, and I commend them to the careful attention of my colleagues.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM C. CRAMER BEFORE A MEETING OF THE ROADSIDE BUSINESS ASSOCIATION, FRIDAY, MAY 20, 1966, AT ST. LOUIS, MO.

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is my pleasure to be with you today to discuss the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 and the draft standards and criteria which have been issued by the Department of Commerce under that Act.

First, I would like to review very briefly the history of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

On May 26, 1965, the President transmitted his highway beautification proposals to the Congress. The proposals of the President covered four areas: first, legislation to strengthen control of outdoor advertising; second, legislation to control junkyards; third, legislation to broaden existing authority to use Federal-aid funds for the cost of landscape and roadside development; and fourth, legislation to require each State to use ⅓ of the funds apportioned to it for the Federal-aid secondary system for scenic roads, roads leading to scenic and recreational areas and landscape and roadside developments.

These proposals were received by the Congress in a favorable bipartisan spirit. Highway legislation has traditionally been handled in a bipartisan manner by the Congress; and, in this case, I think every Member of the Public Works Committee was strongly in favor of the general concept of beautifying the nation's highways. It should be noted that the first legislation providing for the control of outdoor advertising in areas adjacent to the Interstate System was signed into law by President Eisenhower.

Hearings were held on the four bills in mid-July. These hearings disclosed the existence of a number of problems and unanswered questions, and demonstrated rather conclusively that the bills would have to be substantially revised in order to provide for a workable program. At that time it was the understanding of the Committee that because of the great amount of revision which would be needed, the Committee and its staff would study the bills and not take final action with respect to them until early during the Second Session of the 89th Congress. This understanding came about, at least partially, because of the tremendous work load which confronted the Committee on Public Works at that time.

Despite this prior understanding and the good and valid reasons supporting it, a sudden, unexplained, decision was made to reopen the hearings on the Highway Beautification Bill. These hearings were split over the Labor Day weekend when most of the Members had other plans and commitments of long standing. Following these hearings, Executive Sessions were held both day and night over a period of about a week. Despite these extensive and exhaustive sessions, the Administration would permit practically no changes to the bill, which most Members were convinced contained many unwise and unworkable provisions.

Permit me to cite one example: The Minority Members and staff of the Committee detected a deficiency in the bill concerning the period of availability of funds appropriated to carry out the provisions of the bill. We proposed a purely technical amendment to correct this—but it was summarily and rudely dismissed by the General Counsel of the Department of Commerce, as "just another attempt to gut the bill." This week, at the request of the Adminisration, the Committee favorably reported an amendment to correct this deficiency. It took the Administration more than eight months to recognize the fact that our suggestion was constructive and necessary—an illustration of the poor draftsmanship and blind political partisanship in the handling of the bill in Committee.

One amendment was adopted, at my urging. This amendment required the Secretary to make a comprehensive study of the economic impact of the programs on affected individuals, industries and commercial enterprises, the effectiveness of such programs, the public and private benefits realized thereby, and alternative and improved methods of accomplishing the objectives of the Act. This is a necessary and desirable amendment. However, it is a poor commentary on the legislative proposals of the President when legislation insisted upon by him must be amended to require a study of what the effect of his legislative proposals will be.

The bill was reported favorably by the Committee, by the Minority Members submitted strong dissenting views. In those Minority views, we pointed out many deficiencies in the bill, and particularly noted that its enforcement would have a destructive impact upon small business, such as motels, hotels, restaurants, service stations and the like, which depend upon patronage by the motoring public for survival and, in addition, deprive the motoring public of needed travel information. It would inject the Federal government for the first time into the zoning business.

The bill was debated and passed by the House of Representatives on October 7, 1966, in a marathon session which lasted until well after midnight on an evening when the Members of Congress and their wives were supposed to be attending a social function at the White House. During the debate, amendments proposed by various Members for the purpose of clarifying and strengthening the bill were summarily shouted down in many cases without an opportunity being given to explain the purpose of effect of the amendment. Some 14 amendments were not even permitted to be debated because of the White House demand that the bill be passed on a given day and in a specific form.

In my opinion, the manner in which this bill was handled, both in Committee and on the Floor of the House, was the complete antithesis of an orderly legislative process. This is particularly unpardonable because, as I mentioned earlier, I and most of the Members of the Public Works Committee and the House of Representatives, strongly favored highway beautification legislation. We who objected to the President's proposals were not objecting to the concept of highway beautification, but, instead, to legislation which was replete with unwise and unworkable provisions.

Under the provisions of the bill, the Department of Commerce is required to hold public hearings in every State before promulgating standards and criteria relative to the lighting, size and spacing of signs within industrial and commercial areas. As you know, the Secretary, before commencing these public hearings, promulgated a draft of tentative standards and criteria. The Secretary has been rathed severely criticized for promulgating draft standards before the public hearings; frankly, I can join in that criticism but for different reasons. Since the Secretary emphasized that the draft standards and criteria in no way reflect any conclusions or opinions on his part, and are only tentative for discussion purposes only, I believe that it was perfectly proper for him to issue them, in order to stimulate public discussion. Certainly, public hearings at which interested persons can discuss specific proposals are more informative and productive than hearings where persons must discuss a general subject without specific proposals before them.

But, while I am not critical of the Secretary for promulgating draft standards and criteria as a method of procedure, I do think that the standards and criteria which he issued go far beyond his authority under the Act, are wholly unacceptable, and if put into full force and effect would have the result of putting most of the outdoor advertisers and many others out of business, as well as failing to provide needed information concerning available facilities to highway travelers.

Other members of the panel will, I am sure, discuss the draft standards and criteria in more detail, but I would like to mention a few of the provisions which, in my opinion, are most objectionable.

First, the definition of an unzoned commercial or industrial area. The draft standards state that "a sign, display or device shall be deemed to be in an unzoned commercial and industrial area if within a radius of 300 feet thereof, there are at least two industrial or commercial activities which are in continual operation for at least six months of the year." I have no idea why the Secretary chose two activities instead of one, when, as everyone knows, a single commercial or industrial activity can make the surrounding area for a considerable distance (usually much more than 300 feet) commercial or industrial in character.

Secondly, it should be apparent that many of the general provisions set forth in the standards, such as the prohibitions against signs which are not clean and in good repair, signs which are obsolete, or signs which are erected or maintained on trees, rocks, or natural features, go far beyond the authority set forth in the Highway Beautification Act. That Act limits the Secretary's standards and criteria to the "size, lighting, and spacing" of outdoor advertising signs *consistent with customary use.* The limitations set forth in the general provisions of the draft standards may very well be desirable limitations, but they go far beyond the subjects of size, lighting, and spacing.

The draft standards limit the maximum height of signs to 30 feet above the ground level at either its supports or the nearest edge of the right of way, which ever is lower. Aside from the fact that this provision has nothing to do with size, lighting or spacing, it is completely absurd. For all practical purposes, it would eliminate signs erected on the top of buildings and many signs in steep or precipitous terrain—and signs erected in such locations are "consistent with customary use" throughout the nation.

There are other objectionable parts of the draft standards, such as the 25 foot set back requirement, but I am sure you are at least as familiar with these as I am, and I will not take your time to discuss them, since I am sure they will be fully described by other panel members.

Now, as to the possibility that these draft standards and criteria will be substantially modified: I feel certain that those parts of the standards and criteria which are not in compliance with the law will be removed. If the Secretary himself does not remove them, I am doing all I can to make sure that the Congress will insist upon it. I am informed that the hearings required in each State have now been completed, and the Bureau of Public Roads is now analyzing and considering the voluminous evidence presented at those hearings. It is my understanding that the Bureau expects to have preliminary recommendations ready for submission to the Secretary of Commerce within the next six to eight weeks.

The Highway Beautification Act of 1965 requires that the Secretary of Commerce report to the Congress the standards and criteria and rules and regulations to be applied in carrying out the advertising and junkyard provisions of this law. I have advised the Bureau of Public Roads that I will insist that the final standards be submitted to the Committee on Public Works for consideration before they are put into effect. I am pleased that many Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle have joined in this request, including Senator Jennings Randolph of the Senate Public Works Committee who was a leader in obtaining enactment of the bill.

You will be interested to know that just this week the Committee on Public Works favorably reported a bill for the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1966. The bill, which increases the authorizations for the Interstate System to meet additional costs and rising prices, and authorizes funds for the Federal-aid highway systems and certain other highways for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, was handled in the traditional bipartisan manner which characterized highway legislation before the Highway Beautification Act of 1965. Among other things, the bill authorizes the appropriation of $80 million for each of the fiscal years 1968 and 1969 for carrying out the advertising sign provisions of the Highway Beautification Act. The Administration had recommended financing this out of the Highway Trust Fund and had also cast some doubt on the question of whether just compensation would be paid when signs are removed pursuant to the Beautification Act. In revising the bill, the Committee specifically provided that advertising control could be financed out of the Trust Fund only to the extent that additional funds are made available for such purposes out of revenues which now go on to the General Fund. The Committee also made it abundantly clear that it expects the funds authorized will be made available to pay just compensation upon the removal of signs, by condemnation or otherwise.

Let me summarize my feelings about this entire highway beautification situation:

1) I am strongly in favor of sensible, workable legislation to control outdoor advertising and otherwise enhance the esthetic features of our highways.

2) The Highway Beautification Act of 1965 in the form as passed is not sensible, workable legislation, but can best be classified as legislative crabgrass, which simply inhibits effective beautification efforts.

3) The draft standards of the Secretary illustrate not only the deficiencies of the law, but also the Administration's complete lack of understanding of the problems.

4) To the extent that I can, I will exert every effort to see to it that the concept of highway beautification is promoted with maximum efficiency, with the least private injury or damage.

Ladies and gentlemen, I appreciate the opportunity to join this meeting, and I am sure that the matters to be discussed will be helpful in future activities in the Congress concerning highway beautification.

GOP Strength in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, our former Vice President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, recently wrote a most interesting and stimulating column for the North American Newspaper Alliance regarding the opportunities of the Republican Party in the South. As an able national leader, and astute politician, he succinctly points to the underlying strength of the GOP in Dixie. He correctly defines the challenges we face in our efforts to make the South a two-party region and offers keen insight into the fundamentals of sound Republican growth.

Believing it to be of interest to the House, under unanimous consent I include Mr. Nixon's article in the Appendix of the Record:

GOP Strength in the South

The 1966 elections will be one of the most significant political news stories of the decade—and one of its headlines will be the coming of age of the Republican Party in the South.

As the Republican Party comes of age in the South, what is critically important is that its objective not be the limited one of simply winning in the next election, but that of building a strong two-party system for the next generation.

Today, there is not yet a true two-party system in the South.

Progress has been made in that direction. Dwight Eisenhower cracked the Solid South in 1952 and 1956. In 1960 and 1964 Republican presidential candidates made dramatic inroads in every Southern state. Seventeen Southern Congressmen today are Republicans.

But the weakness of the Republican Party in the South is evident from the fact that in Southern legislatures, Republicans are outnumbered 15–1.

The South cannot build a two-party system by simply sending Republicans to the national capital on national issues.

Before there will be a two-party system in the South, Southerners must vote Republican at the courthouse level, as well as the White House level.

A strong political party cannot be built from the top down; it must be built from the bottom up.

This year the Republican Party in the South will begin to become a competing party, not just a minority party.

As a result, in the next decade, Southern cities and states will reap the benefits of competing candidates and competing programs—rather than be saddled with the stifling stagnation of a one-party system.

How can Republicans build the party of the future in the South? By campaigning on the issues of the future. By leaving the issues of the past to the party of the past.

These issues of the future are human rights, states rights, private enterprise, and a foreign policy of peace without appeasement. These issues are the foundations of the party of the future in the South.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The Republican opportunity in the South is a golden one; but Republicans must not go prospecting for the fool's gold of racist votes.

Southern Republicans must not climb aboard the sinking ship of racial injustice. They should let Southern Democrats sink with it, as they have sailed with it.

Any Republican victory that would come of courting racists, black or white, would be a defeat for our future in the South, and our Party in the nation. It would be a battle won in a lost cause.

The Democratic Party in the South has ridden to power for a century on an annual tide of racist oratory.

The Democratic Party is the party which runs with the hounds in the North and the hares in the South.

The Republicans, as the South's party of the fuutre, should reject this hypocritical policy of the past.

On this issue it is time for both Republicans and Democrats to stop talking of what is smart politically, and start talking of what is right morally.

A short time ago, in a demagogic appeal to segregationist sympathies, Alabama Democrat Lister Hill proclaimed, "If it hadn't been for Republicans we would have still been talking. If the Republican members had voted with the South, none of that (civil rights) legislation would have been passed."

Senator Hill is correct. Republicans should adhere to the principles of the party of Lincoln. They should leave it to the George Wallaces and the Lister Hills to squeeze the ounces of political juice from the rotting fruit of racial injustice.

But respect for human rights means respect for the laws which protect those rights. The racial problems which will confront the South in the years ahead must be settled in the courts—not decided in the streets.

STATES RIGHTS

Another foundation of the party of the future in the South is a new concept of states rights. Republicans reject the old concept that belongs to the party of the past.

Southern Democrats have used states rights as instruments of reaction; Republicans support states rights as instruments of progress.

Southern Democrats insisted on states rights so that they might avoid state obligations; Republicans support states rights because they want the states, rather than the Federal government, to asume responsibilities—in education, transportation, health and human welfare.

The best answer to bigger government in Washington is better government in the states.

As a positive step toward this goal, Republicans are introducing legislation remitting to the states a fixed percentage of Federal income tax collections. This will provide the states with the means to deal with their own problems in their own way—without Federal domination and control.

FREE ENTERPRISES

The third foundation for the party of the future in the South is free enterprise and individual initiative .

For too long the growth of the Southern economy has been stunted by an unbalanced and unhealthy diet of Federal pork.

For too long Southern voters have measured their Congressmen by counting the rashers of bacon they brought home from Washington.

Unlike the party of the past, the party of the future cannot be built upon a foundation of Fedral handouts.

The Republican Party in the South ought to state to the people of the South: Ask not what Washington can do for you, but what you can do for yourselves.

Republicans should support a policy of fiscal sanity and economic conservatism in Southern state houses, avoiding the fiscal recklessness which has driven private enterprise away from some Northern cities.

Alabama and Georgia are presented with special opportunities this year in the candidacies of JAMES MARTIN and BO CALLAWAY, who have surrendered safe seats in the Congress to run for Governor in their home states.

Their election would do for Alabama and Georgia what the election of Republican Governors in recent years has done for Pennsylvania and Ohio.

PEACE WITHOUT APPEASEMENT

The fourth foundation for the party of the future in the South is the Republican foreign policy of Peace without Appeasement. The South has never been a harbor of isolationism or a home of appeasement.

It has always sent more than its share of volunteers into the service. It has always provided more than its quota of general officers.

It is ironic, that on the crucial issue of Vietnam, the spokesman for the appeasement crowd in the Senate is an anti-equal rights Southerner, J. W. FULBRIGHT.

A PRICE IN PRESIDENTS

The South and the nation have paid a heavy price for the Southern one-party system.

Because of it—for a century the avenues to power and responsibility in Southern states have been closed by Southern political machines to all but a chosen few.

Because of it—for a century statesmen from this third of a nation were excluded from the country's highest office. By their being denied consideration for the presidency these men have been done an injustice, and the nation has been done a disservice.

In the hundred years since the Civil War began, the region of the nation, which gave us nine of our first twelve Presidents—among them Washington, Jefferson and Jackson—provided us with none.

If Woodrow Wilson had remained in the Old Dominion, where he was born, and risen to become Governor of Virginia, instead of Governor of New Jersey, he would be a forgotten man today, and the nation again would have been the loser.

The rise of the Republican Party in the South will mean that all its capable young men will have the opportunity to lead their states—and all its statesmen will have the opportunity to lead their nation.

Why the People Need Ready Access to Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, there was a time when the Federal Government had little to do with people's daily lives, but that was long ago—before the income tax, and social security, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Today, the Federal Government makes its presence felt by the people in every State, and in every congressional district, and in every county and town.

In that long ago time, it was not necessary that people be informed about their Government because it was something distant from them. Now, however, it is near at hand, and people must know if they are to govern themselves.

Some of the ways in which they are being prevented from knowing are described in a column by Clayton Fritchey in the May 16, 1966, issue of the Washington Star, and I have unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 16, 1966]

FORMAL NEWS PARLEY A LA JOHNSON

(By Clayton Fritchey)

After President Johnson conferred with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge (U.S. envoy to South Viet Nam) and the Cabinet a few days ago, he met with the White House press corps. It was not a press conference. He did not invite or accept any questions. He said what he wanted to say, and that was that.

Several weeks ago, Mr. Johnson also met with the press late in the afternoon on a spur of the moment decision. Since the press in general had not been alerted in advance, the meeting was attended only by the White House Regulars and a few other reporters who happened to be on or near the premises.

The President, as is his wont, did most of the talking, almost all of it. There were some questions, but in general it was a family gathering rather than a strict press conference. If that's the way the President wants it (and apparently it is) there is little the reporters can do about it.

Traditionally, the large formal conferences are held outside the White House. Advance notice is given to the entire press corps, so that usually 200 to 300 reporters attend, including specialists, who in their field often know as much or more than the government experts. So the questioning is livelier and more exacting than at the small, intimate gatherings and strolls the President favors.

A checkup by one correspondent, the esteemed Richard L. Stout, shows that Franklin Roosevelt held 998 conferences (twice a week before the war, once a week during it). Truman had over 300. Eisenhower about 200. Kennedy average about one ever other week. Johnson had nine last year, and in five months in 1966 he has had only one full-fledged conference.

So for all practical purposes, the classic, formal press conference has been largely interred. Bill Moyers, the widely admired White House press secretary, calls them "circuses" and extravaganzas"; he questions the capacity of the press to interpret the news accurately. He recently said, "I read a lot that is just very poor judgment, and very poorly informed."

True, perhaps, but even so the press conference, has proved itself to be a valuable public institution. Publisher Harry Guggenheim points out that nobody has defined its usefulness better than President Johnson himself, who said on April 18, 1964:

"For the President, the questions of the nation's curious journalists provide renewed insight into the concerns of the country, helping him to shape his programs and give direction to his administration. Even more importantly, the press conference adds dimension to the office of the presidency itself. Through it, the President can communicate his views, his reflections and his reasons for decisions, helping to fulfill his special and high responsibility to inform and educate the people on the great public questions."

Of course, that was two years ago when Johnson was new to the White House. Since then he has discovered and refined some of the substitutes for the open press conference, such as the news leaks, the trial balloon, the background briefing, the off-the-record chat. No Chief Executive enjoys being cross-examined, least of all Lyndon Johnson. It is so much more comfortable to hold one-way conversations with sympathetic reporters and columnists both individually and collectively. That way the President keeps control.

Nevertheless, Johnson did promise to hold "at least one press conference a month." He also said, "No President can do without the press conference. Nor can the nation. For it provides a necessary and unrivaled avenue of insight and knowledge to the people and President alike."

The Johnson Administration, says Rep. DONALD RUMSFELD (R-Ill.), "has been particularly skillful and imaginative in its use of secrecy and news manipulation as a protective device . . . Increased government secrecy has resulted in a marked loss of confidence by the people in their government . . . Nobody wants to release information that would give aid and comfort to the enemy but neither does the public want to be spoon-fed political medicine. Congress should approve the freedom-of-information bill, which would require the government to make all public records available to any citizen."

Plenty of hearings have been held on this bill. This is a good time to pass it, whether the administration likes it or not.

Government Participation in Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION IN MEDICARE

(By Hon. JOHN E. FOGARTY, prepared for presentation at the Pastor's Institute, Providence, R.I., Jan. 17, 1966)

It is with pleasure and a sense of personal interest and concern that I talk with you this evening about Government's participation in the Medicare program.

In perparing for tonight's meeting, I was reminded of the Bill, H.R. 5041, which I introduced on May 6, 1953, "to extend Federal Old Age and Survivor's Insurance to Ministers of Religion." As you know, the Social Security Act was amended in 1954 to permit ministers to accept coverage under the program on an optional basis. This provision remains essentially the same today, although it is my understanding at a recent meeting of the Church Pension Conference a recommendation was made to make social security coverage compulsory. The action was not adopted and there is no legislation pending to accomplish this purpose.

In areas such as the extension of coverage under social security, the implemetation of the Medicare program or the war against poverty, I would recommend the formation of a Rhode Island Inter-Religious Committee, similar to that recently formed "to support the national commitment to wage war against poverty and to seek its broadest and most effective prosecution." This Inter-Religious Committee against poverty includes 45 distinguished Americans, clergymen and lay leaders. It is not a Government inspired committee but an independent voice organized by the leaders of our three great religious faiths in support of an important cause.

In our state, such a committee might also serve the same purpose in addition to interpreting and implementing national legislation and state programs on a completely impartial, nonpartisan basis.

Who better than our religious leaders could visit, evaluate and recommend practical action to improve our institutional programs serving the blind, deaf, disabled, retarded, disadvantaged and needy aged within our communities?

As I discuss with you the place of Government in Medicare, I am very much aware of the place for an Inter-Religious Committee at the national and state level. Such a group would also be able to interpret and appraise the implications of the much discussed state medical care programs for the underprivileged families and elderly.

The Medicare legislation passed by Congress last July, represents a giant step forward in relieving the aged of this country from the burden of heavy medical expenses during a period when they can generally least afford to pay these bills. An estimated 97,000 Rhode Islanders age 65 or over will be eligible for Medicare when the program begins in July. In the last 6 months of 1966, it is estimated that total health insurance benefit payments of $9 million will be made for Rhode Island residents. I welcome the opportunity to discuss this extremely significant program with you tonight.

In undertaking the Medicare program, the Federal Government is not actually providing the aged with medical care, but is rather providing practicially all persons age 65 or over with two types of health insurance. The first part of the program is basic hospital insurance which gives protection against the costs of hospital and related care. All social security and railroad retirement beneficiaries are automatically enrolled for this hospital insurance on the basis of their tax contributions to social security. But Congress felt that other persons now over 65 not covered by social security should be entitled to this basic coverage. The law, therefore, makes them eligible for hospital insurance to be paid for by money from the General Fund.

The second part of the program is supplementary medical insurance providing protection against the costs of physicians' services and certain other medical and health services. Medical insurance, available to nearly all persons 65 or over, is completely voluntary. The individual choosing to enroll pays a low monthly permium of $3 which is matched by $3 from the Government.

Thus, when Medicare goes into effect in July 1966, the aged of this country will have available to them, through these two types of insurance, protection comparable to that provided under some of the better private plans now offered. Further, they will be able to get this protection at a minimum cost which most aged persons, even with a severely limited income, will be able to afford. However, only those who elect the voluntary plan covering physicians' fees will have full protection. The enrollment deadline for the supplementary medical insurance for those 65 before 1965 is March 31 of this year. It is therefore urgent that each person 65 or over be informed about the program, so that he can make his decision whether to enroll before that deadline. A person 65 last year who fails to enroll before March 31 will be unable to enroll again for two years will probably have to pay a higher premium at that time.

The Social Security Administration is now involved in the tremendous task of reaching these 19 million people and telling them about Medicare. Through various means, all but 600,000 or 700,000 persons will be contacted directly. During September and October, 15 million social security and railroad retirement beneficiaries received in the mail, a pamphlet on health insurance and a simple enrollment card which they could merely check and return. By December 23, 9.6 million cards had been received and 89 percent were electing supplementary insurance benefits.

In another project, letters were sent to 1.2 million persons 65 or over who are not beneficiaries, to inform them that they are entitled to hospital insurance and that they need to consider whether they want to elect the supplementary medical insurance.

Through cooperation with State welfare departments, 1.1 million welfare recipients will be told what their Welfare Department intends to do about the voluntary coverage—either buying in for the whole group or perhaps allowing the $3 premium payment in the assistance allowance. Welfare recipients will also be told how to get the hospital insurance protection, to which they are entitled without any payment.

Information on the Health Insurance Program was mailed also to 300,000 Federal Civil Service annuitants age 65 or over who are not social security beneficiaries.

Finally, a second letter will go out this month to all social security and railroad retirement beneficiaries who did not respond to the earlier letter or who responded negatively.

To try and reach the rest of the persons eligible for the program, the Social Security Administration is going to mail to the executives of all homes for the aged and skilled nursing homes of the country information about the program for their residents. In addition, the Social Security Administration in cooperation with the Office of Economic Opportunity has just announced "Operation Medicare Alert" program which will employ teams of older persons to inform the elderly in poor, urban and rural areas about the new benefits available to them. The teams will assist in contacting individuals, distributing materials, organizing and publicizing meetings, escorting individuals to social security offices, and will aid social security representatives in enrolling eligible individuals for health insurance and related social security benefits.

No channel is being ignored in this crucial effort to reach these persons before the deadline. The responsibility of making sure that no aged person is denied the full benefits of the Health Insurance Program is a great one. Mail sometimes fails to get the message across. A reminder, perhaps from someone like yourselves, is often the extra push that is needed to stimulate these people to action. Anyone who wants further information on Medicare should call or visit his local social security district office.

I shall only highlight the coverage under these two types of insurance. The hospital insurance program covers four types of services: inpatient hospital services, posthospital extended care services, home health services, and outpatient hospital diagnostic services. The program pays part of the cost of: up to 90 days of hospitalization; outpatient hospital diagnostic services in a 20 day period; 100 days of care in a skilled nursing home after a hospital stay; 100 home health visits a year after a 3 day hospital stay.

No physicians' services are covered under the hospital insurance. The voluntary medical insurance, on the other hand, covers services of physicians regardless of where they are performed. Also covered under the supplementary program are other medical and health services such as X-rays, radium treatments, surgical dressings, special medical equipment and certain ambulance services. Finally, the voluntary medical insurance covers 100 home health visits in addition to home health visits under the hospital insurance and without previous hospitalization. I would like to reemphasize that these last services mentioned, including the doctors' services, are covered only by the voluntary medical insurance. This is why it is so imperative that these persons be reached before March 31 of this year.

At the same time, the Social Security Administration is trying to reach persons 65 or over before the deadline, it is also setting up the means to administer the program when it goes into effect in July. In establishing the health insurance program, Congress was careful to guard against Federal interference in the practice of medicine and the provision of health service. Payments for services covered under both insurance programs will be made, in almost every case, not directly by the Government, but by intermediaries.

Under the hospital insurance program, providers of services—hospitals, nursing homes and home health agencies—may nominate through their associations and groups intermediaries to perform major administrative functions under the program. If the Government agrees that a nominated intermediary can carry out the job in a way that is efficient and effective for the total program, it will give that intermediary the primary function of paying bills.

An individual hospital, however, does not have to deal with the intermediary nominated by its group; it can decide to select some other intermediary that has been approved or deal directly with the Government.

The next step for the provider of service is to file an application for a determination as to whether it is eligible to participate in the program. A hospital that meets accreditation standards of the voluntary accreditation procedure is automatically included if it has a utilization review committee. The task of looking at the individual institutions will be done by State agencies under contract with the Federal Government. Here in Rhode Island, the Departments of Health and Social Welfare have been designated to carry out this responsibility.

In the voluntary medical part of the program, too, major administrative functions—notably the handling of claims and the payment of doctors' bills—will generally be performed by third parties. The intermediaries, in this case, will be a combination of commercial insurance companies, Blue Cross-Blue Shield organizations, and group health prepayment plans.

Payment for covered services under the health insurance program will be made on two different bases. Payment to hospitals, extended care facilities, and home health agencies will be made on the basis of reasonable cost. Payment for physicians' services under the medical insurance program will be on the basis of reasonable charges.

The law sets forth certain guidelines for determining what constitutes a reasonable charge in the case of physicians' services. The intermediaries are to take into consideration the customary charges generally made by the physicians, as well as the prevailing charges in the locality. Also, the reasonable charge is not to be higher than the charge made in comparable circumstances to the policy holders of the intermediary.

The hospital insurance program reimbursement is to be on the basis of reasonable cost. It was Congress' intent that there *not* be some uniform, flat rate of reimbursement. What is sought is a payment tailored to the cost of care delivered by the individual institution. This is an extremely significant provision. While the purpose of the law is to help the aged meet their medical bills, this provision for the payment of the full reasonable cost of covered care will indirectly support the efforts of the health professions to improve the quality of medical care for all American people.

The story of the Medicare program is an exciting chapter in the social history of our time. However, it would be misleading to leave you with the impression that it is a complete, all embracing program. There are forgotten millions of older persons who will benefit very little from all of the provisions of Medicare.

These are the elderly who are physically or mentally handicapped, chronically ill and the senile who require full time nursing care and frequent medical attention. They will not benefit from mere financial assistance.

The story of these neglected older persons is too long to cover in this presentation; yet, their plight is desperate and urgent. Their need is for long-term, comprehensive care. Not just medical care but a range of services to provide the basic needs of daily living. I call it a program for "Living Care."

I shall propose in this session of Congress, a system of Federal support for long-term comprehensive medical and social care—living care for elderly persons judged medically and socially in need of such services.

This is a new concept of medical care but the statistics justify such a program. To insure a solid basis for the project, I would propose a comprehensive study by the Public Health Service to develop a set of guidelines for action to implement the findings.

Let us then be alert to all of the provisions and advantages of the Medicare program. Let us be equally aware of the forgotten, disabled millions of older persons who are helpless burdens to their families who are unable to afford the long-term costs of nursing care.

This is the logical next step in our national program to fulfill our spiritual, moral and social obligations to those who are unable to speak and act for themselves. This is not charity but the responsibility of a nation directing its efforts toward achieving a Great Society in which each person is encouraged to achieve his full potential and be assured of a reasonable measure of security and health protection throughout his later years.

It is obvious that Medicare is the long overdue basic program upon which public and private enterprise can build a positive health program for today's elderly with an expectation of an even healthier, longer life for tomorrow's older Americans.

A Look at the Ghetto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, in northern metropolitan areas, the concentration of Negro, Mexican-American, and other minority groups in ghettos is a social and economic question that requires our immediate and individual attention. I am heartened to see that in San Jose, Calif., county and city officials are jointly taking a comprehensive look at the ghetto of East San Jose and I am especially encouraged by the comments on this action and on the total issue by the San Jose Mercury.

The editorial, which follows, is a perceptive analysis which deserves undivided study. The ghetto clearly is a disease of our society—created and maintained by virtue of both discriminatory practices and low economic status. We cannot speak merely about integrating our schools because the schools are in fact a reflection of the ghetto life and all that this implies. The editorial, which appeared in the May 2 issue of the Mercury, follows:

A LOOK AT THE GHETTO

It is encouraging that elected officials of the City of San Jose and Santa Clara County, together with staff personnel from both local governments, intend to explore the "ghetto problem" in East San Jose.

The joint meeting, May 11 in San Jose City Health Department offices, cannot hope to arrive at an immediate solution to this complex and long-standing problem, but if it serves to make responsible public officials aware of the inherent dangers it will provide a starting place for positive action.

The "ghetto question" was brought to the attention of San Jose City Councilmen two weeks ago by Frank Fiscalini, superintendent of East Side Union High School District. He warned that "unless we are careful, we could develop a high school with a 100 per cent Mexican-American and Negro student body."

Fiscalini implied strongly that this is desirable neither for the students or for the educators. Yet, obviously, it a problem that the schools cannot handle by themselves.

Parents desire their children, as a rule, to attend neighborhood schools. It is more convenient and it facilitates the youngsters' social life as well. The "neighborhood," then determines the composition of a school student body. If a neighborhood is "open" the school needn't fear racial imbalance in any direction. If the neighborhood is restricted either legally or by custom, then a ghetto can come into being. Indeed, it is almost certain to do so under those circumstances.

In the larger picture, the entire community is responsible for the formation of ghettos, since it is the willingness—or lack of it—of the majority to live side by side with minority group individuals which determines whether a man's pocketbook or the color of his skin decides where he can live.

Unless and until California's Proposition 14 is declared unconstitutional by the state Supreme Court, it will be next to impossible to attack one principal cause of ghettos—prejudice.

Even if Proposition 14 were struck down tomorrow, however, the ghetto problem would still exist to a degree for some time. It is an unhappy fact, but a fact nonetheless, that minority groups here and elsewhere tend to have less education and therefore earn less money than their more fortunate counterparts in the majority community. Consequently, their common economic plight tends to throw them together.

The ghetto will not be done away with until open housing is the law of the land, until employment opportunities are equally open to all and until the education necessary to take advantage of those opportunities is equally open to all—in practice as well as in theory.

These are questions which obviously cannot be solved by one group of public officials in one city at one sitting. But these are questions which those officials—and every other citizen as well—will ignore at their collective peril.

Heller Speaks Out for Revenue Sharing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, on October 27, 1965, at the University Club of New York, Mr. Walter W. Heller, professor of economics at the University of Minnesota and former Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, delivered the well-known Frazar B. Wilde lecture on "Fiscal Policy and Fiscal Federalism Today."

Part of Mr. Heller's talk dealt with the important question of revenue sharing by the Federal Government with the various States. Last August I introduced H.R. 10696, a measure which would return up to 5 percent of the Federal revenue to the States to be earmarked for elementary and secondary education.

Since that time many prominent individuals and respected organizations have endorsed revenue sharing. Most recently, the Republican Coordinating Committee advocated this approach to solving the growing financial dilemma of the States. The broad-based public enthusiasm for revenue sharing deserves fair consideration by Congress, and I am hopeful that the Ways and Means Committee will schedule early hearings on H.R. 10696.

I insert that part of Mr. Heller's speech concerning tax sharing in the RECORD.

FISCAL CHOICES: THE CLAIMS OF A STRONGER FEDERALISM

As we consider the various claimants for future fiscal dividends, the voice of state and local governments comes through ever louder and clearer. For substained prosperity is highlighting as never before the fiscal disparity between the Federal and the state-local governments. At the same time, it is generating a flow of Federal revenues which permits the study of major new fiscal coordination devices to move from the barren ground by hypothetical discussion—where it has lanquished for some 30 years—to the fertile ground of practical, fundable proposals.

How we resolve the problem of fiscal imbalance between Federal and state-local governments will have a profound impact on the future course and the strength of our federalism. It will have a major impact on the harshness of the terms on which state and local governments strike a balance between their rapidly rising expenditure obligations and their limited—and often overworked—tax base; the shape of our Federal fiscal system, both as to the overall distribution of our Federal-state-local tax burdens and the geographical inequalities in tax burdens and service levels; the relative strength of Federal and state-local governments, or to put it differently, the basic role and vitality of the states in our Federal system.

FISCAL DISPARITIES

While tax cuts, Great Society programs, and Vietnam escalation have preempted potential fiscal dividends through 1966, it is none too soon to consider what, if any, added provisions should be made for the urgent claims of state and local governments from 1967 on.

The sharp disparities between the state-local and Federal situations are rooted in qualitative differences and clearly mirrored in the quantitative fiscal facts of life.

In contrast with the Federal government's reliance on growth-responsive tax sources—whose revenues will rise faster in the years ahead than the demands on the Federal purse—states and localities are largely dependent on taxes which respond sluggishly to growing prosperity. Even leaving aside the political hazards of raising taxes, the states have to cope with serious economic and institutional handicaps: Interstate competition and fears of losses of industry and wealth not only inhibit state-local taxing efforts but push them in regressive directions. Limited jurisdiction and administrative size lead to inefficiencies in revenue collection and limit the state-local taxing scope. Large disparities in economic, and hence taxable, capacity lead to perverse ratios between state-local service levels and tax burdens as between wealthier and poorer states. Heavy reliance on property and consumption taxes limits the response of state-local revenues to economic growth.

At the same time, as we are well aware, the states are subject to the pressures of *population* growth, especially the expensive below-20 and above-65 age groups; of growing *urbanization*, calling for ever more new schools, sewers, roads, parks and the like; of growing *prosperity*, which generates demands for *better* schools, roads, parks, and hospitals and a growing impatience with such problems as air and water pollution; of *adverse price trends* in construction and in services, especially of teachers, which work against state-local budgets.

The fiscal imbalance shows clearly in the recent history of Federal and state-local finance: from 1953 to 1963, Federal outlays rose more slowly than GNP, while state-local expenditures rose nearly 9 percent per year, or almost double the GNP increase. And according to various projections now available, little let-up is in sight. Using only a modest 7 percent rate of increase, Joseph A. Pechman has predicted state-local expenditures at $103 billion in 1970, side-by-side with receipts (including "normal" growth in Federal grants) of only $88 billion.

A more recent projection by Dick Netzer in a working paper for the Committee for Economic Development—whose Chairman, Frasar Wilde, will surely let me quote it—yields a fairly similar result. For 1970, Netzer tentatively projects general expenditures of $104.5 billion, 46 percent over the 1964 level, and total revenue needs of $121.2 billion. And, citing the consistent downward bias of major state-local revenue-expenditure projections of the past ten years—by Eckstein, Colm and Helzner, and Netzer himself—he admits to a possible downward bias in his present tentative figures. Even so, he finds that state and local revenue sources will bring in only $111.4 billion in 1970, or roughly $10 billion below the needed level of revenues.

To collect this added $10 billion, state-local effective tax rates would have to be raised by nearly 18 percent.

In trying to finance this gap, state and local bodies should, can, and will do more to tax themselves—the doubling of state tax collections between 1953 and 1963 provides evidence on this point, as does the brisk business in new and used taxes done by the state legislatures this year. I was surprised and impressed by this record of major tax actions in the first half of 1965:

Sales tax: two new entries (Idaho and New York) and nine increased rates.

Personal income tax: one new entry (Nebraska) and eight increased rates.

Corporate income tax: seven increased rates.

Cigarette tax: one new entry (Oregon) and 20 increased rates.

Liquor tax: six increases.

Gasoline taxes: eight increases.

This spate of tax increases bears witness not only to the great fiscal pressures on state governments but to their fiscal courage and fiscal effort. Yet, while applauding that courage and effort—and even concluding that by Herculean effort, state and localities can close the revenue gap from their own tax sources (plus growing Federal aids)—one may be begging the question. For it is not only whether they *can* close the gap, but on *what terms*.

SHAPE OF THE FEDERAL FISCAL SYSTEM

That brings us face-to-face with the question of what kind of a fiscal federalism we want. Out of the $31 billion increase in state and local tax revenues that occurred between 1948 and 1963, $14 billion, or nearly half, came from increased property taxes and $10 billion from increased sales taxes, while only $2.8 billion came from individual income taxes and $900 million from corporate income taxes.

Thus, not only are sufficient new state-local taxes going to be hard ot come by, but they are very likely to accelerate the movement toward a regressive overall tax structure. In sketching out the national fiscal blueprint for the future, do we want to design an overall tax system in which—to put it in extremes—we dismantle the progressive and comparatively equitable Federal income taxes while leaning ever more heavily on regressive and comparatively inequitable state-local property, sales, and excise taxes? Or should we seek a system in which the powerful Federal income tax is used to support expenditures which otherwise could not be made or would have to be financed from regresisve tax sources? And should we, in the process, use Federal funds in a way which will reduce inequalities in fiscal efforts and service levels among the states? My question suggest my answers.

And, indeed, Federal grants to state and local governments have been moving along these lines, at an accelerated rate. A spectacular rise in Federal grants, from $3.1 billion ten years ago to the $13.6 billion programmed in this year's budget, has financed many badly needed expenditures that would otherwise have been shelved. In the five fiscal years, 1961–65, Federal grants to states and localities have totalled $50 billion. And Federal tax cuts have brought added revenues, largely by way of economic expansion.

THE ROLE AND THE VITALITY OF THE STATES

The states and localities will, perforce, manage to make ends meet. But if they do so on the lowest common denominator forced by interstate competition and limited jurisdiction, their tax structures will worsen, and their vigor will be sapped. The disheartening battle for higher unpopular taxes and their resulting inadequacy in meeting the growing demands for services expected of progressive governments in an affluent society will weaken their role in our federalism.

The tides of strength and power have run first one way and then another in the history of American federalism. Despite the grant of broad taxing powers to the Federal government in the Constitution of 1789, it was the states that gained most in strength during the half century following Hamilton's initial extension of the Federal fiscal power. After the Civil War, state prestige ebbed and, at the turn of the century, local governments dominated spending on civil functions. Thereafter, the states' position rose somewhat until the Great Depression.

But the inability of state and local governments to deal with the social and economic disaster of the 1930's was a serious and lasting blow to their prestige and influence. Since the second World War, their quantitative role has been growing steadily. Their expenditures have expanded more rapidly than those of any other major sector of the economy, public or private. Assisted by rising Federal grants, their share of spending on civil functions is now about three times that of the Federal government.

But rising responsibilities are not *necessarily* synonymous with rising strength. Improvements are being made, and the calibre of state and local administration is rising. The reapportionment decision by the Supreme Court gives promise of more representative and responsible state legislatures and provides an important part of the changed setting which makes a reexamination of Federal-state fiscal relationships so timely.

Still to be resolved, however, is the basic issue of whether state and local governments are to become mere service stations to carry out the myriad functions which fall to them in a modern and affluent society, or to become strong and responsible partners in our federalism.

At stake is not only efficiency in government but a distribution of powers which will provide a balanced safeguard against authoritarian concentration of power in the national government, however remote the prospect of such concentration may be.

What this calls for is not some senseless sacrifice of essential Federal authority on the altar of "states rights," but a fiscal realignment that will strengthen state-local capacity to serve without undermining the state-local will and capacity to govern. What we seek is a fiscal federalism that not only serves essential national interests but preserves the strength, vitality, and responsibility of state-local governments.

In an era when painful fiscal pressures at the state-local level co-exist with pleasant fiscal dividends at the Federal level, state and local governments have a commanding case for stronger Federal financial support—in a form that will help redress the Federal-state-local fiscal balance *and* maintain the autonomy and strength of the states.

THE CHOICES AHEAD: THE CLAIMS OF EQUITY, QUALITY, AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

In this case, the reserving of equity, quality, and equality considerations to the end of my paper is surely a case of "last, but not least." As one convincing example, there seems to be growing agreement that the claims of "vertical equity" in our tax system give tax relief in the lowest brackets the first order of priority in our next round of tax cuts.

But I do not have time or space here to express my beliefs and preference in this area, strong as they are. I have included this heading chiefly to remind us that while we have concentrated today on the *economic* aspects of alternative deployments of Federal fiscal dividends, the proper mix depends in even larger part on the country's *social and political* priorities. And those priorities are leading the Nation to rededicate our growing material wealth to the goal of a rising quality of life.

Ninety-eight Percent of Shipping to Vietnam by Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on this past Saturday evening, I had the pleasure of hearing the commander of the Military Sea Transportation Service, Vice Adm. Glynn R. Donaho, U.S. Navy, address the Propeller Club, Port of Savannah, Ga., during the club's annual abservance of National Maritime Day.

Admiral Donaho delivered a very fine message which he entitled "Importance of Our Merchant Marine in Support of Military Operations." His remarks were well received, and in my opinion, quite timely.

As important information which I believe will be of interest to my colleagues, I think Admiral Donaho's remarks are worthy of being placed in the Record.

The speech follows:

Importance of Our Merchant Marine in Support of Military Operations

(Remarks by Vice Adm. Glynn R. Donaho, U.S. Navy, Commander, Military Sea Transportation Service, at the Propeller Club, Port of Savannah, Ga., annual Maritime Day Banquet, May 21, 1966)

It is an honor, a privilege and a personal pleasure for me to participate in your observance of National Maritime Day. This day has special significance for the port of Savannah, too.

It was from this port 147 years ago tomorrow, that the *Savannah,* equipped with a single cylinder ninety horsepower steam engine and a complete suit of sails, set sail, propelled by wind and sometimes paddle wheels, for Liverpool on the first open-sea voyage ever attempted by a powered boat.

We have moved up the road of progress a fantastic distance in 147 years. Let's compare the original *Savannah* and her namesake, the nuclear-powered ship *Savannah.*

The steamship *Savannah* had a cruising range under power of about three days. The nuclear-powered *Savannah* can remain underway as long as three years. The dependability of the ninety horsepower steam engine was questionable; without sails, no mariner would have gone to sea in her.

Those who sail the seas under sail alone today, are adventurers.

Another anachronism is that the early *Savannah,* as a powered ship, was not commercially successful.

Her namesake, in regular liner service, is earning revenue carrying commerce, the consist varying from cotton bales to television sets.

She is a beautiful ship! I hope you have seen her. She is a show-piece of American genius in naval architecture and marine engineering.

She is a forerunner of other scientific—some glamorous—but all novel—changes in ocean transportation systems to come.

These changes will occur, and I say "will occur," advisedly, because maritime affairs are too important in our way of life to be ignored and because maritime progress is necessary if the United States is to maintain its position as the worlds leading power.

Progress will not occur, however, unless there is an enlightened and informed populace that is interested in the development of American seafaring capability.

It is to the accomplishment of this goal that National Maritime Week is dedicated.

Throughout our history, the American merchant marine has played a vital role in our national affairs and our national development. Its contributions cannot be overlooked, nor should they be down-graded.

Many of our cities have been a part in the life and fortunes of the American merchant marine.

The contributions of the port of Savannah have been measurable. Your efforts in increasing the volume of export and import cargo moving over your modern facilities are commendable.

Savannah's civic leaders deserve warm congratulations for their vision and courage in undertaking a seven million dollar harbor improvement program.

Without this sort of support at the local level, no merchant marine policy of the United States can hope to be successful. May your port prosper as it grows.

Historically, the American merchant marine quite literally was the mother of the United States Navy. Our original Continental Navy was little more than a hastily mustered collection of merchant vessels, armed and crewed by merchant seamen and professional fishermen.

Our earliest naval heroes—John Paul Jones, John Barry and others, were merchant seamen by training and experience.

Throughout the years, the American merchant marine has been the Navy's first recruiting ground in every national crisis, whether it was for personnel to man combatant ships or to provide additional ships as naval auxiliaries. The history and interdependence of our merchant marine and Navy are interwoven as warp and woof.

It is appropriate, therefore, that today the United States Navy, in particular—our Navy—my profession—salute the American merchant marine, our nation's "fourth arm of defense."

This description of the merchant marine was not created by a public relations group; it was chiseled out of the hard facts of history.

We accept the fact that a merchant marine is an essential element in our defense establishment.

During the Spanish American War, the lack of a merchant marine made it necessary to charter about 140,000 tons of foreign-flag shipping to support our troops in Cuba.

When the Great White Fleet of the Navy made its famous cruise around the world in 1907 to 1909, it had to be provisioned and fueled from foreign-flag merchant ships. There was no alternative.

By 1914 we still had no significant merchant marine; we relied on British ships to carry our cargoes. When England entered World War I as a belligerent power, she withdrew most of her shipping not directly contributing to her prosecution of the war. Our foreign trade was paralyzed. Charter rates soared to fifteen times their peace-time levels, and still sufficient ships could not be obtained. Cargoes literally decayed in railway cars held on sidings from New York as far west as Chicago.

At the beginning of World War II in 1939, we still did not have a merchant fleet adequate to support military operations. The first fruits of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, in the form of epochmaking C–2 and C–3 ships, were being phased into service but their number was far too small in view of the upsurge in ocean transportation demands.

Submarine shipping losses inhibited military operations.

More importantly, just the plain lack of ships in quantity dictated in many instances the timing of land operations, the forces we would commit, and the conduct and the strategy of the war.

We built a huge merchant fleet during World War II. With the ships surviving the conflict, we were able to maintain our troops in Korea during that chapter of our military history.

Incidental to the growth of the merchant fleet during that war, there was a major build-up of our Navy, with literally hundreds of merchant-type hulls being converted for a wide variety of naval purposes.

The inter-relationship of our Navy and the merchant marine has one other facet. Many of our commissioned and non-commissioned personnel on active duty today have a merchant marine background. These men bring precious and rare skills and experience to the Navy. Their contributions have been almost unmeasurable.

In 1917, and again in 1941, the United States was not aligned with any foreign nation; she was not a signatory to any military assistance pact. Despite our so-called isolation, we were drawn into both wars.

Today, the United States Government is bound by treaty to support foreign nations who belong to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization; it is a party to the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro and the Australia-New Zealand-United States Treaty; and it has bilateral pacts with the Philippines, Japan, Korea and the National Government of the Republic of China.

These potential military involvements have grave implications when our merchant marine capability is evaluated.

Examination of a chart of the world confirms the obvious. The seas are the links between the land masses where our military forces are deployed, and the seas provide the highways over which the majority of our military logistic support must move.

The support extends from Greenland in the north to Antarctica in the south—in every ocean—in many foreign countries throughout the Free World.

The state of our commercial sealift capability is a keystone in United States military planning, as well as in the structure of our domestic and international economic well-being.

From Continental United States of Southeast Asia is the longest logistical sea-route in the history of United States military operations. It is complex. It demands the exercise of ingenuity, and the utmost flexibility in ships' operations. It requires the resources of the Navy as well as the full cooperation and support of the American shipping industry.

Consider these statistics from a recent report of the operations of the Military Sea Transportation Service:

a. Over 85% of the outbound military dry cargo booked during the first quarter of this fiscal year, amounting to nearly five million measurement tons, moved in privately owned ships of the American merchant fleet.

b. During that same quarter, 78% of the military petroleum supplies, exceeding five million long tons, was transported in tankers that belonged to American shipowners and were registered under the American flag.

c. For the first six months of this fiscal year, 60% of the military dry cargo consigned to Southeast Asia was lifted by privately-owned U.S. flag shipping.

d. Finally, in this recitation of statistics, it is a fact that 98% of the equipment now in South Vietnam was delivered by ship.

None of these figures is intended to disparage the achievements of modern aircraft in transporting military personnel and equipment in support of military operations. There is no question that the role of military airlift will increase in the future. It must be recognized, however, that airlift has limitations; so does sealift.

These two modes of transportation, especially in military logistics, are complementary. Each has capabilities which permit it to perform exceptionally well certain specific tasks. These are recognized by military planners, and their capabilities are used effectively and efficiently.

The record of our merchant marine in support of operations in Southeast Asia is a repetition of its enviable achievements during World War II and Korean hostilities. It is a record that deserves our highest admiration.

The shipping situation in South Vietnam is improving; the numbers of ships are adequate, in relation to the capability of the ports to receive cargo. We are getting better productivity in cargo handling and consequently ships are being turned around faster. We are holding ships in the outports for shorter and shorter periods.

As the ability of the ports to handle greater tonnages of cargo improves, the number of ships needed to support military operations will decrease.

Providing ships has been a major and completely cooperative effort on the part of the American shipowners.

I am not praising one segment of the American maritime industry over another; we have received unqualified responses from the berth lines, both subsidized and unsubsidized; from the tramp operators; from the tanker owners; and from tug and barge corporations.

Each of these segments of the industry deserves special attention.

Berth liners always have been responsive to our sealift requirements. At the start of the build-up in South Vietnam last July, they re-arranged their schedules to give us new and direct service to South Vietnam; they facilitated fast delivery of urgently needed cargo.

We have been fortunate, too, in that American berth line operators have offered us many of their approximately one hundred new, fast, versatile ships. They are among the finest in the world and they perform well.

The tramp ships are nearly all World War II construction. Some have been modernized; all have been useful and dependable.

A significant fact about tramps is that they can be made available to the military without sacrificing either their hard-won positions in a regular trade, or the economic well-being of American exporters and importers who depend upon American-flag ships for delivery of their goods. The flexibility of tramp operations has been proven to be of great military value.

My command would like to see a large, healthy, modern tramp fleet. From the selfish viewpoint of the military planner, the more tramps we have under the American flag, the better.

The remarkable support we have been given by the tanker industry cannot pass unnoticed. Regardless of the cargo mix or the port, there has always been an operator willing to offer his tanker for lifting military petroleum.

We normally do not sail privately owned ships into the Arctic, but we rely upon merchant seamen to crew the Government-owned tankers that navigate the ice-covered waters of Baffin Bay.

In our world-wide operations we have come to rely greatly upon the skill and daring of American tug seamen. They brave all oceans, any distance, hauling barges, cranes, small craft, and an almost unending assortment of items that can be towed.

One company mustered an assortment of tugs and barges to provide much needed inshore support of cargo discharging activities in South Vietnam.

Other companies have contributed tugs as well as barges on regular schedules between United States ports and overseas destinations.

Their support has been real, and fully appreciated by all who have knowledge of what they have done.

Without United States flag shipping to project our military capability ashore, that capability cannot fully be used strategically or tactically. Some of our national policy objectives to maintain world peace might be frustrated without sealift capability.

In a national emergency, the Government might exercise its authority to requisition shipping for military support. During the Korean hostilities our Government did not choose this means of obtaining ships, nor has it done so for current military operations.

As Commander Military Sea Transportation Service, I am the Executive Director for Ocean Transportation for the Department of Defense. I am responsible to the Secretary of the Navy, who is the Single Manager for Ocean Transportation, for policy matters, and to the Chief of Naval Operations for operational matters.

In the accomplishment of the mission of the Military Sea Transportation Service, I must rely on the American merchant marine to augment the capability of the command. We depend upon the industry to provide the bulk of our sealift.

We also have access to the National Defense Reserve Fleet, maintained by the Maritime Administration. From the resources in this Reserve Fleet, we have activated about one hundred dry-cargo ships. A few of them had not been used since World War II; others had been idle since Korean hostilities; and some had been operating within weeks of the time we took them over.

These reactivated ships are operated for the Government—for the Commander Military Sea Transportation Service—by selected steamship companies who hold General Agency Agreements with the Maritime Administrator. The companies are responsible for complete management of the ships assigned to them, including their manning. This latter charge has proven difficult occasionally.

My command is working with management, with labor, and other Government agencies to accelerate training programs for licensed and unlicensed personnel. We hope that these programs will produce qualified men to fill some of the now-empty billets aboard American ships. Some of your ships—some Government-owned ships manned by United States civil service marine personnel—have been delayed temporarily in sailing foreign because they did not have key personnel abroad. The magnitude of this problem should not be exaggerated, nor should it be minimized.

A significant aspect of our merchant marine personnel difficulties today is that the average age of the American seaman is 47 years!

That young men must be attracted and retained in the seafaring trade is axiomatic.

I reserve special homage for the men who sail our American flag ships. Nowhere are there more competent, more professional, or more humanitarian seafarers. Their gallantry in World War II has become part of the American heritage of heroism. Their individual willingness to sail, carrying military cargoes to any destination under all circumstances has been demonstrated time and again. The contribution these professionals have made to accomplishing the full mission of military sealift are particularly noteworthy.

I have, and my command has, the greatest admiration and respect for the American merchant marine. It is vital to the accomplishment of the mission of the Military Sea Transportation Service.

The number of ships in our fleet is kept small deliberately, by inter-agency agreements in order that Government resources will not be competitive with private enterprise.

This small fleet assures however, an immediate, though limited, response to military needs. Generally speaking, it consists of ships which are especially compatible to military use. For example, we have troop transports, heavy-lift dry-cargo ships, ice-strengthened cargo carriers, small and shallow-draft dry-cargo ships, aircraft ferries, roll-on/roll-off vehicle carriers, clean and black tankers of various sizes, and a diversified group of special project ships that support the Eastern and Western Missile Test Ranges of the Air Force, hydrographic and oceanographic research, helicopter electronic component repair ships, and a number of ships conducting classified programs sponsored by various Government agencies.

Those of us engaged in daily operations of ships and moving military cargoes have contact with many dedicated men who are looking into the future of American shipping; they believe that we are standing on the threshold of a new era.

There are a few significant developments of recent years:

Container ships are being put into service on some of the most competitive trade routes in the world.

There is continuing interest in the further development of atomic power for merchant ships.

Improved methods of handling break-bulk cargo are under close examination.

Some of the administrative paperwork of shipping is being computerized.

New concepts of ocean transportation, such as carrying barges in large, fast ships for rapid discharge in ports of call, are being explored.

Ships able to accept wheeled and tracked vehicles that roll on and roll off, as distinguished from the conventional lift-on and lift-off operation, have proven themselves to be economically effective.

Surface effect and hydrofoil ships, to date confined to quiet waters, are being studied with ever-increasing attention and imagination.

Despite the frustrations, the divergent views on matters of policy, the name-calling, and the obvious lack of harmony between many segments of the American merchant marine industry, the future holds promise, in my opinion.

And finally, I conclude with an excerpt from the words of President Roosevelt when he submitted his message to the Congress in 1936 calling for new legislation to revitalize the American merchant marine:

"An American merchant marine is one of our firmly established traditions. It was, during the first half of our national existence, a great and growing asset. Since then, it has declined in value and importance. The time has come to square this traditional ideal with effective performance."

I believe this is where we stand today.

Memorial Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, there is something about Memorial Day that never fails to strike sparks from the flints of our Nation's patriots. It is a day when Americans dwell for a moment on all that they have to be grateful for.

In that connection, I would like to insert in the RECORD today a Memorial Day statement by Floyd Silk, national VAVS representative of the Army and Navy Union, U.S.A.:

MEMORIAL DAY

(By Floyd I. Silk)

On this day, in particular, as well as on every day of our lives, it behooves each of us to keep the Flames of Patriotism alive and make every effort to retain the freedom we all cherish so dearly. We owe this, not only to those who sacrificed so much to provide us with these blessings, but to those still unborn who may continue to live in these United States of America and enjoy the liberties that have been ours for the past 191 years. We must be sure that our younger generation and those who come after them learn and understand the full meaning of American Ideals and Principals.

Memorial Day signifies a sacred trust for all Americans. We must always remember the many sacrifices that were made in our behalf so that the great American Heritage that is ours will continue to flourish. We must never take it for granted.

We, and those who come after us, must have the courage to face any challenge from those who would attempt to take these precious liberties away. We must be imbued with a firm determination to preserve these liberties. We must be fearless and confident—not matter how severe or great the challenge.

We must not tolerate the misuse of free assembly, free speech, free press and freedom of religion. If we are not ever vigilant regarding the misuse of these liberties, we stand to lose all of them—a tragic defection of our obligation to the gallant heroes of all wars who fought and died to preserve them. Let us resolve to keep the United States of America a Shrine of Freedom-loving people—where Democracy, Equality and Justice are practiced. In the words of Francis Scott Key, let us continue the traditions of our Nation and keep it the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave!"

Bob Jones Reports on Campsite Experiences of Unit of Hawaii's 25th Division in Vietcong Territory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, because we are all interested in what really goes on in Vietnam I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent dispatch from Reporter Bob Jones in Trung Lap, Vietnam, which strengthens my belief that he is one of the best journalists reportong on the war. His story of American fighting men's combat strategy, of their matter-of-fact reaction to the discovery of deadly Claymore mines, of the anxiety which comes from the awareness that the enemy knows the location of their campsite, of scrambling for cover from sniper's bullets, of the discomfort of sleeping in a driving rainstorm with 20-knot winds, and of their high morale and fighting spirit, are vivid and realistic because Jones himself was part of the entire action.

I submit for inclusion in the Congressional Record Reporter Bob Jones' article in which he relates the fighting as he and the men of the 2d Battalion Wolfhounds of Hawaii's 25th Infantry Division experienced it one harrowing night in the rice paddies near Trung Lap.

The article appeared in the Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser of April 25, 1966:

Long Night for 2d Battalion

(By Bob Jones)

Trung Lap, Viet Nam.—The first night that the 2nd Battalion Wolfhounds spent in the dry rice paddy near here, the Viet Cong tossed two 60mm mortar rounds at the perimeter without hurting anyone.

"Charlie" also had set up giant Claymore mines in the surrounding treeline, but Wolfhound squads poked out in the bushes at first light and found them.

The second night was approaching. "This could be a long one," said Lt. Col. Boyd T. Bashore, the battalion commander. He'd said the same thing before, and the funny thing is that he usually was right.

Sfc Harry Dobbs of Company B was picking up his platoon's supplies for the long night ahead.

"How many flares to a box?" he called to the man in the ammo truck.

"Sixteen."

"Gimme a box of them. What kinda grenades you got?"

"M-26 frags (fragmentation)."

"Well, gimme a box of those, too."

"Sounds like you're gonna fight a war tonight, Sarge."

"Hell, we already fought our war today," said Hobbs.

There was a little edginess in camp because by now the VC would know exactly where the Wolfhounds were camped. The civilians had deserted the nearby farmhouses during the day.

A few of the men were hoping the VC would hit in strength. "We can really bend their plow for 'em a little," said one of the sergeants.

Sp/4 Bill Ireland was half-way itching for a fight. "My step-brother, Specialist Arthur Denmeat, was killed here March 29 with the 69th Armored," he said. "My cousin, Pfc David Arnold, was killed here the same day with the 1st Battalion Wolfhounds."

But most just wanted a good night's sleep. "They broke a Claymore on us last night and when those fragments came sailing over they were whistling Dixie," said one of the GIs hauling a box of grenades out to the perimeter.

I sat down with an old Viet Nam acquaintance and former Korean War vet, 1st Sgt. George Dizon of Lahaina, topkick of Company C.

"Help yourself to some C rations," he said, and I did—a can of fruit cocktail, which most of the guys have come to know as the only thing I'll eat from the canned dinners.

We hadn't said a dozen words between us when "supper" came to a halt. Snipers cut loose from two sides of the rice paddy. Dizon went diving over a rice-paddy dike and the rest of us spread in 10 directions.

A bullet hit one of Dizon's men, a youngster named Kearns, in the back. They hauled him into the hospital tent where the doctor probed the hole with a long wire and said he'd be okay.

Another GI was hit in the leg. Then the Wolfhounds turned loose with what sounded like $5,000 worth of ammunition on the sniper positions. That is how they pass the word to snipers that every sneak shot will bring the world down on their heads.

Tanks blasted grapeshot into the treeline and the machine guns poured several belts of ammo all along the woods. Even the mortars got in on the act.

A medical evacuation chopper came in and took the two wounded men out. The camp settled down for the night.

I shared a hastily-improvised shelter with Pfc Jim Seaguine. He should get a special award from the Hawaii Chapter, American Institute of Architects because the "hootch," as they call such a shelter, held up even when a 20-knot wind and a driving rainstorm hit about 7 p.m.

It was damp inside, but more comfortable than outside—which is where the perimeter guards and the guys stationed around to yell out "mortar attack" were spending the night.

It was a little hard to get to sleep.

There were VC out there. The helicopter carrying Col. Lynnwood Johnson, 2nd Brigade commander, had been shot at as he came in earlier for a chat with Col. Bayshore.

About midnight, a ground-shaking explosion split the silent night.

"Mortar!" yelled a guard. I poked Seaguine, who woke up a little dopey from sleep and needed about 30 seconds to figure out he was in Viet Nam and not at home. Then he grabbed his helmet and headed for a hole.

It hadn't been a mortar. Some "Charlie" had crept within spitting distance of the tanks and planted two Chinese Claymore mines facing the battalion command post.

Only one went off, but the shrapnel with a range of 200 yards had whistled around the whole campsite. Dirt and weeds had hit our hootch. It wasn't until morning that neighboring "camper" Sp/4 Phillip Estep found he could put his fingers through the holes the sharpnel had cut in his shelter.

The only person hit was Capt. Gene Baxter, the artillery liaison officer. He suffered an arm injury. The next morning they found the other Claymore, its detonation wire broken, still sitting on its metal legs in the field.

It was time to pull out. Morning marked the start of "Operation Kahala", in which tanks would join the Wolfhounds to hit a VC political and storage center.

But the Wolfhounds' troubles, it turned out, weren't over.

Inflation Threats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House is concerned over the rising spiral of price inflation. Those of us who help with the grocery shopping are appalled by the increased costs of foodstuffs, and the outlay from the family budget for eating is steadily rising. Perhaps no one has approached the problem with the humor of Ernest F. Lyons in the Memphis Press-Scimitar, who suggests we switch from beefsteak to chitlings so the Great Society can put the brakes on its great inflation. Mr. Lyons' column would be funnier if it were not so true.

I have unanimous consent to have "Pass the Chitlings; We're Fighting That Inflation" inserted in the Appendix of the Record.

Pass the Chitlings; We're Fighting That Inflation

(By Ernest F. Lyons)

LBJ has asked Lady Bird to buy cheaper cuts of meat for the White House and to lay off putting some extra rooms on the ranch house.

Housewives and home remodelers throughout the land are supposed to follow this noble example, making do on flank and neckbones and postponing that spare bedroom in the attic.

Welcome to the club, LBJ and Lady Bird. The average American has not sunk his choppers into a juicy prime steak for three years. We switched first to pork chops, and they went up. Then we started buying chicken and it took wing for the stratosphere. So we jumped to bacon and eggs and the bacon jumped over the moon. Where y'all been?

LBJ CHICKENS

Come on over to our house and have some grits, black-eyed peas, turnip greens and armadillo. We switched to armadillo about the time chuck went up to 99 cents a pound. We call them LBJ chickens. It may be of interest to note that we called cottontail rabbits and gopher turtles Hoover chickens back in that era called the Great Depression.

What's this here new inflation you're talking to Lady Bird about? It sure ain't inflation of the pocketbook. Sure, we get twice as many bucks worth less than half as much but by the time the "de-ducks" bite into them for Social Security, income tax and hospital insurance there's a mighty little left for the car payment, the home mortgage payment, the furniture payment and that wonderful innovation, the perpetual credit payment to the mail order house.

Don't worry none about us building a new bedroom in the attic. You have got inflation licked if that is all it takes. Would it helped if we stopped eating?

Suggesting that we quit munching marbled rare beef, filet mignon pate de foie gras, truffles and black caviar is not a bad idea. We can do that easy. But there are some items still fairly reasonable that we have a hard time looking in the face. How about you and Lady Bird breaking the ice with a dinner to the French ambassador featuring chitlings? That sort of example would encourage us.

WE'LL DO OUR BEST

We folks down home are sorry that we set off the Great Inflation with our fancy appetites and we'll do our best to stop it. We are asking everybody in town to knock off those champagne lunches and to quit going to the Bunny Club more than once or twice a week.

We citizens realize that the head of state has to be backed up with vital slashes where it counts, faced as he is with unavoidable expenses like having to send congressmen off on junkets to Tokyo and Australia so they can get the cobwebs out of their minds.

Actually, LBJ, we like grits, cow peas and armadillo. It is a joy for us to co-operate while we make it possible for others to plunk down $100 a plate at Democratic dinners featuring rock Cornish hens and wild rice, downed with splashes of the bubbly.

We know what a load you are carrying with the Peace Corps, the Job Corps, Head Start, Appalachia and paying all those poverty-stricken big farmers with their Cadillacs for not raising stuff. There must be nights when you can't hardly get no sleep wondering whether we are going to do our part by buying three pounds of what the man says is hamburger for a dollar and not putting in a new commode.

Stop worrying. We're helping. Pass the chitlings, please.

Keynote Speech by Representative William F. Ryan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON EDWARDS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 22, our colleague, WILLIAM F. RYAN, delivered the keynote address before the National Conference of College Young Democrats here in the Nation's Capital.

He spoke of the dilemma of a society undertaking to provide both guns and butter. He spoke of the problems of the poor and the unemployed and how the President's budget request for 1967 had decimated its own Great Society programs—how the administration budget was clearly stressing war in preference to the needs of the poor. He said on that occasion:

> The American poor are fighting the Vietnam war, and they are paying for it, and they are losing from it.

As a result of the vision, vigilance and continued pressure of liberal Members such as our colleague from New York, the House, has restored some funds for Great Society programs which were omitted from current budget requests.

Congressman RYAN points out the need for even greater programs in the future, and how the massive need cannot even begin to be met by current plans.

Mr. Speaker, I call the wisdom embodied in this address to the attention of my colleagues:

> Before coming here today, I was undecided whether to address you as college students or as young Democrats. College students, I take it, are supposed to be analytical and idealistic. Democrats, we might say, are supposed to be political creatures—political and realistic. But finally it occurred to me that the National College Young Democrats are probably a blend of the two—and that I could appeal to your idealism while asking you to be political realists.
>
> Today my topic is the Great Society. I want to discuss with you the total inadequacy of our current programs; and I want to ask you to leave this conference *determined* to work for Democratic candidates who will strive to create a *truly* Great Society.
>
> The topic of this convention, as I understand it, is the poor in the Great Society. For the most part my remarks will be an effort to define the Great Society. But as the *keynote speaker* I feel compelled to begin by trying to define the "poor."
>
> What do we really mean when we talk about the poor? Are we talking about a culture—or a subculture? Are the poor an ethnic or racial group? We will return to the subtler aspects of this question later. But for now, let me suggest that the main characteristic of the poor is perfectly obvious. To paraphrase F. Scott Fitzgerald's description of the "rich":"The poor are different from you and me—they have less money."
>
> Perhaps some of you are historians and remember the years when Calvin Coolidge, warmed Washington with his dry New England wit. He used to explain to the American people that—"When people are out of work, unemployment results." He was right of course. And while I will not try to rival his foresight, I would like to build upon his insight. Indeed, I will flatly assert it. When people have no money, poverty results. I'm perfectly serious about this, because I think that too often we try to explain away poverty by drawing profiles of the poor. The poor are not statistics; they are people. After a while I get tired of hearing people boast *that* only 3 or 4 percent of the American workforce is unemployed. To coin another Coolidgism, I might point out that among the 3 or 4 million people who are out of work, the unemployment rate is 100 percent.
>
> In testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, Leon Keyserling told a story which I think we all would do well to remember.
>
> "Being older than most people in Washington now," he said, "I remember when the Titanic sank. More than 2,000 people were on the boat, and by and large the women and children were saved and the men drowned. A lot of economists today, who explain why people are poor by their personal characteristics, would say the men drowned because they had the characteristics of being men. I would say no; the men drowned because the boat sank. Furthermore, as there were only half enough lifeboats to go around, and if the women and children were not put in lifeboats, but the men were put in lifeboats, the men would have been saved. The only choice was as to which people drowned, not as to how many drowned."
>
> Today we are talking about the 34 million people who are not lucky enough to fit into a lifeboat. In other words, the poor are those with low income; those with low income are largely those without jobs; but, for the most part, the unemployed are not unemployable. They are the victims of a limited economy.
>
> Having portrayed, if not defined the poor, I suppose we should now ask the question, "What is the Great Society?" Is it a blueprint for a brave new world? Is it a campaign pledge? Is it a legislative program? Is it an advertising slogan? In a sense I suppose that is like asking whether Moby Dick was a white whale, a God-figure, or as one critic has suggested, the American South. To find the answer, we must look at the text—or ask the author. What does the author President Johnson think that the Great Society is?
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> At Ann Arbor, Michigan, on May 22, 1964, President Johnson said "the Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning. The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness.
>
> "It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and for the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community." That was the President's dcription of the Great Socity in 1964.
>
> My own feeling is that the Great Society is an open-ended promise into which anyone can squeeze his hopes for a brighter world. To the Students for a Democratic Society it is participatory democracy. To civil rights militants, it is freedom now. To the middle class, it is an attack on air pollution, urban blight, crime and disintegrating schools. To my little daughter it is a world of candy, fluff and horses. To King Arthur it was Camelot.
>
> *But this conference is concerned with the poor*. What does the Great Society mean to them? The President has said: "For that other nation within a nation—the poor—whose distress has now captured the conscience of America, I will ask the Congress not only to continue but *to speed up the War on Poverty*. And in so doing, we will provide the added energy of achievement with the increased efficiency of experience."
>
> How do the nation's poor seem to be reacting to all this concern and effort in their behalf? Are they grateful? satisfied? acquiescent?
>
> Many of us have been aware of a growing restlessness and unease in the face of all the promises made by the architects of the Great Society—but have never been sure of the reality, source, or extent of these distress signals.
>
> Last week the signals suddenly rang loudly and clearly—and began, for the first time, to draw national attention to part of the reality. Last week the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty—held a meeting here in Washington, and a good portion of the participants in this meeting were the poor themselves.
>
> They were neither grateful nor satisfied. In fact, they were irate. During the first day

of the meeting they said that the Poverty Program is "one big laugh."

On the second day tempers flared. One woman shouted "when all this poverty money is spent, the rich man is going to be richer and I'm still going to be receiving a welfare check." Others began to heckle. One woman interrupted the speech by Sargent Shriver, Director of the War on Poverty, to call out "Tell us where the poor people are being helped."

A spokesman for the meeting, later attempting to describe what had happened and why, said "when people heard him describe what was happening in their own neighborhoods—neighborhoods that residents had said were untouched by the drive against poverty—they became upset."

Here in the words of the Washington Star is what happened:

"An address by federal anti-poverty director Sargent Shriver broke up in pandemonium here this afternoon as several dozen persons heckled him, attempted to shout him down and jostled him as he left a downtown hotel. In the half-hour address to a luncheon session of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty Convention, the seemingly unflappable Shriver rattled off figures to demonstrate the success of the poverty program—while demonstrators, many with tears in their eyes, shouted at him time and time again without receiving recognition."

To the vocal poor people at that convention, the figures rattled off by Shriver—which are, incidentally, rather impressive—were meaningless doubletalk. The figures that so impressed Shriver did not impress them. One had the sense not only that they kept score differently, but that they were talking about a different game.

Why should there be such a discrepancy in various understandings of what is taking place? Are the poor people asking for miracles?—for and overnight success that is impossible? Is there any reality to their discontent?

Let me give you an example of their experience. Most of you probably read about the people from "Tent City", Mississippi who came to Washington two weeks ago. They wanted Sargent Shriver to fund a program of self-help housing in the Mississippi Delta. After first having encouraged them, OEO suddenly interposed all kinds of objections. So they set up tents in Lafayette Park—just a few blocks from here—across from the White House. Their demand was not very obscure. They are poor—in fact they define themselves in terms of no income and negative income. No income is when a person has no work and no other money coming in. Negative income is when a person works on a plantation and at the end of the year owes the man $500. That's negative income. Most of the people who came to Washington have negative income. They have been kicked off the plantations and generally owe money to the plantation owner. The Mississippi State Employment Security Commission estimates that between 20,000 and 70,000 more will become jobless during this crop year because of increasing automation and crop-reduction programs. This does not include, of course, another important factor—local reprisals against efforts to vote.

But the people in Tent City have decided to stick it out in the South rather than going North. So they are poor, and they are prepared to work, and they came to Washington with a program which would put them to work and give them housing.

To them, the promise of the Great Society is a job and a house.

But they left Washington two days before Easter without receiving any assurance that their project would be funded. Not because their goals were unworthy, but because their application—which they had been working on with OEO for four months—was suddenly declared inadequate. On April 7, these people, who understandably thought that the Great Society would help them get materials to build their own houses, were sent the following letter. "We have reviewed you proposal," the letter states, "and require some additional information before a complete evaluation can be accomplished." There are two single spaced pages of questions and I won't bore you by reading them. But I thought you would like to hear what kind of information OEO was asking these former sharecroppers to supply. As I summarize these questions, you might keep in mind that none of the people in Tent City have ever gone to college. Most of them have never gone to high school. And they come from a world where public officials have traditionally used complicated questionnaires as devices to prevent them from exercising their constitutional rights.

First, before agreeing to fund a self-help housing project, OEO insists that the project be able to provide one-third of the necessary funds. This money could be borrowed with a guarantee from the Farmers Home Administration, but of course FHA won't guarantee a loan for the people from Tent City, because the people from Tent City don't have any money. To the people from Tent City, this policy is in effect telling them that they are too poor to qualify for the programs of the Great Society.

So the letter first asks where they will get the funds. Then the letter requires "detailed specifications and drawings for the houses to be constructed;" and "detailed construction schedule." It asks "what provisions have been made to assure that material purchased under the grant will not be destroyed by either fire or theft;" and on and on and out it goes for two full pages. The letter sounds like the Chase-Manhattan negotiating a deal with the builders of Levittown. But it's a peculiar way for the Federal Government to talk with poorly educated farmers who spent several nights camped across from the White House.

Obviously Sargent Shriver and the people from Tent City have a different conception of the Great Society. It is tempting to think that the only difference is that Shriver—like those of us in this room—knows that in any complex society you have to fill out bushels of application forms. But there is another difference. At the moment it doesn't look like the people from Tent City are going to get their self-help housing. And if they do, there certainly must be hundreds of thousands of people around the country who will not be so lucky.

What I am suggesting is that for poor people the Great Society is the promise of a home and a job. I am also suggesting that when the poor say "Okay, I'd like my job now," they are told they have it wrong, that the Great Society is really a bureaucratic jungle out of which only a few of them will emerge with a job or an education or a home.

Considered in a vacuum, I think that we could all agree that we have moved closer to the Great Society. But measured against the problems which poor Americans face, or measured against the promises of campaign rhetoric, the millennium of the Great Society seems very remote indeed.

For the poor, the promises of the Great Society are concentrated in four areas: Housing, Medical Care, Education, and Employment. These are the minimal requirements of a decent life.

Perhaps President Johnson put the doctrine of the Great Society most succinctly in his first State of the Union Message, when he said that this nation would help "each and every American citizen fulfill his basic hopes; his hopes for a fair chance to make good; his hopes for fair play from the law; his hopes for a full-time job on full-time pay; his hopes for a decent home for his family in a decent community; his hopes for a good school for his children with good teachers; and his hopes for security when faced with sickness, or unemployment or old age."

But while peoples' hopes have been kindled, their dreams have not been realized.

Let us examine what Americans could understandably hope for, and measure it against what has been done.

In housing the Administration has proposed "massive additions to the supply of low and moderate cost housing."

President Johnson has proposed, "that we combine physical reconstruction and rehabilitation with effective social programs throughout he rebuilding process . . . that we focus all the techniques and talents within our society on the crisis of the American city."

But the promise of decent housing is not being met.

Today—in the words of the President—some "four million urban families are living in homes of such disrepair as to violate decent housing standards."

Yet for 1965, 1966 and 1967, the Administration has actually proposed building public housing at the rate of 35,000 units per year—about the same rate as we built public housing a generation ago, in the 1930's.

Last year the Congress made a number of housing authorizations at the Administration's request. The Administration insisted the authorizations were minimal if we were to begin to meet our housing problems.

This year, however, *in asking for the actual money,* the Administration itself has decimated its own minimal requests.

Taking all Great Society housing programs together, it has sliced its own requests by 40 per cent—which is like amputating a man's legs at the neck.

For instance:

Urban housing grants, authorized at $117 million have been decimated to $35 million.

Housing Rehabilitation, authorized at $160 million, has been chopped down to zero.

Neighborhood Facility Grants, authorized at $88 million, has been sliced down to $25 million.

Rent Subsidies, authorized at $65 million, has been sliced down to $35 million, and then further cut to a third by Congress itself.

Public Housing, authorized at $460 million, has been slashed down to $350 million.

In short, the Great Society is not making "massive additions to the supply of low cost housing." Instead, we are cutting the heart and sinews out of minimal projects to provide the poor a better place to live.

President Johnson talked about the need for medical care and hospital facilities at San Antonio on April 8. He said:

"We are never going to stop trying to find a new way to make Medicare sensitive to what our people need, and make it sensitive to what we ought to do to lift the quality of life in this land and in this world. If I am ever to be remembered I want to be remembered as one who spent his whole life trying to get more people to have medicine and have attention, nursing, hospitals and doctor's care when they need to."

Medicare is now an accepted fact. But it does not build hospitals for the treatment of the elderly. It does not provide drugs. And it only touches the surface of our medical problems.

Our hospital facilities for the poor, all across America, are inadequate or non-existant. One third of the nation's hospital beds are obsolete.

Last year the Congress made a number of medical and hospital authorizations at the Administration's request. The Administration insisted then that its requests were minimal if we were to begin to meet our medical problems.

This year, however, in asking for the actual money, the Administration itself has decimated those minimal requests.

For instance:

The Regional Medical Program, authorized at $90 million, has been sliced down to $40 million.

Construction of Community Mental Health Centers, authorized at $65 million, has been cut down to $15 million.

Health Research Construction Grants, authorized at $93 million, have been chopped down to $15 million.

We are not even beginning to meet the medical needs of the poor.

In education, the President has stated that "every child must have the best education that this nation can provide," unquote. And he has said that, "nothing matters more to the future of our country; not (even) our military preparedness."

Yet for all the promises, our school districts are not keeping up with demand. Attendance in elementary and secondary schools will increase by four million in the next five years. These children will fill 400,000 new classrooms. By 1970, our colleges must teach half again as many students as they are teaching now.

To meet this massive demand, the Federal government will spend only $3 billion on education, and most of that money will go to more wealthy school districts.

Let me read you an editorial from the Washington Post of April 14:

"The rich school districts are turning up at the head of the line for Federal funds predictably, and the poor school districts are at the tail of the line. The money is being spent for educating children from poor families, true enough, but it is being spent disproportionately on those poor children who live in wealthy communities. The pattern of distribution is a bitter reproach to the original high purpose of the legislation to reduce poverty and improve school standards."

The editorial ends, "The rich get richer as usual, and the poor get children."

Again, last year Congress made a number of educational authorizations at the Administration's request. The Administration insisted its requests were minimal if we are to begin to meet the educational needs of our nation.

This year, however, in asking for the actual money, the Administration itself has decimated those minimal requests.

For instance:

Aid to schools in impacted areas, authorized at $416 million, chopped to $180 million.

Federal Aid to Higher Education, authorized at $700 million, sliced to $400 million.

The National Defense Education Act, which includes scholarships, authorized at $500 million, cut to $250 million.

In short, the Great Society is not moving the poor much closer to "full educational opportunity."

For employment, the President has promised that the government will help every citizen fulfill "his hopes for a full-time job on full-time pay. Our goal is not merely to spread the work," the President has said. "Our goal is to create new jobs."

As long ago as 1946 the Congress declared that the country is committed to the goal of full employment. Now we preen ourselves when unemployment gets down to five or four per cent.

Nor has the Great Society managed to assure all workers a decent wage. Hopefully, Congress will pass a new minimum wage law this year, which will lift the minimum wage to $1.60 by 1968, and extend the minimum wage to seven million new workers. But even this measure will not lift the national minimum wage to a level above the poverty line.

A laborer who makes $1.60 an hour, 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, still will earn less than $3,500 dollars for the year. In New York City a family is considered impoverished if its income is less than *$4,000* a year.

Last year Congress made a number of authorizations, aimed in part at employment, at the Administration's request. The Administration insisted its requests were minimal if we are to begin to meet the pledge of full employment, and of employment opportunity for the poor.

This year, however, in asking for the *actual money*, the Administration itself has decimated those minimal requests.

Two examples:

The War on Poverty and Appalachia, authorized at $300 million, cut to $200 million.

The Economic Development Administration, which includes public works, authorized at $500 million, cut to $170 million.

In short, millions of Americans apparently will remain out of work. Millions more appear destined to continue to work for less-than-living wages.

Among the poor and unemployed, where unemployment is 100 per cent, it is going to continue at 100 per cent in the Great Society.

But the Administration hasn't made these cuts just in housing, medical care, education and employment programs. It has made them in domestic programs right across the board.

Take two much-publicized programs—water and *urban transit*.

Sewer and water supply grants, authorized at $300 million dollars last year, were cut to $100 million.

Urban transportation, authorized at $185 million, was cut to $100 million.

As Congressman Mahon of Texas, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, said the other day:

"It can be clearly shown that the President made some basic and meaningful cuts in preparing his fiscal 1967 budget."

It sure can.

The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and the Congress have lit the fires of hope among the poor and underprivileged of our society. We have made all kinds of promises.

But with the Vietnam war, we have delayed our promises. Promises delayed are promises denied.

We cannot ignore the Vietnam conflict in our discussion of domestic policy. You cannot consider the problems of the Great Society or the poor today without considering *who* is fighting the Vietnam war, *who* is paying for it and *who* is suffering from it.

Because of our present draft policies, if is *the poor and their sons* who are sharing an unfair burden for the battle in Vietnam.

Because of the way we are financing the war—by gutting programs devoted to the poor—*it is the poor* who are paying for the battles in Vietnam.

And because of the lack of these programs—devoted to enlarging the future of the poor—if anybody is losing the war in Vietnam, it is the poverty stricken in America.

The fact is that *the American poor are fighting the Vietnam war, they are paying for it, and they are losing from it.*

The anti-poverty program does not claim it is wiping out poverty. It's purpose is not to wipe out poverty, but to break into the circle of poverty at several places, to give the poor a chance, a start, a beginning, a first break.

In short, the goal of the war on poverty is to get the poor started upward. But even to start, they must move.

If they are to move, we must get down to building houses for poor to live in. We must get down to providing the medical facilities to preserve their health, the schools to give them education and the jobs to give them dignity and hope and life.

The problem is not vision. The problem is courage and action. The problem is to fill America and Congress and government with men who have the courage and are willing to take the action to make this society truly Great.

So I ask you today, as college students, to share the vision of the great society, to share the idealism of the President's messages to Congress, and of the newly hopeful poor.

And today I ask you as Democrats to engage in some practical politics. I ask you to leave meetings like this not only with new ideas, but with a new determination to elect men and women who will put those ideas into action. I ask you to work for men and women this fall who will help to create a truly great society.

And finally, I ask you to return to this city in years to come with the conviction and the courage to work for the programs which you discuss today.

I will be waiting to hear from you.

Disclosures of the Week—Part IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, hereinafter are a number of startling facts which first came to my attention last week. These news items speak for themselves and forcefully argue for some drastic changes in Government policies of the Johnson administration.

CASE NO. 1

The Tax Foundation, Inc., in its May monthly tax features report that an imaginary but fairly representative American citizen, married, the father of two children and earning $10,000 annually lost an estimated $268 because of inflation in the period March 1965 to March 1966.

During the same time his brother, earning $7,500 yearly, lost an estimated $201 through inflation.

According to the Labor Department statistics it cost $112 in March to buy the same amount of consumer goods as $100 would have bought in 1957–59.

CASE NO. 2

The chairman of the House Banking and Currency Commitee sent the Treasury Department a request for information. Attached to the reply was an interoffice memo which obviously was not intended for his eyes. The memo from one Treasury office to another read as follows:

> You'll note we have purposely not answered the question except in a very indirect way.

CASE NO. 3

Newly appointed Senator Robert G. Griffin, of Michigan, just back from Vietnam said that certain Vietnamese merchants have a vested interest in prolonging the war. They are making windfall profits out of import licenses at 60 piasters to the dollar when the black market is 160 to 180 piasters to the dollar. He said due to mismanagement of American aid officials large sums are finding their way into foreign banks in

Europe. Likewise, he said, many commodities are going to the Vietcong.

CASE NO. 4

Representative HOWARD H. CALLAWAY, of Georgia, a West Pointer and former Army infantry commander protested that the network of canals in North Vietnam vital to transporting military supplies to the Communist forces are banned to U.S. bombs. He said these canals are operated by a series of locks which if destroyed by our bombs would knock out major enemy supply routes.

CASE NO. 5

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, in charge of releasing war news, told a group of correspondents in Vietnam:

> Look, if you think any American official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid. Did you hear that—stupid.

He told the correspondents he expected the American press to be the handmaidens of Government.

CASE NO. 6

It is apparent that this Democratic Congress is not about to stop spending in order to stop inflation. Urged by the White House, it continues to enact new spending programs even while the Council of State Chambers of Commerce reports that existing Great Society programs now costing $3 billion a year will cost $17.7 billion in 5 years—1970, not including an expected $3.8 billion increase in the cost of trust funds programs.

Watch Your Hide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, in the Dayton, Tenn., Herald of May 5, Frank Glass, Jr., makes some perceptive observations about Great Society expenditures and increased taxes, and the opportunity the citizen has through the ballot of correcting Federal abuse of authority.

Under unanimous consent I insert the article, "Watch Your Hide," in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WATCH YOUR HIDE

(By Frank Glass, Jr.)

Taxes have been described as the price we pay for civilization. By the looks of things, we may be getting too civilized for our own good.

More taxes seem to be coming. Something ought to give . . . and many of us hope that the Great Society will be curtailed, while we are still alive to enjoy the society we already have. Could it be that some government economists look upon us taxpayers as sheep, figuring we can be sheared and sheared again? True, but you can only skin a sheep once.

If any of the voters are worrying about this, they might look in the mirror to find the cause of their concern. When we ask for federal handouts we get them for votes, but we pay for them in taxes, and then some. When we send a dollar to Washington, the "Free Lunch" we get back may be worth 50¢, with political overhead, carrying charges and inflation taken out. If we want to give our wool but keep our hides, we should make our wishes known in the voting booth at every opportunity inculding the August and November elections coming up.

Vietnam in a Historical Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD two papers prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, dealing with the history of Vietnam.

The two papers which follow were prepared at my request to facilitate better understanding of the situation in Vietnam. The first provides an insight into the background of the Vietnamese nation; the second relates certain key events in Vietnam's history to developments which were occurring simultaneously in other parts of the world. By viewing the present condition of Vietnam from this historical and worldwide perspective, I believe that we can better appreciate what is going on there right now.

I want to mention that the abbreviated chronology was intended to be illustrative rather than all encompassing. I think it is a helpful compilation even though, on my part, I would have preferred to see the years 1954–63 covered in more detail.

This was a very critical and important period not only for Vietnam but also for the rest of the world. It was during those years that the Diem government established effective central authority in South Vietnam, overcame the divisive power of the various warlords, and made a start—a significant start—toward social and economic reconstruction of the country.

These were impressive achievements when one pauses to consider the chaotic situation which prevailed in that country after the French suffered the stunning defeat at Dienbienphu.

They acquire additional significance when one recalls that during the same period the bread-and-freedom riots occurred in Poland, the Hungarian revolution was brutally crushed by the Soviets, the Chinese Communists gained several footholds in Africa, and the world found itself on the brink of utter destruction as a result of Soviet attempts to place missiles on Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, I commend these articles to the attention of the membership of the Congress:

VIETNAM: SOME NOTES ON ITS HISTORY IN RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AFFECTING THE POLICIES OF THE GREAT POWERS

(Prepared according to the instructions of the Honorable EDNA F. KELLY, by Russell J Leng, analyst in international relations, Foreign Affairs Division, Library Reference Service, April 7, 1966)

1. PRIOR TO FRENCH COLONIZATION

The early history of the Vietnamese is obscure although they figured in ancient Chinese annals as early as the third century B,C. In 208 B.C. the kingdom of Nam-Viet, composed of parts of present-day southern China with three provinces in northern Vietnam, was formed. It was annexed by China in 111 B.C. and governed as a Chinese Province (Giao Chi) until 939 A.D.

The Vietnamese were able to over-throw Chinese rule in 939 when they capitalized on the anarchy existing in China following the collapse of the T'ang dynasty. Small wars with China and internal power struggles continued until 1427 when the warrior Le Loi drove Chinese forces out of Hanoi and established a dynasty which was to last through the 1770's. Despite their internal independence, the Vietnamese were still not free from the influence of their overpowering neighbor; Vietnam remain a tributary state of China and sent triennial payments to the Chinese to preserve its legitimacy until the time of the French conquest.

With the end of the Crusades in the thirteenth century, Europe began to expand its horizons in the direction of Asia and the Far East. During the first half of the 13th century Europe suffered under a series of successful Mongol invasions and by 1259 the land "from the banks of the Yellow River to the Danube and from the Persian Gulf to Siberia owed allegiance to the Mongols." This did have one bright side, for European travelers acceptable to them were able to gain free passage for overland travel to Asia.

Among the earliest travelers to take advantage of the land route to Asia was Marco Polo, who is known as the greatest of all Medieval travelers. During his travels between 1271 and 1295 Marco Polo became a favorite of the Great Khan of China and traveled through Burma, India, China, and parts of what is now Vietnam. Missionaries and merchants soon followed the footsteps of Polo, whom historians have credited with having "created Asia for the European mind."

The Mongols were overthrown in 1368 and with the accession of the Ming dynasty in China, the great land route was closed to European travelers for the next two centuries. European merchants began to search for a sea route to acquire the then highly valued spices of the East. Six years after Columbus landed in the West Indies, Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and in 1498 opened a new seaway to India and the Far East.

The Nuygen lords of the Le dynasty, meanwhile, had slowly been expanding southward to consolidate their control over Annan and Cochinchina. They easily spread down into the rich Mekong Delta and by the middle of the eighteenth century they reached the southern tip of Indochina on the Gulf of Siam. As the Nuygens extended their control of Vietnam, they began to experience regular contact with European merchants and missionaries.

2. EARLY FRENCH COLONIZATION

Competition for commercial and religious privileges in Vietnam continued from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century between England, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal. By the eighteenth century the trade had declined considerably but missionary activity, particularly by the French, continued under conditions which ranged from passive toleration to active persecution. The persecution of the French missionaries grew in the 19th century and in 1833 an imperial edict declared the profession of Christianity a crime punishable by death. Finally, with the death of a French and a Spanish missionary, a Franco-Spanish task force invaded Tourance, and then turned south to occupy Saigon in February of 1859. More invasions followed and on August 25, 1883 a treaty was signed declaring Annan and Tonkin French protectorates, in addition to colony status for Cochinchina. But in actual fact, all of Vietnam was now a French colony.

The nineteenth century saw a period of relative stability in Europe after the close of the Napoleonic Wars and the agreements reached at the Congress of Vienna. Despite internal political instability through much of the century, involvement in the Crimean War against Russia, and a defeat at the hands of the Germans in 1870 the French were able to exert a continual effort to extending their control over Indochina. Not even the change from the monarchy of Napoleon III to the Third Republic affected the steadily increasing French control of Indochina which extended to Laos and Cambodia (in protectorate status) as well as Tonkin, Annan, and Cochinchina by 1895.

The English Navy still ruled the seas under what has often been referred to as the "Pax Britannica;" nevertheless, her interests, in the East were primarily centered in China and India rather than the Indochinese peninsula.

The United States was just beginning to emerge on the international scene as a new naval power in the middle of the 19th century. Until then American interests had still been directed primarily toward expansion across the North American continent and toward the Western Hemisphere, but by the end of the century American merchants were competing with the British in China and Admiral Perry had forced the Japanese to open their gates to the West for the first time.

3 FRENCH COLONIALISM PRIOR TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Vietnam was now a French colony but resistance to French rule continued, first by the traditional elites in Vietnamese society and later by new leaders born during the period of French colonial control. French colonial policy was based on the concept of effectively using Vietnam as a profitable economic enterprise and several attempts by Vietnamese scholars and nationalists to achieve moderate reforms during the 1920's were rejected outright by their colonial masters.

A Vietnamese Nationalist Party (VNQDD) modeled after the Kuomingtang in China attempted an armed uprising on February 9, 1930 which was quickly put down by French authorities who proceeded to effectively destroy the fledging opposition.

Nevertheless, the disappearance of the VNQDD brought the underground Communist parties in Vietnam to a position of dominance in the resistance movement. Three competing Communist groups were merged into a United Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) that year by the Southeast Asian Comintern representative Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot), later known as Ho Chi Minh. Nguyen was born in Vietnam but had spent most of his youth in Paris where he was active first in the Socialist movement and later in French communism. He traveled to Moscow as a Party representative in the early twenties and then accompanied the Soviet agent Borodin to China to work with Kuomingtang before he returned to Viet nam in the mid-twenties.

The ICP began to lose a certain amount of support in the thirties due to its acceptance of the Comintern policy of the "Popular Front," then being tried in France and Spain. By the late thirties, however, the collapse of the Popular Front in France and continued strong French retaliation to the ICP's disruptive activities had driven the movement completely underground. The leadership was forced to re-group in Southern China as the Second World War began.

Prior to the Second World War, the West remained generally ignorant of the smoldering fires of nationalism which would be enflamed by the Japanese "liberation" of Southeast Asia during World War II. Woodrow Wilson's principles of self-determination were not applied to these regions, which were considered "backward" and not ready for self-government.

During this period the attention of the Western powers was at first diverted by a devastating World War, the endless complications and problems of the Versailles and other peace settlements, a world economic crisis and the spector of international communism which had at last found a champion in the Soviet Union.

Despite the Western fears, international communism was able to achieve few real successes and the movement became more and more an ancillary arm of Soviet foreign policy. The Borodin mission to China was an example of Stalin's attempt to align himself with the nationalist sentiments of the Kuomingtang rather than an attempt to spread international communism. And the election of a Popular Front Government in Paris had little effect on the French colonialist who had little patience with any nationalist movements in Vietnam.

The United States had by now replaced the British as the dominant sea power in the Pacific but even more than the Europeans, American interests tended to turn inward in the period between the two wars. Of all the Western powers, the Soviet Union appeared to express the most concern with the growing power of Japan. The French did not envisage the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1932 as a threat to their control of Indochina. The U.S. did not want to become involved in such a far-off problem and the British did not feel they could afford to act alone. The early thirties were already dominated by the economic crisis; then came the conflicts in Ethiopia and Spain; finally, there was the growing menace of Nazi Germany beginning with the occupation of the Rhineland in 1936 and ending in war three years later.

4. THE END OF FRENCH COLONIALISM: WORLD WAR II TO THE GENEVA ACCORDS OF 1954

With the fall of France in June 1940, the colonial regime in Indochina was left to stand alone against the Japanese advance. The Japanese moved in North Vietnam that year and into the South in the next. An agreement between the pro-Vichy colonial administration and the Japanese forces allowed French sovereignty over the area to continue until March 9, 1945 when the Japanese military command established complete control over Indochina. Finally, Vietnamese Emperor Bao Dai, with Japenese urging, proclaimed Vietnam's independence, although the imperial government was able to exert little control over the countryside which had passed largely into the hands of the Communist Viet Minh.

When the Japanese surrendered on August 13, 1945, control quickly passed into the hands of the Viet Minh and, on September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).

France was not invited when the Allies met to discuss the future of the peace at the Potsdam Conference in late 1945. The Indochina problem was secondary to other considerations such as Germany, Eastern Europe, and the United Nations. It was decided that Britain would occupy the South of Vietnam and the Chinese would occupy the North. The British soon turned control of their zone over to the returning French colonialists and by March 6, 1946 an agreement was signed between the French colonialists and a northern Vietnamese coalition government declaring Vietnam a free and united state within the French Union. Neither the French nor the Viet Minh were entirely satisfied with the existing situation, however, and fighting broke out in Haiphong on November 22, 1946, signalling the start of a long and bloody struggle.

It soon became apparent that although the French could control most of the urban areas and lines of communication, the Viet Minh exercised control of the countryside. The Viet Minh's position improved somewhat more in 1949 with the appearance of a friendly Communist neighbor in the form of bordering China. The French government decided to align itself with the moderate nationalists in early 1949 and agreed to allow Bao Dai authority over internal affairs. Vietnam was incorporated into the French Union as an Associated State in return for nationalist military support against the Viet Minh.

In support of its important NATO ally, the United States afforded the French considerable military aid and on February 7, 1950 accorded diplomatic recognition to the Bao Dai regime.

Prior to 1950, American foreign policy necessarily evolved around the pressing problems in Europe and China. Europe had not yet begun to recover from the Second World War when the Soviet Union began to expand its hegemony over Eastern Europe and threaten the war weakened democracies of Western Europe. The reconstruction of Western Europe and containment of the Soviet Union became the keynote of American concerns in the West while the rapidly deteriorating situation in China demanded most of America's attention in the East. Shortly after the collapse of the Nationalist Government in China, on June 25, 1950, the North Korean Army crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea and the United States was forced to turn most of its attention to a limited, but demanding war.

The British, meanwhile, had their own problems to contend with in Southeast Asia. Although India and Burma had since become independent, a small, difficult and intensifying jungle war was being waged in Malaya and Singapore.

Finally, on May 7, 1954, the French were decisively defeated by North Vietnamese forces under the command of General Giap at Dien Bien Phu. The United States had grown increasingly concerned with the growth of communism in Southeast Asia during the last few years and seriously considered supporting the French stand at Dien Bien Phu with air strikes; however, with British urging and the feeling that American forces were not equipped to turn the tide of the war at this stage of the conflict, the U.S. joined the British in urging that a peaceful solution be sought at the Geneva Conference which was already considering the Korean armistice settlement.

5. AFTER THE GENEVA ACCORDS TO THE FALL OF DIEM, 1954–1963

The Geneva agreement provided for the provisional division of Vietnam at the 17th parallel, banned the introduction of reinforcements for either side, and set up an International Control Commission to supervise the agreement.

The United States attended the Geneva conference but did not sign the final agreement; nevertheless, the American delegate declared that the U.S. would refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb the agreements and would view any renewal of aggression with grave concern.

The South Vietnamese government under Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem—with the help of American support and economic aid—consolidated its position in the South while the Communist regime of Ho Chi Minh strengthened its control of the North. The Diem government failed, however, to firmly implant itself at the local level. Civil unrest fostered by pro-Communist rebels and, eventually, North Vietnamese guerrilla infiltration, intensified into a large scale guerrilla war. By February of 1962, the U.S. deemed it necessary to establish a Military Assistance Command in Saigon to aid Diem's beleaguered forces. But, despite American backing, the war in South Vietnam worsened in the early sixties.

With the war worsening and civil unrest, particularly Bhuddist opposition to the Catholic regime, growing, the Diem government was over-thrown by a military uprison November 1, 1963.

During this period, the United States and its allies faced a changing situation in other parts of the world. Britain and France faced a humiliating crisis in Suez in 1956, and the gradual thaw in Soviet-Western relations was set back considerably in the same year when the Russians brutally put down a revolt against Communist rule in Hungary. Both France and Britain proceeded to cut back their foreign and colonial defense commitments during this period, although France fought a long and bloody war before she withdrew from Algeria. Neither had any interest in participating militarily in the growing struggle in Vietnam.

On the other hand, United States concern over the Vietnam situation grew with its increasing commitments around the globe. After the Suez and Hungarian crises of 1956, American attention shifted to another Middle East crisis in 1958 when American troops landed in Lebanon, then the Far East when the Chinese Communists precipitated a crisis over the Taiwan Straits; then Africa in 1960 when another crisis erupted in the Congo, and finally to Latin America where the first Communist regime in the hemisphere had installed itself in Cuba. The Cuban situation flared up with the unsuccessful "Bay of Pigs" invasion of 1961, died down as Americans became more concerned with another Berlin Crisis in the spring and summer of 1962, and then flared up again when Soviet missiles were discovered in the fall of 1962. Yet, despite these crises, American relations with the Soviet Union had improved by the summer of 1963 to the point where the two nations were able to agree upon a partial test-ban treaty outlawing nuclear testing in the atmosphere. Perhaps even more important was the growing antagonism between the Soviet Union and China as well as the loosening of the Communist alliance in Eastern Europe.

One consistent thread that ran through American foreign policy during this period, was the growing concern over the possible spread of Asian communism in Southeast Asia. This concern became apparent almost immediately after the Geneva agreements of 1954, when the U.S. hastened to engineer a mutual defense treaty for the Southeast Asian area. (SEATO). Part of the concern with the situation in Southeast Asia and Vietnam stemmed from the worsening crisis in Laos. By 1962 the United States decided it would be best to seek a peaceful compromise to the troubles in that nation by agreeing (at another Geneva convention) to the establishment of a neutralist coalition government. Few were very sanguine about the future of the neutralist regime; nevertheless, the United States decided it would be best to take its stand against Asian communism in Vietnam where a more stable regime existed to carry on the fight. When the Diem government fell in the summer of 1963, the United States was already substantially committed to assisting the South Vietnamese in their struggle against the Viet Cong.

6. AFTER DIEM: 1963–PRESENT

A succession of military regimes followed the Diem government until June of 1965 when the civilian government of Dr. Phan Huy Quat dissolved itself and was replaced by a military directory headed by Vice Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky. The Ky regime has remained in power as the war has gradually escalated on both sides, although it faces a difficult crisis at the present.

During the last three years, American participation in the Vietnamese war has grown to 230,000 troops, many of whom are combat troops actively pursuing the war against the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regular units.

The United States Congress politically strengthened the hand of the President in pursuing the war in Vietnam on August 7, 1964 when (after a Viet Cong attack on two American destroyers in Tonkin Bay) it passed a resolution expressing its support of the President in taking "all necessary steps" to repel aggression in Vietnam.

Since then the United States has pursued several "peace offensives" aimed at achieving negotiations to bring a peaceful settlement to the conflict but with no concrete results.

In the spring of 1965 the United States also sent a contigent of combat troops to quell civil unrest in the Dominican Republic. This, however, appears to have been only an interlude in a foreign policy that has recently become more and more concerned with the situation in Vietnam. Two other international shocks occurred in the fall of 1964 when the Communist Chinese exploded their first nuclear device and when, during the same week, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev was forced to step down as head of the Soviet Union, at a time when there was a gradually growing detente with the Soviet Union. In Europe the United States has expressed growing concern over the loosening of the Atlantic Alliance, a development that has been matched by a similar trend among the Communist nations of Europe.

A LISTING OF SOME KEY EVENTS IN VIETNAMESE HISTORY WITH CORRESPONDING INTERNATIONAL EVENTS OCCURRING ON THE SAME DATES

(By Russell J. Long, analyst in U.S. foreign policy, Foreign Affairs Division, Library Reference Service)

166 A.D.

A Roman emissary sent by Marcus Aurelius makes the first recorded contact between Vietnam and the West.

Roman Empire: The reign of Marcus Aurelius and Verus begins the partition of Europe.

East Teutonic Tribes: The Goths continue their migration to the Black Sea.

939

The Vietnamese, capitalizing on the collapse of the T'ang dynasty in China, overthrow Chinese rule in Indo-China.

Europe: Pope Leo VII is replaced by Stephen IX during one of the weakest periods of the Papacy in Medieval Europe. The Moslem ruler, Abdurrahman III continues the pacification of Spain. Otto I the Great etsablishes his authority over the duchies of Bavaria, Franconia, Lorraine, and Saxony.

Asia: Anarchy continues in China as the Tsin dynasty attempts, unsuccessfully, to assert imperial control.

1535

The Portuguese trader Antonio da Faria establishes the first lasting European post in Indo-China.

Europe: A defensive and offensive alliance is formed between France and Turkey; Charles V occupies Milan, and the Hanseatic League begins to dissolve as a Great Power. English bishops reject papal authority.

Americas: The cities of Buenos Aires and Lima are founded in Latin America. The explorer Cartier discovers the St. Lawrence River.

1658

A Vietnamese expeditionary force intervenes in Cambodia, establishing Vietnamese sovereignty and resulting in a regular Cambodian tribute to the Vietnamese court.

Europe: The English and French defeat the Spanish at Dunes and Gravelius. Oliver Cromwell dies and is succeeded by his son Richard in Britain. The Northern War continues between Brandenburg, Poland, Austria, and Sweden.

Asia: The Dutch continue to extend their trading influence in China after establishing a foothold two years earlier.

1845

A condominium is established between Cambodia and Vietnam. Vietnamese Emperor Thieu-Tri extends his persecution of Christians and flatly refuses to receive any foreign missionaries.

Europe: The English and French are involved in a joint expedition against Madagascar.

Americas: The United States is at war with Mexico.

Asia: The Chinese extend religious toleration to Catholics and Protestants and, as a result of European pressure, foreign residents in China are placed under extra-territorial civil and criminal jurisdiction. The British extend their control in India to Kashmir and Punjab.

AUGUST 31, 1858

A French-Spanish punitive expedition arrives in Tourance, Indo-China and begins advances inland taking Saigon on February 18, 1859.

Europe: Napolean and Cavour meet at Plombiéres to prepare the unification of Italy. A war breaks out between Turkey and Montenegro. Alexander II orders the emancipation of the serf's in Russia.

Americas: Minnesota is admitted as a state. One year later John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry will signal the opening round of the hostilities leading to the Civil War.

Asia: The British are forced to put down a mutiny of local troops in India. China opens several new ports to Western merchants and admits European Ambassadors for the first time.

AUGUST 25, 1883

The Vietnamese sign a treaty with the French declaring Annan and Tonkin French protectorates. With Cochin-China already declared a French colony, all of Vietnam has, in fact, become a colony of France.

Europe: An alliance is signed between Austria and Rumania in addition to the Triple Alliance signed between Germany, Austria, and Italy two years earlier. Russia begins attempts to extend her interests in the Balkans.

Americas: The second transcontinental railroad line in the U.S., the Northern Pacific, is completed in September. U.S. President Cleveland reduces tariff rates in an effort to diminish the Treasury surplus.

Middle East and Africa: General Hicks and an Egyptian force are defeated in the Battle of El Obeid by the Mahdi, resulting in the Egyptian evacuation of the Sudan. The beginning of German colonial activities in Africa is marked by a German establishment at Angra Pequeña (Southwest Africa).

Asia: Relations between China and the Europeans are worsening. Prince Kung and the Grand Council are dismissed by the Dowager Empress Tzu Hai for failing to repel the French from China and Southeast Asia.

FEBRUARY 9, 1930

An armed uprising by a Vietnamese nationalist party, the VNQDD, is crushed by the French. During the same year three competing Communist groups are merged into a United Indo-Chinese Communist Party (ICP) under the leadership of Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh).

Europe: The London Naval Conference meets to establish agreements limiting the tonnage of warships operated by Britain, the United States, Italy, France, .and Japan. The final preparatory meetings of the Commission on Disarmament come to a close. Hitler's Nationalist Socialists emerge as a major party in Germany as 107 of the Nazis are elected to the German Reichstag. Josef Stalin consolidates his control over the Soviet Communist Party with the expulsion of Bukarin and other opposition members in late 1929. The Soviet Union reaches an agreement with China finally settling the conflicting claims over the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

Americas: Six months after the great stock market crash of 1929, the United States passes the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act raising U.S. tariff duties on imports to the highest in history.

Asia: Gandhi launches the second civil disobedience campaign in India. The disorders reach their peak in the spring when British authorities arrest the Indian nationalist leader.

AUGUST 30, 1940

The Vichy Government in Paris signs an accord recognizing Japan's "pre-eminent" position in the Far East; thus, leaving the French colonialists alone to face the invading Japanese. During the same year the Viet Minh movement is formed by Vietnamese nationalists.

Europe: World War II rages in Europe. France falls before the German onslaught on June 23. The Battle of Britain begins. Italy attacks Greece. Russia defeats Finland and begins to extend its influence into the Balkans.

Americas: President Roosevelt is reelected U.S. President. The neutral United States exchanges 50 U.S. destroyers for the lease of British bases in the West Indies.

Asia: Japan extends her advance into Southeast Asia as China continues to fight for its life.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1945

Ho Chi Minh declares the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) two weeks after the Japanese surrender. The Viet Minh control proves short-lived as the French return within a few months.

Europe: Germany surrenders in the spring of 1945. The Potsdam Conference convenes in the summer, providing for British and Chinese occupation of South and North Vietnam respectively. Soviet troops enter Warsaw and Berlin, establishing a Russian foothold in Eastern Europe.

Americas: President Roosevelt dies. The United Nations Charter is signed in San Francisco.

Asia: Japan surrenders on August 23 after the U.S. drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

NOVEMBER 22, 1946

Fighting breaks out in Haiphong signaling the start of a long struggle between the French and the Viet Minh.

Europe: Winston Churchill delivers his famous "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo. as communist republics are established in Albania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Nazi war criminals are sentenced at Nurnberg. French Premier de Gaulle resigns.

Americas: The first atomic test since the war is conducted at Bikini atoll by the United States.

Asia: The Philippine Republic is inaugurated. A treaty is signed beween the British and Siamese.

MAY 7, 1954

The French are decisively defeated by the Viet Minh at the battle of Dien Bien Phu.

Europe: The Paris Agreements are concluded establishing the Western European Union and terminating the occupation of Western Germany. France rejects the proposed European Defense Community treaty. Italy and Yugoslavia finally agree on a settlement of the Trieste dispute.

Americas: The Community Party is outlawed in the United States.

Asia: The United States and Japan sign a defense pact. The Korean armistice negotiations continue with little results. After Dien Bieu Phu the United States engineers the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (SEATO).

Africa: The Algerian revolt against French rule begins.

FEBRUARY 1962

The United States establishes a Military Assistance Command in Vietnam to aid the Diem Government against Communist guerrilla infiltration and terrorist activities.

Europe: The Soviet Union erects a wall separating the Eastern and Western zones of Berlin. The Sino-Soviet idealogical dispute worsens and become public.

Americas: The United States discovers the Soviet Union has implanted offensive missiles in Cuba and forces the Soviets to remove them.

Africa: Algeria achieves its independence from France. United Nations forces move against the secessionist regime of Moise Tshombe in the Katanga province of the Congo. Conflict begins in Yemen.

Asia: The Netherlands-Indonesian dispute over West Irian is finally settled. Communist China and India became involved in a series of border conflicts. A comprise is reached establishing a neutralist coalition government in strife-ridden Laos.

NOVEMBER 1, 1963

A military coup in Saigon overthrows the Diem regime.

Europe: President de Gaulle takes the final step in indefinitely postponing Britain's entrance into the European Economic Community. Violence erupts between the Greek and Turkist communities on Cyprus.

Americas: The United States signs a partial Test-Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union. U.S. President John F. Kennedy is assassinated.

Asia: An independent federation is formed in Malaysia between Malaya, Sarawak, Singapore, and North Borneo despite Indonesian hostility.

AUGUST 7, 1964

After a Viet Cong attack on two U.S. destroyers in Tonkin Bay, the Congress passes a resolution supporting the President in "taking all necessary steps" to repel aggression in Vietnam.

Europe: The Labor Party defeats the Conservatives in British national elections. Nikita Khrushchev is forced to resign as Premier of the Soviet Union. Tension continues in Cyprus. A crisis continues over the state of the pound sterling in Britain.

Americas: Rioting breaks out in the U.S. controlled Panama Canal Zone.

Asia: China explodes her first nuclear device.

FEBRUARY 7, 1965

Viet Cong forces carry out intensive attacks on several South Vietnamese air bases, barracks, and villages. The U.S. retaliates with air attacks against barracks and staging areas in North Vietnam.

Europe: France boycotts the European Economic Community meetings during a summer Common Market crisis. De Gaulle and Erhard are reelected in France and Germany, respectively.

Americas: The United States dispatches troops to quell a crisis in the Dominican Republic.

Africa: The Nkrumah regime is overthrown in Ghana. A crisis develops over the *apartheid* policies of the white government in Southern Rhodesia resulting in that nation's unilaterally declaring its independence from Britain which causes United Nations economic embargo directed against the Smith regime.

Asia: Fighting erupts between Pakistan and India over the disputed Kashmir territory. A cease-fire is obtained by the U.N. Security Council, and an armistice is signed in Tashkent through the good offices of the Soviet Union. Indonesia withdraws from the United Nations over the seating of Malaysia on the Security Council. The Sukarno government is overthrown in the fall, and replaced by an anti-communist military leadership.

Poor Behavior

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have placed in the RECORD constructive comments relative to the war on poverty, and following this practice I insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Thursday, May 19 edition of the Palos, Ill., Regional:

POOR BEHAVIOR

The hissing and booing that greeted Sargent Shriver, field marshal of the Great Society War on Poverty, when he spoke at a recent "Poor People's Convention" in Washington was evidence of what has happened to the administration's antipoverty program. It is completely out of hand, like the Washington meeting that was taken over by a shouting mob.

Ironically, the Washington convention was the brainchild of the liberal establishment, sponsored by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. Walter Reuther of the AFL CIO, who had given the CCAP $1 million, was its leading backer. Presiding at the convention was the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, the politically-minded cleric who is soon to become operating head of the World Council of Churches. Dr. Blake was shocked when he discovered that his meeting was out of control.

Hopefully, the Washington convention will restore a little common sense and responsibility to the Reuthers and Blakes of this country. For years, they have been pushing radical programs. Now one of their babies has turned against them. It should be a lesson to them; you can't promote a generation of anarchists and expect them to refrain from anarchistic behavior.

There are so many things wrong with the War on Poverty that one hardly knows where to begin. The public should understand, however, that this ill-conceived program is growing by leaps and bounds. It was started in fiscal year 1965 with an appropriation of $793 million. This year it has funds totalling $1,434 billion. Next year, the poverty warriors hope to receive $1.75 billion from the taxpayers. It has been estimated that the program may spend $3.4 billion or more by 1970.

This colossal spending will really hurt the productive citizens of America, the blue collar and white collar citizens who hold down jobs and support their families. It is nothing less than legalized robbery of the working of America.

Not only are the Office of Economic Opportunity officials squandering cast sums on wasteful programs to "fight" poverty, but they are launching massive recreational programs in U.S. communities. It is a case of discrimination in reverse or special privilege for a few. While most parents have to dig into their pockets for tutoring their youngsters, or for summer recreation, the War on Poverty planners are selecting groups of "culturally disadvantaged" youths who are to receive everything the children of the very rich parents receive. This is ridiculous. If there is public money available for education or recreation, the only just way to use it is to provide added service for all the children in a school district or community. Handing out money to the selected few is a golden opportunity for political patronage and political machine-building.

One of the worst features of the War on Poverty is that it creates great expectations among handout seekers. One of the women who shouted at Mr. Shriver was complaining that she would get nothing more than her regular welfare check. The War on Poverty has implanted the idea that a rich Uncle in Washington will double or triple the customary federal giveaway. The program, in short, is promoting a new greediness as well as an increased dependence on federal assistance. The more you give a man, the more he wants; and if you give it to him long enough, he finally considers it his by right. Thus does the Poverty War promote the wrong philosophy.

Tennessee's Economic Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, we in Tennessee are proud of the untiring efforts of our people to help themselves and to improve and excel the atmosphere in our State.

One measure of the success our people have had in their undertakings is the rate of the State's economic gains, which top the national average.

I am proud of the success that we have attained in this area, and I would like to insert here an editorial, which appeared in the Nashville Banner and which was reprinted in the Greenville Sun, so that all might know in detail the healthy trends in the economic life of Tennessee.

STATE'S ECONOMIC GAINS TOP NATIONAL AVERAGE

Tennessee's economy—measured in terms of new industry, business expansion, construction, retail sales, personal income, and employment—topped the national average substantially in 1965 with all signs pointing to even greater gains during the current 12 months period.

This factual picture was sketched in cold statistics furnished by economist C. Richard Long in the April Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Ga.

Statistics revealing the Volunteer State's status in economic development were gathered in a survey of industrial and banking institutions which reflect business health and activity in their respective localities.

Highlighting the report was the remarkable influx of new business enterprises, attracted by a favorable industrial climate, which disclosed the incorporation of eight percent more business institutions as compared to only three percent in the nation as a whole.

Closely related was a 15 percent jump in new construction which topped the national average gain by a stout eight percent.

At the same time personal income of individuals went up eight percent during the period, whereas the national average increase leveled off at seven percent.

Meanwhile, the state non-farm employment showed a five percent gain as against a four percent average nationally.

As a result of this upward spiral in industrial activity, banking institutions in the Sixth Federal Reserve District (which embraces the eastern two thirds of the state), reported the extension of 14 percent more loans and the receipt of 10 percent more deposits to surpass the corresponding national percentage gains.

Emphasizing increased buying power of the individual, consumer loans (based on the purchase of hard goods), jumped 21 percent above the 1964 level, reflecting an 18 percent increase in automobile registrations during the year.

In Nashville the economic picture was even brighter. Its gains in economic activity and banking exceeded those of the state, paced by high percentage job gains in machinery, apparel, and chemical industries.

Significantly, the report does not include new industries, some of them multi-million dollar enterprises, attracted to Tennessee since the first of the year and which have added substantially to the state's industrial payroll and future job potential as they tend to expand to full productive capacity. Construction, to keep up with new development, is booming. Unemployment has fallen to the lowest level since the great depression of the early 30's.

Tennessee has every reason to be proud of its enviable place on the national economic chart—and its promising potential for still greater industrial expansion, more jobs, and increased personal income.

It is, indeed most fortunate.

—Nashville Banner.

A Press Agent's Dream Goes Sour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the greatest tragedy of the Great Society programs is the raising of false hopes among many of those suffering from poverty and other disadvantaged conditions. Among the directors of these programs there seems to be a greater yearning for headlines than results, a greater desire for votes than for sound planning.

A tragic experience in the city of Chicago is evidenced by a pungent and timely editorial in the Chicago Tribune of Sunday, May 22. It reads as follows:

A PRESS AGENT'S DREAM GOES SOUR

Lawrence Young's letter to President Johnson was just the sort of thing an alert public relations man keeps his eye out for. Mr. Young is a Negro. He has earned distinction for his courtesy as a Chicago cab driver. His ambition was to set up a carry-out restaurant business on the south side and he wanted a loan from the Small Business administration, but he had nothing to put up as collateral.

This combination of civil rights, courtesy, ambition, and free enterprise was bound to appeal to any politician, especially one whose publicized beneficences have extended as far as camel drivers in Pakistan. A message went from the White House to the SBA, and Mr. Young got his $19,500 loan—all he asked for—last June 9 with no collateral and not too much attention to the statutory requirement that SBA loans be only of such sound value or so secured "as reasonably to assure repayment." After all, the SBA has always interpreted "reasonably" in a loose fashion, and when the President's image is at stake—why, there was no problem at all.

Well, Mr. Young proves to have been a better cab driver than a business man. He was evicted from his establishment Thursday for nonpayment of rent. The grantor of his franchise said he had "bad business sense." All of his counters, furniture, and chicken-frying machines were hauled off by the SBA to be sold for whatever it can get. The remaining loss will be borne by the taxpayers.

Mr. Young deserves better than this, and we sympathize with him. He has become, in effect, a victim of the desire to create an image of Presidential generosity. The image came first; the law and Mr. Young's qualifications became incidental. This is a common enough practice on the part of public officials, and perhaps it's a good thing to be reminded that when abused, it can hurt people more than help them.

Museum Dedicates a Hall on American Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fact that there is great interest in New York City in the history of the American Indian.

The following article from the New York Times of Tuesday, May 24, 1966, at page 41, column 4, refers to the opening of a new Memorial Hall at the American Museum of Natural History in Manhattan, New York City, dedicated to the American Indian.

MUSEUM DEDICATES A HALL ON AMERICAN INDIANS

(By John C. Devlin)

The American Indian has gained a new memorial hall at the American Museum of Natural History.

Dedicated last night, the third floor room is devoted to the Indian way of life—festivals, religions, arts, birch-bark canoes, games and ceremonies.

Although some artifacts are believed to date to 10,000 B.C., about 90 per cent of the 1,000 specimens date from Columbus's discovery of the New World.

The exhibits also include sound effects. The museum has obtained recordings from the Library of Congress of a Winnebago war party, an Objiwa song for the maple sugar collecting season, a chant for games and a love chant—which does not sound at all like the "Indian Love Call" from "Rose Marie."

The room is called the Hall of the Indians of the Eastern Woodlands, and is devoted to North American Indians east of the Mississippi River. It is to be augmented later by an adjoining hall devoted to Indians of the Western Plains.

C. DeWolf Gibson, vice president of the museum, told 300 guests representing science, government, industry and education, that "this hall is the most recent in a series of major new installations that the museum plans to have completed for the celebration of it centennial in 1969."

"In essence," he added, "it is the latest chapter in the story that the museum tells in many different ways—the evergrowing story of nature and of man."

Dr. Harry L. Shapiro, chairman of the department of anthropology, noted that "the cultures depicted in these exhibits have, in most cases, completely disappeared and, in the rest, have been profoundly modified."

The hall has been in preparation for three years, according to Dr. Stanley A. Freed, associate curator of North American ethnology.

Women visitors on a tour of the hall were especially intrigued by the artistry of primitive Indian women, and by the dolls and tops they made for Indian children.

The men were especially interested in displays showing how the Indian men hunted, fished and fought, built shelters and established a system of government in the form of tribal councils.

The visitors were also interested in the collection of grotesque masks of carved wood and corn husks used by an Indian cult that supposedly could control disease.

The hall will be open to the public today.

Retrospect: Poland's Christian Millennium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the public is growing increasingly disturbed at the persistence of the State Department in embracing the Polish Communist government. Hopefully, public opinion in the United States recognizes the essence of that regime, especially as we note the persecution of religion which is being carried on by the Warsaw Communists.

I insert in the RECORD a radio broadcast delivered by Dr. Alessandro Gregorian, of St. Francis College, Loretto, Pa., through the facilities of the college radio station on the subject of Poland's Christian millennium and respectfully direct it to the attention of the Polish desk of the State Department.

RETROSPECT: POLAND'S CHRISTIAN MILLENNIUM

(Commentary, Dr. A. Gregorian; narrator, A. Brancato)

Poland will commemorate this year the millennium of its Christinization. Millions of Catholic Poles living in their captive homeland and abroad are anxiously awaiting this important event.

A thousand years ago, when Poland officially embraced the Catholic faith it became automatically a spiritual bullwark of Western civilization in that part of the world.

At that time, Europe was continuously invaded by Asiatic hordes. Its towns were reduced to ashes and entire defenseless populations perished under the sword of terrible warriors coming from the east.

Rome itself was in great danger and the Popes were very much concerned with the destiny of Christendom.

It was in these tragic circumstances that, miraculously, Slavic Poles turned their sights toward the west and decided to become Christians.

As a result of this providential move Poland entered the Western spiritual circuit growing rapidly as a stronghold of Western culture and policy.

The new faith gave the nation unity and enlightened ideals of life. Polish priests and laymen, educated in Rome, founded schools which eventually evolved into famous universities and centers of education for the benefit of the entire Eastern European sector.

When later in the eleventh century the great schism separated religiously Eastern Europe from Rome, the Catholic Poland, in spite of its geographical position, remained unwaveringly on the Western side: a strong Catholic enclave within the Orthodox world. Moreover, it became an advanced bulwark of Western civilization facing heroically all the dangers coming from the East, and especially from Moscow.

Many times during the past centuries Poland was martyred paying with blood and with its own freedom and independence the price of its missionary destiny in that troubled part of the world. Invaded and annexed by Russian czars, it disappeared three times from the map of Europe. But its Catholic faith and Western consciousness resisted all the adversities of history and Poland reemerged miraculously as a strong, sound nation.

In our days Poland's independence has been twice destroyed. First by Hitler and then by Stalin.

Both Hitler and Stalin will be remembered by history as the executioners of Polish freedom.

However, this tragedy could not have happened if the Western powers would have not forgotten their prewar solemn agreements to support Polish people against any kind of Nazi or Bolshevik aggression.

Today, as a sad consequence of the Western betrayal, Poland is going through the worst experience of its history.

A large portion of Polish territories have been forcibly incorporated by the Soviet Union. Millions of Poles have been deported and dispersed inside the Soviet Red empire. Nobody knows how many are still alive.

In Warsaw a Communist government controlled by Moscow and decisively hostile to the West, has been in power since the end of World War Two. Wladislaw Gomulka, first secretary of the Polish Communist Party, has recently turned the clock back to the Stalinist era. The country is plagued with a thousand problems. There is a great concern over the lack of food. Prices are going up everywhere and the spiral of inflation is shaking the fragile stability of the Communist economy. An ordinary Polish worker earns less than $10 weekly.

Millions of defenseless Poles have been abandoned to the hands of a tyrannic regime.

Their only hope and shield is the Catholic church, which represents the only force strongly opposing the atheistic regime in Warsaw.

Under the leadership of Cardinal Stephan Wyszynski, thirty million Catholic Poles are still resisting their oppressors. But, over there, the church itself has been the object of systematic persecutions. During these past two decades, atheistic campaigns, political attempts to attract clergy into the Marxist peace movement, heavy taxation and other forms of harassment have been until now unable to break the backbone of the Polish Episcopate.

Cardinal Wyszinski, the titular head of the Catholic church, represents in fact the real leadership of the Polish nation. His courage in opposing the Red tyranny is stirring up admiration the world over.

Now, organizing the coming celebration of the millenium of his nation's Christianization, Cardinal Wyszynski gives another proof of courage and visionary leadership.

From inside the iron curtain he and his oppressed faithful are sending to other enslaved people and to the free world an inspiring message of faith in God and in his church. A message witnessing the living presence of the Christian values within a world of darkness and terror.

With great admiration and reverence for the entire Catholic Poland, we heartily congratulate His Eminence Cardinal Wyszynski on this historical event.

United Farm Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much of the problems of the American farmer—particularly the American dairy farmer—in recent months. We have heard that the dairy farmer, hopefully looking forward to sharing an equal portion of the Great Society's prosperity, now feels that he was deceived and misled because of certain recent changes in agricultural policy. We have heard that the farmer is leaving the farm at an ever-increasing rate.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report today that there are still a lot of farmers who are not willing to give up the things which they and their fathers have struggled for so long to maintain. This week, I received a letter from a new farm organization, the Federated Farm Organizations of Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, which is comprised of representatives of the National Farmers Organization, the Grange, the Farm Bureau and the Farmers Union.

These organizations, while they have on occasion disagreed with each other on strategy and on the proper means to their mutual goals, have recognized that the problem is now so acute that a united farm front is needed if the American farmer—particularly, the American dairy farmer—is to survive the current crisis.

The Federated Farm Organizations of Sheboygan County, in a letter to President Johnson, has pointed out that the producing farmers of the country comprise approximately 7 percent of the population; yet, they receive only 2.3 percent of the national income. The letter also points out that, while net farm income has only increased by 12 percent in the past 5 years, the gross national product has increased by 23 percent, workers' wages by 16 percent, dividends by 37 percent, and interest to creditors by 48 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to publicly congratulate these farmers of Sheboygan County; I wish to applaud them.

But, I feel that it is imperative that I point out to this distinguished body the vast significance of this action by the farmers of this Wisconsin dairy district county.

We see, in this action, a strong indication of the plight of the dairy farmer. We see, further, conclusive proof that the farmer is not willing to accept his fate without an all-out fight to preserve his heritage. We see here the birth of a new movement in American agriculture—a movement which must be accorded its due respect and consideration.

We see here a movement which, I am certain, will be recorded as one of the major events in American farm history in the second half of the 20th century.

Conservation Programs Protect Farm Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, the agricultural resources of California are among the most valuable in the Nation. Farmers in the three counties in my congressional district produce some 200 agricultural products worth three-quarters of a billion dollars to them annually. After processing, these products bring in more than $3 billion.

One or more of these three counties—Kings, Tulare, or Kern—have ranked among the Nation's top 10 in agricultural income for the past 15 years.

Such an extremely valuable resource demands constant protection from floods, erosion, and abuse, and it demands proper planning and development to insure the best use in accordance with its capabilities.

Ably offering these extremely important services are the 15 soil conservation districts located in my congressional district. The directors who govern these districts serve faithfully year after year, without pay, to help landowners tackle soil and water problems and get conservation on the land.

District programs do much to sustain the agricultural industry of the area. Note these recent accomplishments.

In Kings County, the Excelsior Soil Conservation District has carried out water spreading projects to improve the underground water supply.

More than 27 farmers in the Pond Poso Soil Conservation District in Kern County constructed the Poso Creek channel with Federal cost-sharing assistance to protect the land from periodic flooding and enhance the Kern Wildlife Refuge.

Three soil conservation districts—Three Rivers, Kern Valley, and Kehachapi—with State assistance, have developed comprehensive land use and conservation plans to aid future planning and show resource problems and their possible solutions.

Last year in Tulare County, the Stone Corral and the El Mirador Soil Conservation Districts saved 1,000 acres of citrus land from severe damage by installing underground tile systems to lower toxic high water levels.

In addition, the districts, with technical assistance from the Soil Conservation Service, handle about 2,000 individual requests from cooperators each year on soil and water conservation problems. The districts also promote recreational and beautification projects by providing assistance for farm ponds, reforestation, and income-producing recreation enterprises on private land.

I commend these soil conservation districts for the valuable service they provide to their communities and for their efforts in preserving land and water resources for all the people.

Statement on Connecticut River National Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a statement I submitted on May 20 to the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation in support of legislation for a feasibility study for the establishment of a Connecticut River National Recreation Area.

The statement was as follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PARKS AND RECREATION, COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, U.S. SENATE, MAY 20, 1966

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I want to thank you for this opportunity to present my views on the bill now under consideration before your committee which seeks to preserve the natural beauty and the historic heritage of the Connecticut River. As sponsor of the companion measure in the House of Representatives, I wish to express my deep gratitude to all of you for scheduling these hearings.

In the latter weeks of the 1965 session, the Honorable ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF introduced his bill S. 2460 in the Senate and I introduced the companion measure, H.R. 11091, in the House. The purpose of this legislation was to authorize the establishment of the Connecticut River national parkway and recreation recreation area in the four States through which the river flows: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire.

The Connecticut River is the longest in New England, extending from the Canadian border down to Long Island sound for a distance of over 400 miles. It passes through many towns and cities, through hills and valleys, woods and farmlands—most of it beautiful country and of great historic value associated with glorious events in our Nation's past.

In recent decades, however, the onslaught of modern industry has been taking a heavy toll of the scenic beauty and the natural resources of this area. Deep inroads have been made in many parts of the Connecticut river valley. Industrial pollution, ugly junkyards and the uprooting of wooded areas are gradually transforming the scenery. Some years ago one observer referred to the Connecticut river as "the world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool" because of the sewerage, the waste and the industrial residues pouring into it.

On September 13, 1965, Senator RIBICOFF arranged a boat trip along the Connecticut river to inspect the river and its shorelines with the idea of seeing the beauty of this area and the urgent need for preserving its scenic beauty. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, Governor John Dempsey of Connecticut, Senator RIBICOFF and I, as well as many State and local officials, participated in the tour. Needless to say, all of us were very much impressed with what we saw and with the possibilities of preserving this beautiful waterway, the rich valley through which it flows, and the future of the many cities, towns, and villages along its way. It was generally felt by all that much can still be saved and preserved, provided we take action now or within the coming few years; if we wait too much longer, it may be too late to save anything.

What needs to be done is to have the river cleaned up, its numerous coves and nearby wooded hills should be preserved, and the immediate vicinity along the banks of the river should be developed as a national park and recreational area for the use and enjoyment of the people. Unfortunately, we do not have many national parks and recreational areas in the eastern part of our country. The Connecticut River Valley is one area that still can be preserved for such purposes, if we do not wait too long. Its value as a recreational asset for the people is inestimable. I am sure I need not emphasize too much for this committee the need for park and recreational areas, which is bound to become greater in the future as our population increases. It would be a wise step for us, I am certain, to take the necessary precautions now to preserve as much of these assets as possible.

In the 19th century, Timothy Dwight, president of Yale University, wrote that the Connecticut River was "everywhere pure, potable, everywhere salubrious." In the last 50 years, however, swimming in the river has been considered unwise because of the industrial residues and waste. As we completed our boat trip last September, which extended over a distance of some 80 miles from Old Saybrook at the mouth of the river to Hartford, Senator RIBICOFF observed:

"The river is, for the most part, still a thing of beauty. But unless we act very soon, it will not be a 'joy forever.'"

And Secretary Udall added this comment: "We have a chance here to do a model job of conservation. You already have a running start. But population is crowding in and time is running out. What we do in the next decade will be decisive for the river's future."

On February 23 of this year, President Johnson submitted to Congress his message on conservation and the preservation of our natural heritage. Among the major outdoor recreation proposals which he recommended was the following: "For a region which now has no natural park, I recommend the study of a Connecticut River National Recreation area along New England's largest river, in the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut."

Subsequently, the Department of Interior submitted its report on the bills which Senator RIBICOFF and I introduced. It contained several interesting observations and suggested amendments. Let me quote a few passages from the report which was addressed to Congressman WAYNE N. ASPINALL, chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"We are sympathetic with the preservation and recreational use objectives of the bills which are greatly in need of accomplishment near urban population centers of the United States. At the present time, however, we do not have sufficient information to recommend the establishment of the proposed Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area. We believe that a study should be conducted before bills of this kind are considered. . . The enactment of a bill to establish the area in advance of the study would be premature. . . We believe it would be appropriate, however, to enact a study bill as an expression of congressional interest and emphasis."

The subsequent paragraph of the report reiterates that "we strongly endorse a study for the purpose of examining the feasibility and desirability of establishing a Connecticut River National Recreation Area," and that statement is followed by several amendments.

In view of the recommendation of the President and the report of the Interior Department that a study is needed before the area can be established as a national park, I decided to revise my bill and to incorporate the amendments suggested by the Department. On April 20, 1966, I introduced H.R. 14546 which, as now worded, is a study measure. It is now pending before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Senator Ribicoff likewise introduced a similar bill.

The new bill authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to undertake a study of the feasibility of establishing the area as a national park, in order to preserve its natural beauty, its historic heritage, and its recreational use for the public. It provides for the coordination of plans with other Federal and State programs, as well as consultation with local bodies and officials. The Secretary is to submit, within two years, a report to the President of his findings and recommendations with emphasis on the following:

1. The natural values and recreational uses of the area.
2. Potential uses of the water and land resources.
3. The type of Federal program needed to preserve the values of the area in the public interest.

Under the circumstances, I believe that this is the best approach and the most logical way to obtain action leading to the eventual creation of a Connecticut River national recreation area. When adopted, the new measure will actually help lay the groundwork for the project. Such a study has never been made, and it would therefore be most helpful in many ways, including the establishment of the exact delineation of the proposed recreational area, its conservation and preservation, its economic potential, and other important aspects.

Mr. Chairman, I urge you and the members of your committee to approve the authorization of the proposed feasibility study so that Congress, too, can go on record in support of the idea. We would then have unanimity on all three major Federal levels: the White House, the Interior Department, and Congress. This will enable us to proceed without any loss of valuable time.

Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 23, death claimed one of the illustrious citizens of my district, Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer, 174 East 72d Street, who was 83. Better known to millions of New York's music enthusiasts as "Minnie," Mrs. Gugghenheimer was, for over 40 years, a leading figure in the city's musical life. She founded and maintained almost singlehandedly the summer outdoor concerts at Lewisohn Stadium.

I should like to include in the Record at this time an editorial from the New York Times of May 24, 1966, which states so well the debt that New York City owes her.

"MINNIE" OF THE STADIUM

Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer—"Minnie" of Lewisohn Stadium—made an unforgettable impact on everybody, this stout little woman with the perky hats, the shrewd eyes, and the incredible pronunciations of the common and proper nouns of the English language.

She was as much part of Stadium Concerts as the orchestra and soloists, and people would anxiously await the moment she came on stage with her cheery "Hello, everybody!" To which the chant would come back: "Hello, Minnie!" Not until then did one feel that a Stadium concert had properly gotten under way.

In the great days of Stadium Concerts, from 1918 to about 1945, many New Yorkers were first exposed to music through the efforts of Mrs. Guggenheimer. Through those years Lewisohn Stadium played host to some of the world's finest musicians, and in Depression days they could be heard for as little as 25 cents. Mrs. Guggenheimer was a dedicated woman who wrought well, and New York owes her much.

On Judging Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, despite the diversity of views on our policy in Vietnam all Americans must admire the tenacity of the Vietnamese in their devotion to independence in the continuing struggle against Communist aggression.

The following editorial from the May 18, 1966, edition of the Washington Post gives just praise to a valiant people:

ON JUDGING VIETNAM

The political situation in South Vietnam is just about as discouraging, difficult and confusing as it could be for an ally genuinely interested in the welfare of a troubled and anguished people. Impatience with the intransigence of the dissident groups and with the clumsiness and folly of the ruling generals is bound to be very great.

This impatience should not be allowed to diminish our sympathy and understanding for a brave and gallant people who have lived through two decades of war and revolution that certainly would have unbalanced a more stable and homogenous society. It is a miracle that the passion for freedom, liberty, self-government and national identity persists at all. The anticolonial rebellion against the French consumed a generation of the intellectuals of their society. The struggle against North Vietnam has been more anguishing and dislocating for village life throughout the country.

Notwithstanding all the rigors of these struggles—the Communist slaughter of more than 100,000 hapless peasant property owners in the North, the assassination of village leaders and enemies of the Communists throughout the South, the continuing military operations—the vital spark of the people remains. Moreover, in all the long struggle against the Vietcong, the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam, there has not been a single defection to the Communists of a top-ranking South Vietnamese leader. This constancy in a cause must not be forgotten. Despite all the dissent from the policies of successive regimes at Saigon, the opposition has been directed at the government for domestic political reasons, not for the fact that it is fighting the Communists.

A people laboring under so many handicaps and difficulties may not be able to surmount the troubles that engulf them. They may not be able to achieve the degree of unity necessary to carry on their struggle successfully. But whatever reaction there is in this country, there must continue to be, in fairness and in justice, sympathy, understanding and admiration for a people who surely would be able to compose their political differences if they were let alone and allowed to work out their problems in peace.

The United States Ranks 15th Among the Major Maritime Powers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following is an editorial from the Hammond Times of Hammond, Ind., revealing the startling fact that the United States ranks 15th, and last, among the major maritime powers.

VANISHING SHIPS

Monday is National Maritime Day. Statistics suggest it would be better we skip it.

"American ships chart America's future" is the theme. If our shipbuilding performance is a clue, we have a dismal future.

James M. Gulick, deputy maritime administrator, told a Senate group on May 9 that in the commercial shipbuilding field the United States is 15th, last place among major maritime powers.

A recheck of the figures showed Gulick unduly pessimistic. He was using October data. As of Jan. 1, the U.S. had edged out Finland and is now the 14th commercial shipbuilding power. We're building 45 vessels of 513,000 gross tons, or 1.7 per cent of the world total.

The world's leader is Japan, building 343 ships of 10,555,610 gross tons, 34.8 per cent of the world total. Great Britain is second, with 187 ships of 2,982,620 gross tons on the ways; West Germany third, with 140 of 2,254,750 tons, and Soviet Russia fourth, with 145 ships of 2,210,740 tons.

Poland, France, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and the Netherlands each are building far more ship tonnage than the U.S.

The national figures do not give a true picture of the Soviet Union's tremendous forward plunge as a maritime power. Besides the ships being built in her own yards, the Soviets have 319 other vessels being built in Japan, Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Denmark and other countries.

Soviet ship tonnage is growing at the rate of 1 million tons a year. There are 7 million tons of Soviet shipping today; the Russian goal is to have 20 million tons afloat by 1980.

At the rate they are having ships built, at home and abroad, they are likely to meet that goal.

And some day, America may wake up to find the Soviets dominating world trade.

Huff Creek Watershed Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, wherever man lives and works he is within the boundaries of some watershed. These watersheds vary in size from a few acres to half a continent. Tragically, far too many of these watersheds are scenes of devastating floods, washed-away lands, mud-filled lakes, and water shortages.

The Greenville County Soil and Water Conservation District, however, has just completed a program of watershed protection and flood prevention that is a model of the most advanced conservation practices. And, on May 17, that program—the Huff Creek watershed project—was officially commemorated.

I was honored to be invited to deliver the principal address on that occasion. However, due to the fact that my presence was required on the floor of the House, it was necessary that my district assistant, William J. Bryson, appear on my behalf. That speech relates the story and significance of the Huff Creek watershed project, and, because the message of Huff Creek should be told throughout the Nation, I include that address herewith as an extension of my remarks:

COMMEMORATION PROGRAM, HUFF CREEK WATERSHED PROJECT, MAY 17, 1966

Mr. Bennett, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, as Mr. Bennett has indicated to you, Congressman ASHMORE is unable to be present, this afternoon, due to the fact that the administration's minimum wage bill is, at this moment, being debated and voted upon by Congress. This bill, as many of you know, would bring about sweeping changes in our present federal minimum wage laws.

Among others, it would include farmers within its provisions. And, if it is enacted as introduced, it will drastically threaten the economic growth we have enjoyed in the South, in recent years.

When the Congressman accepted your kind invitation, he did not, of course, have any way of predicting the legislative calendar for today. And, in fact, it was not until last night that he knew definitely that he could not be here this afternoon.

Since he has shared your interest in the Huff Creek Watershed Project from its inception, he looked forward to this occasion, and is keenly disappointed that this conflict has arisen in his schedule. I know that he would prefer to be visiting with you this afternoon, and I am sure that you would prefer to be listening to his remarks, rather than mine.

However, in fulfilling his highest responsibilities to you, it is necessary that Congressman ASHMORE be in Washington today to voice and vote your best interests in connection with the proposed changes in our minimum wage laws.

Last night, while discussing with me the necessity of my being present this afternoon in his stead, Congressman ASHMORE asked me to express to each of you his deepest regrets that he cannot be here to join in this commemoration program. To those of you, who had a part in the successful completion of this momentous undertaking, he asked that I extend his heartiest congratulations. And, to all of you, he asked that I convey, briefly, some of the thoughts he wished to share with you, this afternoon.

We are gathered, of course, to officially commemorate the completion of the Huff Creek Watershed Project. We are gathered to pay tribute to those who participated in its planning and construction. And, we are gathered, especially, to honor the late Swan B. Huff, who more than anyone, was responsible for the development of the watershed.

That the completion of the project is a momentous occasion is reflected by the measurable facts pertaining to the watershed:

Included are some 280 farms, totaling over 20,000 acres. In addition to other conservation measures, five floodwater retarding structures, impounding 275,000,000 gallons of water and 1.5 miles of stream channel improvements have been completed.

These structures and improvements protect thirteen highway bridges and 1,000 acres of bottom land from flooding. They provide 130 acres of lake stocked with fish. They protect the Regal Textile Mill at Fork Shoals from flooding during heavy storms. And, by preventing the flow of silt, the benefits of the development reach as far as Charleston Harbor.

But, the importance of Huff Creek Watershed is far greater than that reflected by these figures, and its beneficial results extend far beyond Charleston Harbor. When viewed in the light of other factors, the development of Huff Creek Watershed is of much greater significance.

Its importance, I believe, is even greater than that imagined by those farsighted men who planned and worked towards its completion. The development of Huff Creek, I think, is as significant as any battle ever fought, or any other project ever constructed or erected, during the long and glorious history of our state and nation.

While not as spectacular as our nation's space program, Huff Creek is a giant step into the future. And, while it may not be as awesome as our battle in Viet Nam against Communism, the battle fought, and won, at Huff Creek against the wasting of our natural resources is as equally important.

Rocket launchings, space walks, combat and conservation may, at first glance, seem unrelated. But, when we pause to consider the basic reason for each of these efforts, we realize that they have a common goal—and that is survival.

We hear much of the threats of atomic destruction and death, and of the need to build defenses to guard us against the continuing spread of communism. But, death is death and destruction is destruction—regardless of the means and regardless of whose hands wield those means. And, as we have heard much, we have done much to protect ourselves against atomic annihilation by communistic aggressors.

Yet, we have been almost completely deaf and blind to a threat of equal magnitude—an insidious threat that invaded this great continent along with our forefathers. I speak of the wanton destruction of our natural resources.

Today, only about three inches of topsoil stand between us and starvation—a death as ghastly as any suffered by the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In many parts of the world, that thin life-giving layer of soil has been completely destroyed. And, most tragically, we have and are, destroying this vital resource with our own hands.

The dangers of this reckless destruction of our resources are magnified by our growing population. Today's world population is approximately two billion. And, it has taken more than 600,000 years for our population to reach that figure. Yet, in only 40 years more—within the lifetime of many of us—that number will double.

At the present rate, 150,000 people are being added to the world's population every twenty-four hours. And, while we have been spared the pestilence of want, over half the world's population is underfed, unhealthy, poorly housed and uneducated.

To further complicate the problem, one-half of the world's population is concentrated on only 5% of the earth's surface. And, only 25% of the earth's surface possesses geographic conditions suitable for human life and the production of food for human consumption.

Those who know tell us that, if the world's population is to have enough to eat forty years from now, present supplies of food must be more than trebled. And, it should not be necessary to dwell upon the threats we face, when other men go hungry. A hungry man cannot think beyond his immediate needs. He cannot learn to improve his conditions of life. He cannot work. He will only take what he can, and he will take it by force, if need be.

Yes, we are threatened by communism—communism increasing in numbers and becoming more effectively armed with atomic weapons. And, there could be no greater threat to our survival than hungry billions, armed with atomic weapons, while we commit waste upon waste, and pile surplus upon surplus.

Where is the answer to this problem? The answer is right here at Huff Creek. The answer lies in the more efficient and effective use of our natural resources. But, not only must the example of Huff Creek be carried to other areas of our state and our nation, it must be exported to the world. It must be exported, especially, to the people of developing nations.

Here, the battle against the waste of our natural resources has been fought and won. But, many more such battles must be fought and won, if we are to survive against the immediate threat of self-destruction, and of the growing, maddening effects of hunger, as it spreads through our ever increasing world population.

It is fitting, then, that we pay tribute today to those who have planned, guided and developed the Huff Creek Watershed.

Perhaps the significance of Huff Creek is better stated, in the words of John Dunne: "Every man's death diminishes me, for I am a part of mankind. Send not, therefore, to know for whom the bell tolls—it tolls for thee."

John Dunne referred, of course, to the tolling of the death bell in his native village. My friends, it is later than we think. If we but listen, we would hear that bell tolling for us and for our future generations.

But, as I have stated, there is one hope: The message of Huff Creek. We must spread that message, before it is too late.

To paraphrase the words of Lincoln at Gettysburg, it is altogether fitting and proper that we have met here today to dedicate this battlefield in the war of conservation. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or to detract.

It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who worked here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that we here highly resolve that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The Dangers of a Complacent America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that there appear in the RECORD a copy of the winning essays of the Department of Wisconsin American Legion Auxiliary essay contest. The title of these essays is "The Danger of a Complacent America."

The authors of these essays displayed such depth of thought, such strength of character, that it might be well for every Member of Congress to consider these thoughts carefully.

I am sure that the Members of Congress and the public generally will find these essays most inspiring and justly deserving of the recognition accorded them by the auxiliary of one of our Nation's most respected veterans groups.

The first essay, written by Jim Hutchinson, a senior at Oshkosh High School, Oshkosh, Wis., was selected as first place winner in group I, grades 10 through 12. The second was written by Miss Sheila Sebora, an 8th grader at Chilton, Wis., and is the first place essay in group II, grades 7 through 9.

The Dangers of a Complacent America

(By Jim Hutchinson, Oshkosh, Wis.)

Though not exclusively recognized as the panacea for the world's miseries, America is perhaps the most massive clinic on earth. Treating its victims for a myriad of disorders ranging from desperate want to severe oppression, America provides refuge, comfort and care for thousands afflicted with social, economic or governmental sickness. America, the healing center for a unique variety of patients, offers sanctuary for the politically diseased who are given neither the means nor the opportunity to care for themselves.

Yet, despite its powers of healing, America has been besieged by an epidemic which threatens a majority of its unsuspecting citizens. Multi-phased, highly communicable, and even deadly to those who are unwary, the disease poses more of the health hazard than polio, cancer or tuberculosis. When an unknowing American becomes its victim, the disease unfolds itself rapidy. First, the victim's attitude toward the meaning of Democracy and American life becomes lax. The victim becomes less interested in others. He worries about himself, becomes lackadaisical, self-centered and apathetic toward his commuinty.

Next, with its rapidly multiplying bacteria, the disease inflicts a "let some-one-else-do-it" attitude on its victim. In the end, the germ has doped the victim into a false sense of security. He becomes possessed of the opinion that America can take care of itself. This American, and others like him, has fallen prey to a deadly disease—complacency.

However, in following the adage of the medical profession that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," perhaps one should consider an efficient antidote with which to halt the spread of complacency sickness. What is the best way to prevent the disease? How can one immunize himself effectively?

To be sure, those people who have grown overly accustomed to the security of a good job, a steady income, and enough food for the family are the most susceptible to this illness. Conversely, the immigrant who has come to America for a second chance knows well that the advantages of America cannot be taken for granted at any time. Yet, neither the immigrant nor the American is immune. All must seek protection.

Citizenship alone does not immunize anyone; nor does paying taxes. Every American must swallow the antidote by exercising his rights. The complacency germ is destroyed by those who get to the polls on every election day; by those who make known their views by speaking up at council, board or public meetings. The germ is powerless against those who are not against everything, but for something. Thriving on idle criticism, the complacency germ cannot endure the American who speaks for something, presents an original idea, or sacrifices himself for the benefit of others.

Indeed, it is a positive attitude which best combats the dangers of complacency. However, this antidote cannot be administered by a physician; it must be found within the individual. It is most noticeable in the American who realizes, not that things could be worse, but that things could be better.

The Dangers of a Complacent America

(By Sheila Sabora, Chilton, Wis.)

Warning! Complacency! Number one killer!

Symptoms: Sense of self-satisfaction! Concerned primarily with children, since the attitudes of tomorrow depend on the youth of today.

Specific Symptoms:

Complacency may easily be determined in school children. It is generally shown in inattention to everyday assignments. In every classroom there are a certain amount of students who "could not care less." These young people have contracted the early stage of indifference which leads to mental inactivity and consequent complacency.

Children, must, in their formative years, be alerted to the need of knowledge and the necessity of understanding.

If the pupil constantly does his best to learn, achieve and understand, he has no need to fear the contraction of this dreaded disease.

Adult Symptoms of the Killer:

These are evidenced in inattention to local, state and national civic and political affairs. Adult symptoms are frequently shown in the fact that a high percentage of these persons are almost frightened of anything in their personal or public lives which requires any kind of thinking, or doing anything which might demand any kind of involvement beyond their personal needs.

The individual who is happy just to "let the other fellow do it" is in the secondary stage of complacency. Most of these people become panicky when they are confronted with having to find a decision which might force them to a method of action.

Phyllis McGinley has said in her poem, The Hostess: "The scotched snake," "'Thought', might rear its venomed head . . . ." These few words probably, more completly explain the fear which many Americans have of thinking which might threaten their self-comfort, than an entire essay might do.

Effects: Doom of City, State and Nation!

If this disease becomes too wide-spread throughout America, it will be the downfall of freedom for all. Complacency will leave the door wide open for dictatorships. If the individuals have interests so narrow that they feel "the other fellow can do it," the other fellow very well may do it, with suppressing authority, and crippling autocracy.

Prevention: Stimulate interest! Where? In Personal Achievement and Government Activities.

Treatment: In youth: Correct motivation of young people will increase their interest in their daily work. They must learn to know the conditions which are most important to their everyday lives, and work toward the preservation of the goals of the present society and the upholding of their national heritage.

In adults: There must develop, or be developed, an "awareness of others" and a greater sense of personal responsibility toward the action taken in local, state and national affairs.

Freedom of Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that the House Government Operations Committee has reported S. 1160, the freedom of information bill which reaffirms and clarifies the rights of citizens to have access to information held by Federal agencies. As the Hagerstown Morning Herald recently noted, this bill would implement the citizens' right to know which is so vital to the maintenance of our democracy.

The progress of S. 1160 this year is largely the result of the persistent work of our colleagues, the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD]. I cannot commend them too highly for their efforts to open the files of our Goverment for legitimate public inspection and information.

I include in the RECORD an editorial in support of S. 1160, from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of May 14:

Right To Know

For the first time in United States history, Congress may be on the verge of putting a true "freedom of information" law on the books. We hope so.

Curious as it may seem in a country dedicated to the free exchange of ideas and information, there is no legal guarantee of a citizen's right to examine federal government records.

There is a law, enacted in 1946, which touches upon disclosure of information by federal administrative agencies. But that law merely formalized rule-making procedures and left decisions about secrecy policies pretty much up to bureaucrats to make to their own advantage.

Indeed, the 1946 law has, if anything, worked against the principle of freedom of information. It is sometimes cited as statutory authority for the withholding of any piece of information that an administrator thinks should be withheld—for whatever reason.

The bill now before Congress would do away with broad agency powers to withhold information by specifying certain narrow grounds for secrecy, such as personnel files, security matters, trade secrets and investigative dossiers of law enforcement agencies. Everything not specifically exempted, the bill declares, must be open to citizen inspection.

Most important, the bill would give citizens the opportunity to challenge arbitrary secrecy policies in federal court, where they could bring suit to force the release of information.

The bill has been passed by the Senate and recommended unanimously for House passage by the House Government Operations Committee.

Costs To Rear a Child

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently the Licking, Mo., News ran an article entitled "Costs To Rear a Child."

The article is a penetrating analysis of some of the inconsistencies of the Great Society, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

COSTS TO REAR A CHILD

Hey, Uncle, how much does it cost a rear a child?

You allow us taxpaying parents only $600 a year to feed, clothe, house, and train a youngster. In your Federal Government Job Corps you spent $7,000 a year!

Now, which is the correct figure? Either we're allowing you too much or you're not allowing us enough.

You allow taxpaying parents a $600 deduction for the care and feeding of each child. . . .

Yet under the Cuban refugee program you assume minimal upkeep requires $1,200 a year—and if the Cuban boy or girl is attending school—an extra $1,000 a year.

How come you shortchange the homefolks?

In the austere environs of a federal prison, you have discovered that it costs—to maintain one person, with no frills, no luxuries, and no borrowing Dad's car, $2,300 per year!

By what rule-of-thumb do you estimate that Mom and Dad can do it for one-fourth that amount?

Under Social Security, you will pay $168 a month to maintain the elderly. What makes you think we can maintain our young-uns on $50 a month?

And, Uncle, your VISTA Program (Volunteers in Service to America) spent $3.1 million this last fiscal year to turn out 202 trainees. That indicates that the cost of maintaining and training one youth for one year is more than $15,000.

Then how come we taxpaying parents get an exemption of only $600 to maintain and train one youth for one year?

Or let's see how much you spend upkeeping one youngster in military uniform. House $55.20 a month; Food $30.27 a month. Clothing upkeep, $4.20 a month. That comes to $1,076.04 a year.

How in the world do you expect parents to provide all these things, plus clothes, recreation, books, medicine for $600 a year? With your own figures, you admit it can't be done.

Is it possible, Uncle, that you expect us parents to maintain more efficiently than you, because we usually do.

With all our expenses, we American individuals have more than enough savings to offset our debts; you don't.

With all our prosperity, you, Uncle, are still spending per year $2.9 billion more for relief than during the depths of the Depression. So it may be that you are uncommonly extravagant.

But however we try to rationalize and explain you and excuse you, it is still a hurtful affront, when you allow us hard-working, dues-paying homefolks only $600 a year to rear a legitimate child.

While under ADC you will pay more than $800 a year to upkeep an illegitimate one.

United Aircraft Acquires CANEL Property in Middletown, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, Middletown, Conn., which is in my congressional district, is a happy city today—thanks to United Aircraft Corp. Last week we learned that United Aircraft was the highest bidder for the CANEL property in the amount of $14.6 million. This means not only continued employment, but also employment for perhaps another 1,500 people, as well as continued growth and development for Middletown which only a few months ago was threatened with widespread unemployment and economic crisis.

When the Atomic Energy Commission decided last fall to close out its CANEL—Connecticut Advanced Nuclear Engineering Laboratory—facilities and move its activities out to California, its 1,250 employees were at the point of despondency and the whole community was deeply concerned over its economic future. Fortunately, most of the people laid-off at CANEL were absorbed by Pratt and Whitney, a division of United Aircraft. The General Services Administration then put the CANEL facilities for sale. As it turned out, there were 16 bidders for this very valuable property and United Aircraft was highest.

I want to take this opportunity of congratulating United Aircraft for its vision, its wisdom, and its good business acumen in acquiring this property. They chose a good community, one that is destined to grow, and United Aircraft will grow with it. Connecticut is very happy with the outcome.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert an article which appeared on the front page of the Middletown Press on May 18, 1966, and an editorial of the Hartford Times of May 20, both dealing with the United Aircraft's acquisition of the CANEL property:

[From the Middletown Press, May 18, 1966]

UAC TO BUY LAB; HIRE 1,500 MEN

WASHINGTON.—The General Services Administration announced today that it will sell the Connecticut Advanced Nuclear Engine Laboratory to the United Aircraft Corporation for $14.6 million.

GSA released the announcement to Congressman WILLIAM ST. ONGE and his office called the press media on behalf of himself, Senators DODD and RIBICOFF and Congressman EMILIO DADDARIO.

A Pratt and Whitney Aircraft spokesman said "we are delighted that the bid for the CANEL property has ben accepted. We plan to use the facility both for production of jet engine parts and for engineering activities. We will occupy the facility as rapidly as possible and our initial plan is to have 1,500 persons employed there.

FIRST STEP

"Production activities will be the first step and then perhaps the transfer of selected engineering activities.

UAC, whose Pratt and Whitney division operated CANEL for nearly 10 years, topped 15 other bidders for purchase of the vast laboratory layout.

The property sprawls over more than 1,000 acres. Its 25 buildings occupy approximately 726,000 square feet of space.

ST. ONGE said that UAS proposes to use the facility for purposes of "research, development and production in the field of aircraft and aerospace propulsion and power systems."

"It's going to be used for lots of things," ST. ONGE's office said.

The congressman also reported that a "substantial number of workers will be used in the operation."

When the actual transfer of ownership would take place was still to be determined.

The phase of the Atomic Energy Commission's SNAP-50-SPUR program, CANEL's final research and development underaccomplished in a manner to leave the plant in a high state of readiness for takeover by new ownership.

CITY SHARE

United Aircraft bid on all 28 items in the General Services Administration specification. The only properties exclusively omitted from the offering were the waterworks and the sewage system. These will be sold to the city.

TOOK OVER

Pratt and Whitney became the Atomic Energy Commission's agent for the operation of CANEL with the plant's opening, May 13, 1957.

Now almost nine years to the day later PW&A and its parent returns to the Middletown locale in the form of an owner.

The private ownership means that the facility and its inventory become part of the tax list next October.

Already there has been considerable speculation about this.

At a minimum it has been estimated that the changeover could add more than $300,000 to the city tax levy.

CANEL was operated as a government laboratory from 1957 until its abandonment last July. At its peak the facility once employed 3,500 employes, most of them skilled technicians and engineers.

[From the Hartford Times, May 20, 1966]

EXPANDING UNITED AIRCRAFT

In a major expansion of its research, engineering and production operations starting June 1, United Aircraft Corporation will begin utilization of the big Canel property it is acquiring on the Connecticut River.

As the main factory and 17 other structures on the 1,000-acre tract are brought into use, about 1,500 people will find employment.

The activity will contribute to the base of prosperity and employment of the region, but the purchase of the property offers UAC an immediate chance to exploit business opportunities, many of which are opening in the commercial field in connection with more commodious and speedier air transportation.

Since the government abandoned the Canel project there had been much speculation as to the eventual use of the valuable site. Some even feared that the property might be split up—perhaps to disadvantage—and, indeed, in the bidding arrangements the General Services Administration set up, that became a possibility.

For several different ways of bidding were made acceptable: On parts and parcels, for land, or for various combinations of them.

In the end, it is understood, the UAC offer of $14.5 million for the entire property related realistically to the estimate the government had made of its saleable value.

That was an important factor, for the government had the option to reject any or all bids. The property was not about to be knocked down for salvage.

There had been some comment that considering other offers made, of $10.1 million down to $2 million, UAC may have overbid. That is a matter only disclosure of all the details can settle. But the overbid idea seems open to fault on the score of value obtained and the necessities pressing UAC.

It is not only the 734,000 square feet of building—power house and special purpose spaces included—that is made available at a time when new construction costs are $15–$20 per square foot.

With the buildings and land go 360 machine tools and related manufacturing equipment—turret lathes, shapers, boring mills and heat-treat furnaces. In the sale are maintenance and security items such as fire engines and ambulance.

For a company in the UAC position, under compulsion to exploit developing markets and to clinch business opportunities, the financial advantage of starting to turn profits now is also considered.

With its Canel purchase, UAC has saved perhaps two years of construction time (it also is said that to secure delivery on the machine tools that go with the plant would take up to a year and a half).

Those are company considerations. From the public viewpoint they are not remote, for the public shares in jobs, dividends and in a multitude of other ways as UAC moves to expand its competitive position.

Idea Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, newspapers across the land—including the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette—have commented favorably on the administration's plan to establish a nationwide system of scenic trails.

It notes that the bill recommended by Secretary Udall envisages four types of trails: First, national scenic trails; second, recreation trails on Federal park and forest lands; third, recreation trails on State lands, and, fourth, recreation trails in or near metropolitan areas.

The editorial emphasizes our need for this type of legislation. So that others may see it, I have permission to have it printed in the RECORD:

SCENIC TRAILS

One of the Johnson Administration's most appealing conservation bills of 1966 is a measure to establish a nation-wide system of scenic trails. As recommended to Congress recently by Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall, the bill envisages four types of trails: (1) national scenic trails (patterned after the 2,000-mile Appalachian Trail running from Maine to Georgia), (2) recreation trails on federal park and forest lands, (3) recreation trails on state lands, (4) recreation trails in or near metropolitan areas.

Since the bill takes its inspiration from the Appalachian Trail, it is appropriate that this famous footpath along the ridge of the Appalachians should be designated the first national scenic trail in the proposed legislation. Among other well known trails suggested for inclusion in the national scenic system, after study, are the historic Chisholm Trail, Natchez Trace, Santa Fe Trail and Oregon Trail. Besides promoting the establishment of the longer national scenic trails, the recommended bill would also direct federal agencies, states, counties, and cities to develop under federal programs shorter recreation trails on lands under their jurisdiction.

With the automobile bringing billboard blight and exhaust fume pollution to much of today's landscape, the hiking trail may provide the cleanest and most unobstructed preserve for natural beauty. Even if Americans have to become foot travelers to enjoy them, the reward should be worth their effort.

Financing Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the RECORD an article which appears in the latest issue of Architectural Data & Views, a publication of Allan Thompson Publishers, of Glendora, Calif.

The article, entitled "Financing Construction: How Tough Can It Get?" was brought to my attention by Mr. Dewey Linze, the editor of Architectural Data & Views.

FINANCING CONSTRUCTION: HOW TOUGH CAN IT GET?

(By Dewey Linze, editor)

Rather ominous are the ramifications which emanate from the rooms with the great leather chairs and mile-long conference tables these days as the administration studies its money charts and ponders how it can take more money from business and give business less opportunity to earn it.

If you look at the construction industry today, one of the largest businesses in the United States in terms of dollar volume, it doesn't require the training of a surgeon to see the symptoms of a mass nervous breakdown in its economy.

The most recent occurred in January with the administration's role in making money more expensive to construction people. And it will get worse if you believe the mortgage bankers. Already they say money is more expensive and more difficult to acquire for construction than it has been at any hour of the 20th century.

And more than a few of the big lenders have pulled out of the money market and decided on bonds for the better than 5.5% return. Mortgage bankers are moaning the news that there is no money available.

Except for some high-rise, the high cost of money has been felt directly by the architectural and building fields.

"We can't loan money at this minute for anything," says one major mortgage banker. "Our sources are tapped. They tell me that loans they would have accepted a year ago are being rejected today. Several insurance companies have withdrawn completely from the loan market. Others are asking to be relieved of commitments made before January."

The feeling of the mortgage bankers, in general, is that the administration's attempt to release the pressure of inflation by jacking up the price of money is analogous to the surgeon who performed the perfect operation even though his patient died.

Of the 197 members of the Home Builders Association of Los Angeles, Orange and Ventura Counties in Southern California, 58% thought that the discount rate will have an adverse effect on home sales. Fifty percent thought it would have little effect on the general economy.

"I believe the discount rate will have a depressing effect on the home sales for 1966 and instead of home starts showing an increase, they will probably be about equal to 1965," said Gene Rosenfeld, vice-president and general manager of Kaufman and Broad Homes Inc. of Los Angeles and New York.

Hugh Temple, president, Hubert A. Temple Company of Van Nuys, Calif., said: "It will slow down expenditures for capital improvements, which will reduce jobs and tend to dampen the general economy."

A total of 66.6% of the home builders interviewed believed the discount rate will hurt business for them in 1966.

"The discount rate will affect our business," said W. Scott Biddle, general manager, Broadmore Homes Inc. of Tustin, Calif. " . . . in the higher cost of financing, resultant higher prices and potential buyer resistance . . ."

"We do not believe it will affect our business at all, unless we have to refinance, which we probably wouldn't do in this higher interest rate market," said Jack Gardner, public relations manager, Great Lake Properties, Inc. of New York and Los Angeles.

Fifty percent of the builders thought the discount rate would serve no benefit. A builder-architect has this comment:

"I see no benefits which will be derived from the discount rate; not only from the standpoint of the builder, but also the buyers and manufacturers of building products," said Earl G. Kaltenbach, Earl G. Kaltenbach Architects Inc., AIA, of Santa Ana, Calif.

Fifty percent of the home builders said they had experienced more than a little reluctance on the part of financing or mortgaging houses to honor commitments made before January.

"Irresponsible or fringe financing and mortgaging institutions refuse to honor commitments by mid-picking consumer buyer credits, etc." said Eli Broad, president, Kaufman and Broad Homes Inc. "The more reputable financing and mortgage firms certainly are living up to their commitments."

Kent Attridge, principle of Attridge, Fish and Associates, architects, AIA, of Los Angeles, thinks that there has been a slowdown in business because of the higher cost of money.

"Projects," he said, "in the formative stages are being re-evaluated in light of income and amortization and interest payments. It hasn't stopped business, but it certainly has put precautionary measures to play so that people can see what will happen to the prime interest rate. Until it settles down, nobody knows where to go.

"I think it will effect seriously the architects who have concentrated on tract homes and apartment structures because it has eliminated marginal projects."

Daniel L. Dworsky, AIA, who heads Daniel L. Dworsky, AIA, and Associates of Los Angeles, says the tight money market has cut down on speculative projects.

"Developers have not proceeded with new work," he said. "We felt the effect of the tight money market in the amount of work we have done relating to conventional construction although our business is mostly institutional and commercial.

"We have found that the pressure of tight money has greatly affected apartment building and home construction. I think it has cut down on the more speculative projects, and the main buildings of this nature are residential."

Jasper S. Hawkins of the Los Angeles firm of Hawkins and Lindsey, Architects, AIA, and Associates, said that his firm had felt the tight-money vise to the degree that one client dropped a 200,000 sq. ft. Class A commercial project with working drawings 90% completed.

"We have had five projects stopped cold," said Hawkins, "and now we feel the pinch of no new work. The developers can't go forward. It isn't marginal construction that suffers, but the large developers, with good experience, are being hurt the same way that the marginal builders are.

"They don't believe they can pay more money for money at the present time. The real crime is that the housing requirements are still there. The money market is at the opposite of what it should be. There is too much of a nationwide policy that doesn't apply to Southern California."

George Lupher, president of Morgan Lupher & Company, Southern California industrial builders, said he had $2 million in projects shelved until the financing becomes available.

"Schedules have been disrupted and projects delayed overall because of the financing problems," said Lupher. "It may take six months or longer for things to get back to normal."

The Keystone Mortgage Co. Inc., of Los Angeles, headed by mortgage banker John Sullivan, has long been active in the money-finding field for commercial and industrial construction.

Christopher E. Turner, secretary of the company, said: "Borrowers are being asked to pay as much as 1 percent above what they were paying in February, and in some cases the funds are not available at any price because of the shifting of mortgage money, earmarked for mortgages, into high-yielding bonds and direct corporate placements."

He said, "High quality projects have become too expensive, and projects under $100,000 in the industrial construction area are nearly impossible. The marginal industrial and commercial projects aren't as sensitive because the paying of high rates has been common for them.

"In addition, when there have been sales of industrial properties, the new purchaser has assumed the old-rate loans rather than refinancing at the upped rate of .75% of one percent in many cases."

Turner said the money market virtually has eliminated remodeling of old projects and caused the postponement of a large percentage of new ones.

If the answer to the imposition of the tight-money market is to slow down the economy, it has advanced the question of whether hundreds of architects and contractors will stay in business.

"The residential, commercial and industrial builders are already overwhelmed with administrative problems what with increasing material and labor costs," said one mortgage banker. "When they were slapped across the face with the money-market gauntlet who should expect that it was loaded with a horseshoe?"

Tribute to John L. McMillan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, as I was standing in the crowded committee room awaiting the unveiling of the oil painting portraying the image of the Honorable John L. McMillan, and listening to the eloquent words of praise that you, Mr. Speaker, were making about the man whom we had come to honor, I could but feel that your words were those that the vast majority of the House could heartily endorse.

John L. McMillan is one of the most dedicated, knowledgeable, and considerate Members of Congress that it has been my fortune to meet. When I first came to this House, 16 years ago, he was a veteran of 12 years of service. Even then he was considered one of our leading authorities on agriculture. I turned to him for advice on this subject and that advice has stood me in good stead throughout the years.

The Honorable John L. McMillan has served as chairman of the House District Committee for 18 years. Only a true dedication to service of his fellowmen would influence a man of his high ability to remain at that most difficult and controversial post.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that we all owe a debt of gratitude to the public spirited citizens who donated the beautiful portrait of Chairman McMillan. I felt it an honor to be invited to attend such a memorable occasion. I did note that practically the entire body of public offiicials of the District of Columbia turned out to pay homage to this great American.

I ask no greater honor than to be known as a friend of John L. McMillan.

Joseph A. Gray, Sr., Former Member of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on May 8 the Honorable Joseph Anthony Gray, Sr., who represented Pennsylvania's 22nd Congressional District in the 74th and 75th Congresses, died in Spangler, Pa., the home of his birth in 1884.

Son of pioneer residents of the Spangler area, Mr. Gray served in the U.S. Army and in the U.S. Signal Corps, 1900–1903. He was graduated from Eastern College at Poughkeepsie, N.Y., studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1910. He began the practice of law in Ebensburg, Pa., and as a result of his interest in public affairs was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature, where he served in 1913 and 1914.

Before his election to Congress in 1934, Mr. Gray held a number of local public offices, including school director, councilman, and president of the board of health. A Democrat, he served 4 years in the the House of Representatives beginning January 3, 1935. He was instrumental in obtaining aid for Johnstown following the violent flood of 1936.

Like his father, Mr. Gray was a newspaper publisher for many years, remaining in the business until ill health forced him to retire in 1963. During his business career he also had been a motion picture exhibitor in Spangler.

Mr. Speaker, you and the other of our colleagues who served with Mr. Gray will remember him for his determined effort, warm spirit, and wide knowledge of national and international affairs. Residents of the district he served will always honor him for a full lifetime of energy and dedication directed at improving the general welfare.

End of an Era in Maryland Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, a proud era in Maryland journalism ended early this month when Mrs. Susan Bohler of Hancock announced the sale of the Hancock News, the last handset newspaper in the State. The News will be published henceforth by Mr. James S. Buzzerd and Mr. J. Warren Buzzerd, publisher and editor of the Morgan Messenger of Berkeley Springs, W. Va., but the distinctive touch of Mrs. Bohler will no longer be seen.

Mrs. Bohler, now nearing her 79th birthday, is a veteran of 43 years of publishing, and 50 years as a leading resident of Hancock. Through the weekly News, she has kept her neighbors and countless friends fully advised on local events, school, and church news, and community progress. Despite many difficulties, she has failed to publish the News only once, a truly remarkable record of public service.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the Record, in tribute to Mrs. Bohler, an interesting article from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of May 5 about this outstanding newspaper owner, publisher, reporter, editor, typesetter, printer's devil, who, in her own words, has "been in business since Woodrow Wilson was President":

MRS. SUSAN BOHLER ENDS 43-YEAR CAREER IN NEWSPAPER FIELD; SELLS THE HANCOCK NEWS

HANCOCK.—Maryland's last hand-set newspaper will come off the presses for the last time today.

Mrs. Susan Bohler, publisher of The Hancock News for almost half a century, has announced the sale of the News, effective May 2, to The Morgan Messenger of Berkeley Springs, W. Va.

James S. Buzzerd, publisher of The Messenger, and J. Warren Buzzerd, editor, will continue to publish Hancock's weekly newspaper, but will make use of the slug-casting (linotype) machines and presses now used to publish the Berkeley Springs paper.

Both papers will be issued on Thursday.

Publisher Buzzerd said this week the office of The Hancock News at 4 Pennsylvania Ave. will remain open for the present to handle business activities.

After today's press run, Mrs. Bohler will put an end to 43 years of work in the weekly newspaper field. She plans to devote her retirement years to her home, family and her garden.

For local residents, Mrs. Bohler's retirement also will bring the passing of a familiar sight. Although nearing her 79th birthday she daily walked to and from her newspaper office, carrying a basket filled with the day's mail and daily newspapers.

In the aging, white frame building on the side street just off Main and Pennsylvania, she was the owner, typesetter, compositor, printer's devil and pressman of the last hand-set newspaper in the Old Line state.

BURNED OUT

Mrs. Bohler claims illnesses and distresses never taxed her as much as the 1934 fire which burned out The News when it was located on the second floor of a local hardware firm. However, she soon got "back into business," she adds, by purchasing the business and equipment of another Hancock weekly, The Star, including its 1889 flatbed press.

In those early days when The Star also regularly went to press, The News was owned and published by George C. Huber. After his death in 1947, Mrs. Bohler, who had held a job on the news sheet, bought it and continued publication of the weekly which dates back to 1914.

The Star was established in 1889 and owned by the late Miss Gertrude Summers. As far as local memories serve, Miss Summers gave the business to James William Mason, who, with his brother, John T. Mason, published the weekly until Mrs. Bohler bought it and combined The Star and The News in one operation.

Mrs. Bohler, who says her biggest news story was the flood of '36, came to this western Maryland community in 1916, a young widow with two sons, aged 4 years and 18 months. Her husband, the late Harry Bohler, was killed in an accident at Bartlett and Haywood Tool Makers in Baltimore.

"I got ink in my blood when I came to Hancock," she fondly recalls, "and it was all by chance. I applied for a job on The News, and learned the business from Mr. Huber."

Her favorite expression, in fact, during World War II, when blood donors were so badly needed, was: "Give my blood to a printer; it's full of printer's ink."

The weekly paper, a single piece with a front and back, actually goes to press on two days. Pages 1 and 4, the outside sheet, are printed on Tuesday. Pages 2 and 3, the inside sheet, with school and church news, movies and classifieds, goes to press on Thursdays.

BIGGEST SELLER

Biggest seller for the paper, according to Susan Bohler, has been "Brief Items," a column in which people of Hancock and the surrounding area get the news of people they know. "Two or three lines in that column," says Susan, "are worth 50 lines on the front page. "Besides," she adds, "it lets me, as an editor, let off steam."

Weddings and obituaries are almost as well read as "Brief Items," claims the publisher. The obituary column in The News is probably among the most timely in the state. For the office overlooks the back yard of Grove Funeral Home here, and when Susan sees the hearse pulling in, even at noon on press day, she rushes next door to get a quick notice for publication.

The interior of the News' press room was heated, until just three years ago, by an old coal and wood stove, and Mrs. Bohler carried the baskets of fuel upstairs to replenish the stove. In '63, however, she "modernized" the plant by having gas heaters installed. Faded posters, sales bills and calendars for every year since 1938 line the walls. A visitor to the office, hunting material for a historical novel, was moved to remark that "a newspaper must have been like this in Mark Twain's day."

Mrs. Bohler says the pace has never been that of a "city paper," but claims the hours are long and the work goes on seven days a week. She boasts of never carrying "crime" news. "I never published murders or scandals, and I kept away from car accidents. Everyone in town is related to everyone else," she explains, "and I never aimed to stir folks up. Besides, if anything big happens here, everybody knows it before I can get it in print."

Loyalty to the newspaper and to the publisher has been high in this community. Only once did Susan Bohler "shut down" and that was due to illness. "And," says one resident, "not one subscriber asked for a rebate."

Mrs. Bohler has been known to proclaim proudly, more than once, "I've been in business since Woodrow Wilson was president."

However, she's a staunch Democrat, "but not partisan," and a staunch Episcopalian.

A daughter of the late Mary Alice (Vannosdeln) and Marlin J. Triece, she is a native of the Warfordsburg, Pa., area. Her grandfather Warford founded that nearby town on land which, she says, was purchased by her great grandfather from William Penn.

Her youngest son, Lt. Warford M. Bohler of Annapolis, is named for the town. Her oldest son, Sgt. Marlin T. Bohler, lives in Salisbury. Both are with Maryland State Police.

Moment of Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Vietnam continues to deteriorate. Every day the news brings with it new tales of the disaffection of the people of South Vietnam from the government in Saigon.

As the situation deteriorates, we in Government should be asking: What next? What lessons should be learned from the civil war within the war? What lessons should be learned from Premier Ky's handling of the situation?

One man who continues to think clearly about events in southeast Asia, and who continues to ask the toughest questions, is Walter Lippmann. For those who did not have a chance to read his column in the Washington Post this morning, I would recommend it highly. The column follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 24, 1966]

MOMENT OF TRUTH

(By Walter Lippmann)

The hardest question facing us at the moment is whether or not the disintegration of the Saigon government and army can be stopped and reversed. The official position is, of course, that it can be.

But there is little evidence to support the official will to believe, and there is mounting evidence that General Ky or anyone like him is in an irreconcilable conflict with the war-weary people of Vietnam. There is no prospect now visible that the South Vietnamese people and the South Vietnamese army can be united and rallied for the prosecution of the war.

Unless this condition changes radically, we shall increasingly be fighting alone in a country which has an army that is breaking up and a government which has little authority.

We can already see on the horizon the possibility of an American army fighting on its own in a hostile environment. We must hope that the President and his strategic planners are prepared for such a development. For if the South Vietnamese government and army continue to disintegrate as is now the case, our troops may find themselves without serious organized military support, and forced to find their way in a seething unrest where friend and foe are indistinguishable.

If the Saigon forces disintegrate, it will no longer be possible to continue the war on the theory that the mission of our troops is to smash the hard core of the enemy while the Saigon troops occupy and pacify the countryside. What then? We shall be hearing from the Goldwater faction, whose first article of military faith is unlimited belief in airpower. They are arguing that the way to repair the breakdown in South Vietnam is to bomb Haipong and Hanio in the north. The Administration, as we are told by Secretary McNamara and Mr. Brown, the Secretary of the Air Force, knows the folly and the futility of that course of action.

Is there any real alternative to a holding strategy, sometimes called the enclave strategy, pending the negotiation of a truce and agreement for our phased withdrawal from the Asian mainland? If the Vietnamese war cannot be won by the Air Force, if it cannot be won by American troops fighting alone in South Vietnam, what other strategic option is there?

The only other option would be to make no new decisions, pursue the present course, and hope that things are not so bad as they seem, and that something better will turn up. The President is bound to be strongly tempted to take this line. The alternatives open to him are dangerous or inglorious, and repulsive to his cautious but proud temperament.

A great head of government would have seized the nettle some time ago, as long as 1964, and would have disengaged gradually our military forces. But that would have taken a highmindedness and moral courage which are rare among the rulers of men. For rulers of men nearly always will do almost anything rather than admit that they have made a mistake.

Yet the moment of truth comes inexorably when a radical mistake has been made. The mistake in this case has been to order American troops to fight an impossible war in an impossible environment. The American troops, which may soon number 400 thousand men, are committed to an unattainable objective—a free pro-American South Vietnam. They are commanded to achieve this on a continent where they have no important allies, and where their enemies have inexhaustible numbers.

The situation, not anyone's pride or the Nation's prestige, must be our paramount concern.

German-American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, May 22, was proclaimed German-American Day by New Jersey's Governor, Richard Hughes. And I had the distinct pleasure of attending the 14th annual German-American Day festival honoring the memory of Gen. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, an American patriot and one of New Jersey's early settlers of German origin.

New Jersey has been indeed fortunate to have so many dedicated and upstanding German-American citizens. Mr. Carl Schaufelberger, the festival chairman, is to be commended for providing an inspiring and entertaining program; and, without objection, I wish to place in the RECORD Governor Hughes' proclamation:

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Whereas, the fourteenth annual German-American Day Festival will be held in North Bergen, New Jersey on May 22, 1966; and

Whereas, this year's festival honors General Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, an early American patriot and one of New Jersey's early settlers of German origin; and

Whereas, New Jersey has been fortunate to have so many German-American citizens;

Now, Therefore, I, Richard J. Hughes, Governor of the State of New Jersey, do hereby proclaim Sunday, May 22, 1966 as German-American Day in New Jersey, requesting appropriate observance of this anniversary by our schools, churches, civic and patriotic organizations and by the public generally and urging all citizens to become better acquaintted with the contributions, past and present, of American citizens of German descent.

Given, under my hand and the Great Seal of the State of New Jersey, this twenty-ninth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-six and in the Independence of the united States the one hundred and ninetieth.

RICHARD J. HUGHES,
Governor.

By the Governor:

ROBERT J. BURKHARDT,
Secretary of State.

Bac-si My (American Doctor) in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I would like to take this opportunity to include in the RECORD a feature article which appeared in the April 1966 issue of the Bulletin of the Kern County Medical Society, Bakersfield, Calif. The article was prepared by a physician, Stanley M. Garstka, M.D., who spent 2 months in Vietnam giving his time and services. Dr. Garstka's interesting article follows:

BAC-SI MY* IN VIET NAM

(By Stanley M. Garstka, M.D.)

Our flight to Saigon was uneventful. Eight of us from different parts of the States had enough time during the flight for mutual introduction. There was a professor of Internal Medicine from the District of Columbia and Kentucky, surgeons from Montana and from Georgia, physicians from Texas and Illinois. All came in response to the call for voluntary service for the needy population in Viet Nam. All but one had never been in Southeast Asia and the events from Viet Nam were known to us only from history and current reading. One of us who has spent many years in India could not tell much about Viet Nam, although we listened attentively to his tales from India. On our flight from San Francisco to Saigon, the captain announced that we would refuel in Guam, stop over in Manila and land in Saigon at 11 o'clock a.m., eastern time, 17 hours after taking off from San Francisco.

Saigon airfield throbbed with life and power. One could see in Saigon the remarkable turn about in this war, as the result of the swiftest and biggest military buildups. Everywhere one sees and feels the mighty presence of the United States. Bulldozers by the hundreds, howitzers and trucks, combat-booted Americans, screaming jets and prowling helicopters.

At the airport we were met by USOM representatives who took us by USOM bus to the USOM hotel. It took us over one hour from the airport to the hotel. During the rush hour at noon, the overpopulated Saigon is packed with people, cars, bikes, motorcycles, Army trucks, jeeps, taxis and "cyclos." Traffic rules are not existing, but they are being sensed. Cars hurtle into intersections from all sides. An uninterrupted flow of pedestrians poised and undisturbed marches off the curbs into the jammed and smoky boulevards. Bicycles and scooters caught our eyes, often with beautiful women perched calmly side saddled on the rear. The traffic moves courteously without signs, without noisy horns, without voices of anger. There were no accidents, no ill-tempered screams. Our Siagonese driver, without the slighest change of expression, wheeled and swerved and sailed past near collisions. After lunch at the Intercontinental Hotel, we visited officials at USOM I and at USOM II headquarters. We met General Humphrey and his deputies and learned about our assignments. The following day, early in the morning, our group parted to go in many directions from Quang Tri, at the 17th parallel, to Rach Gia on the coast of Bay of Siam. We were saddened by our separation as we had so much in common. Dr. Geier and myself were assigned to Can Tho, 175 Km. southwest from Saigon.

Can Tho was the place where we stayed for two months and learned to know the Vietnamese people. Can Tho is the capital of the province of Phong Ding. The region consists essentially of the great delta of the Mekong River and its tributaries. Can Tho is a center of the rice growing and of export. The Mekong and its tribuaries create not only the delta plain, but also its livelihood since their waters irrigate the tracts of rice fields. The delta area may be likened to one vast paddy field criss-crossed by many branches of the Mekong River. The land in the delta is seldom 20 feet above sea level and in order to construct roads it is necessary to build up roadbeds and construct many bridges. The climate is tropical and monsooned throughout. The seasonal temperature and pressure variations over land and sea produce monsoons, a name derived from an Arabic word for "seasons." These winds create a characteristic pattern of weather recognized even in the ancient world. The monsoons, blowing across the South China Sea from the Pacific Ocean, bring the rainy season between May and October.

The Vietnamese people that I learned to know were the sick ones in the hospital, the doctors, professional colleagues of mine, the hospital staff, the cook and the chambermaid, the people on the street, the members of a tennis club, the students in the AIC (American Information Center) and the soldiers of the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Viet Nam). Sharp at 8 o'clock a.m. we started our ward rounds in the hospital. With our arrival, Dr. Geier joined the medical department and I joined the surgical team. Dr. D. Campbell, Jr., Colonel USAF, Chief of surgery at San Antonio Air Force Hospital, took over the female section of surgery and assigned to me the male section. From my previous communications in this Bulletin you already know about the surgical theater. Surgical equipment, instruments, supplies and material were sufficient and on the level of United States' standards.

During the visit of the United States Ambassador in Can Tho, we discussed with the Ambassador the outlay of the hospital and agreed, that the hospital generally possesses only two of the basic requirements of a hospital: Patients and buildings. There is serious deficiency in water supply, electricity, sewage disposal, personnel, floor equipment and administrative operating funds. In addition the various divisions, departments and sections of the hospital are in separate buildings. This results in a wide separation of essential services and a fairly large number of buildings spread over a wide area. The Ambassador paid attention to every little comment we could offer. At another time, we had the opportunity to meet the International Red Cross. Dr. Hahn, Chief of Thoracic and Vascular surgery at the University of Losanne, was interested in centralizing chest surgical problems for highly skilled medical care. While on my way back to the States, I stopped over in Geneva and visited with Dr. Hahn.

The patients' load in the surgical department occasionally doubled and trippled the surgical bed capacity. We were forced to keep two or three patients in one bed. Fortunately the small size of the Vietnamese people found decent accommodation in American standard hospital beds.

Two well equipped, air-conditioned operating rooms were active all day long. We averaged ten major surgical cases a day, predominately emergency war casualties and/or not war connected emergency cases. Vietnamese operating room nurses were of highest quality. The language barrier was not a problem. During the operation little difficulties were encountered with requesting unexpected instruments or surgical material. The majority of the Vietnamese nurses grasped the new situations fast, practically reading the mind of the operating surgeon, provided the surgeon was not losing his. In very complicated situations we used the services of a competent Vietnamese interpreter, who always was on duty in the recovery room. Patients' history and post-operative follow-ups were always done with the help of an interpreter.

In the daily contact with the Vietnamese doctors, their passable English was not a barrier for understanding and cooperation. They are gifted and eager to learn. Students may be accepted for medical training after completion of secondary school education. After a year of premedical training in the Faculty of Science, the student spends six years in the medical school. Before he can enter a private medical practice, he is obligated to serve a two-year term in a provincial hospital. Practicing physicians in Can Tho charge 60 piastras for an office call. To meet the financial obligations for him and his family the physician has to earn 30,000 piastras monthly.

There is a great need for doctors as the doctor-population ratio is one physician for 30,000 people. Because of the shortage of trained medical personnel, the majority of the rural population are cared for by practitioners of ancient Chinese medicine as well as by native Vietnamese herb doctors. I observed many patients with adenomatous goiter having burn scars over the nodules. I also saw many patients with skin ecchymoses over the chest and submandibular area. It was explained by the local physicians, that the old Chinese treatment for adenomatous goiter is cauterization of the goiter and that the ecchymoses are self-inflicted by pinching of the skin to overcome headache, mylagia or malaise. The belief, that health and illness are dependent on the benign of malignant influences of spirits, is still strong in Viet Nam although modern medicine is causing the disappearance of some of the more primitive customs connected with it.

I met a lovely lady physician, a 1962 graduate from Saigon Medical College. She explained to me how the healer approaches the patient. There are three souls and nine spirits, she said, which collectively sustain the living body. The primary soul maintains itself, the second is the seat of intelligence and the third is related to senses. The nine spirits are targets of evil demons and when the healer first approaches his patient, he usually intones the third soul related to senses. We both agreed that the healer uses a very clever approach to phychosomatic complaints.

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*Bac-si-My—American doctor.

Mr. Ty (Tee), our cook, was very proud of having been the chef of the former governor of the province. He was always happy to have extra guests for dinner. When Australia's surgical team from Long-Xuyen visited us, Mr. Ty displayed all his gifts in preparing Vietnamese dishes. Meat, as a great luxury was reserved for festive occasions, so we were served duck, chicken and pork in addition to swallows' nests, sharks' fins, frog legs and a great variety of insects and shell fish. When the party ended at midnight (curfew hours) he was very proud of having entertained us with such a great variety of viands.

The war in Can Tho was felt only by the artillery's distant booms and B–52 bombs. The city market place was always well supplied and busy. The shops were frequented well by buyers. November 1st, the National Holiday, was well attended by the local people and the display of marching school children was very impressive. One night, on a very short notice, we were invited as observers for a military operation against a Viet Cong stronghold area. We traveled at night by helicopter to the military airfield. The single most expensive piece of equipment in use in Viet Nam is an Air Force C–130. The plane is in fact a flying command post equipped with eight television screens for projecting maps and incoming and dispatched target information. A Vietnamese general was in charge of the operation with high ranking U.S. military men as advisors. Four hundred sixty Vietnamese fighting men were moved into the target area by U.S. helicopters, then one hour later, a second wave of airlift, carrying 380 Vietnamese Rangers was dropped into the paddy field, crisscrossed by canals and branches of the Mekong River.

The Viet Cong have sufficient freedom of action to strike almost at any point at a time of their choosing. They cannot hold ground, however, against government forces. The free Vietnamese have survived a decade of Communist harassment. They are defending themselves with the aid of supplies, equipment, training and economic assistance sent by the United States.

The success of the Republic of Viet Nam is a vital interest of all free nations. Freedom is not secure anywhere, unless free men defend it everywhere. In Can Tho terroristic Communist activities were sporadic. On one occasion a young American was machine gunned only a few miles outside the city limits. Another time a bicycle loaded with Molotov plastic bombs exploded, leveling a house. Fortunately no human death resulted. Although there is no such a thing as total security anywhere in Viet Nam, the territory under the government's control includes all the cities, all 43 of the provincial capitals, all but half dozen of the 241 district capitals. The delta area is 57 per cent under the Viet Cong suppression, terror, sabotage, random bombing and torture, all intended to terrorize the local civilian population.

It seems probable that the Communists are seeking victory through destroying the will to carry on by the United States and by the Vietnamese government. We left the Republic of South Viet Nam with the feeling that the war in Viet Nam is not primarily a war about the future of Viet Nam, but that it is a war about the future of all free nations in Asia.

I was left with the strong impression that this will some day be remembered as a historic turning point in human endeavor for Freedom, Dignity, and Justice.

World War II Vet Shigeru Goto of Hawaii Provides Hope and Inspiration to Other Amputees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, if the amputee patients of the Vietnam conflict in the U.S. Army's Tripler General Hospital in Honolulu seem less disheartened than their counterparts in the Korean war or World War II, it is largely due to the cheerful visits made by Mr. Shigeru Goto, Hawaii's nominee for the annual Federal Employee of the Year Award.

A disabled veteran who has an artificial right leg, Mr. Goto is vitally concerned with the welfare of these men for he is chief of the prosthetic and sensory aids unit of the Veterans' Administration's regional office in Honolulu, Hawaii. His personal victory in overcoming his handicap and his cheerful attitude have been a source of great encouragement to the men who are undergoing the trauma of facing a lifetime of disability.

Mr. Goto is already the recipient of a commendation by Gen. Melvin J. Maas, Chairman of the President's Committee on the Hiring of the Handicapped. He was cited in 1961 for his help in gathering the discarded artificial limbs of Hawaii's veterans so that they may be made available to the handicapped of the underprivileged countries.

Mr. William C. Oshiro, Mr. Goto's superior, and Hawaii should be commended for having nominated the inspirational Mr. Shigeru Goto, of the Veterans' Administration. The recommendation for the Federal Employee of the Year Award included the following statement:

> Mr. Goto has indeed carried out the purpose of the Veterans' Administration in its endeavor to "care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow, and his orphan."

As a means of commending Mr. Goto and in the hope that his story will inspire emulation, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article announcing Mr. Goto's nomination. The article which was written by Reporter Charles Turner appeared in the April 28 issue of the Honolulu Advertiser:

YOU'D HARDLY KNOW WAR VET'S LEG IS ARTIFICIAL

(By Charles Turner)

Newspaper clippings of nearly a quarter-century ago describe Corp. Shigeru Goto as having been "slightly wounded" in action in Italy.

Actually, Goto, who was 30 at the time, was seriously wounded. He lost his right leg and had ugly wounds of the left arm and left leg from a German shell which exploded in the midst of his battalion of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

He spent two years in hospitals before returning to civilian life.

But it's hard to tell today that Goto received such a searing baptism of fire as the one he got at Carrara, Italy, in 1945.

Goto walked up the stairs at Fisherman's Wharf yesterday without the least bit of difficulty.

He was wearing one of the latest prosthetic devices—a highly versatile artificial leg which operates with hydraulic fluid.

"It gives a gentler, smoother gait than the old ones," Goto said of his artificial limb.

Goto has had plenty of experience with such devices—not only from his own disability, but because of the nature of his job.

He is chief of the prosthetic and sensory aids unit of the Veterans Administration's regional office here. He has been with the VA since 1947. He was nominated by his boss, William C. Oshiro, as Federal Employe of the Year in the annual awards competition which ended last week.

Oshiro also is an amputee and the two men both agreed yesterday that advances in artificial limbs since World War II have come a long way.

"They're not a bit like the ones we first got," Goto said. "It's wonderful."

Even better things are in the offing for the seriously disabled veterans, such as those now coming from Viet Nam.

"They've graduated into the space age," Goto said.

He said it is now possible to fit a person with an artificial limb immediately after surgery. This greatly reduces the shock for men who face a lifetime of disability. Goto said. Research on the new technique is being carried on in Seattle.

Under the old, time-honored method of prosthesis, it took months, or even years, before someone who had lost a limb could be outfitted with a device to help him.

Goto said there are about 70 leg amputees in Hawaii at the present time who are receiving help from the VA. There are about 30 arm amputees. All of these received their disabilities from service-connected causes. There are an even greater number of veterans who have amputations from non-service-connected causes.

Goto said his office has given help to only one combat-wounded veteran from Viet Nam so far.

"Most of them still are in hospitals," he said. "They won't be released until everything possible has been done for them."

Goto makes frequent visits to Tripler Hospital to help the wounded there make the transition to civilian life. His cheerful attitude and willingness to demonstrate how he overcame his own disability—both at Tripler and other hospitals—has won him commendations.

He was given a special commendation in 1961 for his voluntary help in collecting discarded limbs from Hawaii's veterans for use by amputees in underprivileged countries. The commendation was signed by Gen. Melvin J. Maas, chairman of the President's Committee on the Hiring of the Handicapped.

His recommendation for the Federal Employe of the Year award carried this notation:

"Mr. Goto has indeed carried out the purpose of the Veterans Administration in its endeavor to 'Care for Him Who Shall Have Borne the Battle and for His Widow, and His Orphan.' "

Managing Emergency Strikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, during the past few months New York City has witnessed some crucial strikes. In January the city was brought to a standstill by the transit strike. Today, child health stations are closed because of a labor dispute between the public health nurses and the city. Only one-half of our newspapers are publishing.

Many questions have been raised about present laws and possible legislation in the area of emergency strikes.

In an article in the March 14 issue of the New Leader, William B. Gould, a New York labor lawyer, discusses various aspects of this problem. I want to call to the attention of my colleagues his article, "Managing Emergency Strikes," which follows:

MANAGING EMERGENCY STRIKES

(By William B. Gould)

A vast number of Americans, raised to value the tradition of free trade unions, readily accept free collective bargaining as a part of that tradition. But after New York City's 12-day mass transit strike by the Transport Workers Union (TWU), many find it difficult to quarrel with the much heard argument that collective bargaining cannot remain quite as free as it has been, at least in certain industries. Although government has long kept a close watch on crucial labor-management negotiations—occasionally exerting pressure to resolve them—the January crisis has released a wave of concern about the effectiveness of the legal tools available on the Federal, state and local levels in situations involving the general welfare of an entire community.

Because of the highly unusual circumstances of the New York strike, it is quite possible that we will not see its likes again no matter what laws are enacted. This dispute became unnegotiable mainly because the contract expired simultaneously with the advent of a new city government pledged to a change in industrial relations, and because of the evident political antagonism between Mayor Lindsay and the TWU. The late TWU President, Michael Quill, carped at Lindsay's supposed Presidential ambitions, while the Mayor lashed out against the "power-brokers" who, in his view, obstructed peaceful settlement. Moreover, the problem of obtaining the funds for improved wages and benefits was especially frustrating this time.

But despite the unlikelihood of a simultaneous recurrence of these circumstances, the public remains uneasy. It would seem wise for the trade unions to take the lead in advoctaing new strike leigslation both locally and nationally. They stand to lose the most when the next major strike threat emerges and legislators become less dispassionate than they are today.

Current union opposition to revisions in either the Taft-Hartley or Condon-Wadlin laws calls to mind the unseeing posture of union leaders in 1946–47, when they refused to suggest a legislative alternative to Taft-Hartley. Does labor want a similar result today? That law, with its anti-union injunctive provisions and silly "last offer" vote requiring employes to accept or reject the public position of the employer, will almost inevitably be amended, whatever attitude the unions take. Similarly, New York's Condon-Wadlin law causes so many more problems than it solves that it will probably be replaced.

Those problems, presented in an absurd form by the failure to find reasonable procedures for dealing with the TWU, continue to plague the New York State Legislature. Increases granted in the transit settlement required emergency "special interest" legislation to circumvent the explicit prohibition of such raises by Mondon-Wadlin. Now other unions which had struck earlier and actually been penalized under the law—namely the welfare and the ferry boat workers—are asking to be exempted too.

The weaknesses in Taft-Hartley, combined with the provocative theatrics of Mike Quill, resulted on the national level in President Johnson's State of the Union call for amendments to its emergency strike provisions. Suggestions for revising the Taft-Hartley Act, which stipulates an 80-day "cooling-off" period in strikes affecting the country's "health and safety," are commonplace and normally one does not pay much attention to them. But the President does not seem content to let the matter drop with his indictment of the New York transit package as "inflationary." And it should be remembered that before joining the Kennedy Administration in 1961, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz proposed some very sensible procedures to deal with emergency strikes.

Whether employers like the New York City Transit Authority would be affected by Taft-Hartley revision is another matter. This law does not now cover public employment or local emergency strikes against private employers, and the President has correctly stated that Federal legislation must take into account the legitimate prerogatives of state and local government. Indeed, for Washington to dictate how states must operate public services would contravene the trend toward greater state responsibility fostered by reapportionment.

But the Federal government can and should guarantee the right of public employes to join unions. Such an assertion of national labor policy, desirable in itself, would also serve as a quid pro quo to the unions for the restrictions the states are already imposing on the right to strike. In New York State, the immediate onus remains on the Legislature in Albany.

What, then, can the New York Legislature do? It is clear that the sanctions Condon-Wadlin invokes against strikers—i.e., automatic dismissal and no pay raise for three years—are unduly harsh, have no relevance to the real causes of labor disputes, and most important, are simply not enforced against strong unions. Whatever new sanctions are enacted—and sanctions are necessary in some industries—they should be directed against the offending union rather than against individuals. But even so, sanctions that are too stringent will prove self-defeating. For instance, legislation outlawing the union shop and company checkoff of union dues, or making unions more vulnerable to the raids of rivals, would lead to instability and frustration—and probably increase the potential for intolerably burdensome and bitterly intractable strikes.

Nor is it sensible for state lawmakers to give equal weight to all public employe strikes. Even a walkout by the groundskeepers at the governor's mansion would outrage a good many citizens. But can anyone compare this to similar conduct by policemen or firemen? Should a strike by the employees of state-owned liquor stores be treated in the same manner as a transit dispute? Actually, more industries with real emergency potential—such as electric and telephone—are in private rather than public hands. Moreover, some strikes—say, in the schools—may not threaten the public healthy, safety or welfare if they last for a very short period, while a week-long teachers' strike would be intolerable. The legislatures should cut through the propaganda that every public strike constitutes an emergency. The question of states passing laws affecting private industries is one Congress must decide, since Taft-Hartley precludes state action in this area.

Legislatures or Congress also must determine what protection for employees should be established if the right to strike is restricted. Public employment is increasing and so is its importance in the economy. Labor unions should not be arbitrarily restricted in this sector. And legislatures should not be tempted by bills that would require unions to take secret strike votes. Such bills, in trying to divide the unions from employees, actually will compel labor leaders to conduct political campaigns when they should be bargaining.

In the final analysis, damages and fines are the only weapons the law can provide against an illegal strike. But, as New York's Mayor and the Transit Authority very quickly discovered, it is difficult to penalize someone while attempting to bargain with him. Therefore mediatory procedures, to be observed prior to the contract's expiration date, should be incorporated into law by state legislatures regardless of what is done about sanctions. Legislation of this kind might resemble the "choice of procedures" law advocated by Secretary Wirtz, and in one form already enacted in Massachusetts. In New York, for example, the law might run as follows:

1. A party wishing to modify or terminate a labor contract shall notify the other party and the Commissioner of Labor 60 days before the contract expires.

2. If the Commissioner is not notified that an agreement has been reached within 30 days, a three-man panel of mediators should assist the disputants. (This panel might be chosen by the governor or mayor; or the union and employer might each choose one member, with the third picked by the two men already selected.)

3. If the Commissioner of Labor is not notified of a settlement 15 days prior to the contract's expiration, the governor or mayor might instruct the mediators to: (a) issue public recommendations; (b) issue private recommendations to the parties and, if there was no settlement after that, make the recommendations public; (c) issue a public report on the positions of the parties; (d) in a case of severe intransigence, issue a binding arbitration award.

Except in extreme circumstances, these measures should bring about a settlement—sometimes under the weight of public opinion. Compulsory arbitration would be a last resort. The possible constitutional objection to handing over budgetary decisions to outside third parties can be solved, if necessary, by amending the New York Constitution. Having accepted the feasibility of "advisory" arbitration or third-party fact-finding, it is difficult to argue against a stronger dose of the same medicine in extreme cases.

It is doubtful that compulsory arbitration or any other form of governmental influence during emergency strikes can impose the wage-restraints guideposts enunciated by the Council of Economic Advisors. Unions and employers could be required by law to bargain in terms of productivity or the guideposts. But the proposals outlined would work best if the mediators make awards or recommendations similar to those the parties would accept after a strike, rather than when preoccupied with the abstract welfare of the national economy.

Finally, the "cooling off" period after the termination of a contract has never worked under the present Taft-Hartley emergency provisions, although it might be useful during a period of political transition such as New York underwent this year. Normally, however, the cooling off period proves to be a "heating up" period during which both parties—without benefit of some form of factfinding—rely on the same strategy which impelled them to disagree before the contract ended. Both sides attempt to rally outside support for themselves rather than bargain in good faith.

The "choice of procedures" encourages collective bargaining more than any other scheme of governmental involvement. Since the alternatives are not entirely predictable, they should not give the parties a crutch to lean on. (The governor or mayor can be authorized to do nothing in cases where settlement is close but one party thinks it will gain by intervention.) This approach, permitting the government to remain flexible and adapt itself to each case, may yet be incorporated in Taft-Hartley when it is revised.

The American penchant for passing laws has saddled us with some very foolish ones in the past. The question here is not whether there should be a new law, but under what conditions it will be enacted: during a period of relative calm, or during a crisis like New York's transit strike, which outrages labor's friends as well as its enemies.

Commonsense on Credit Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Thursday, May 19, Chicago Daily News touches on a very sensitive, complex factor in our economy, namely, the question of credit. Mr. C. Virgil Martin, a gentleman who is quoted in this editorial, is one of the most prominent constituents whom I represent in the Fourth Congressional District of Illinois, and I am especially pleased to note that his suggestions have received widespread attention.

The editorial follows:

COMMONSENSE ON CREDIT REFORM

C. Virgil Martin, who has a wide-ranging view from his vantage point as president of Carson Pirie Scott & Co., remarked the other day that consumer credit "isn't credit any more, it's banking."

"We're in the finance business, whether we want to be or not."

Martin was giving his views to a committee of Democratic legislators studying credit and possible new legislation. He made an appearance last month before a similar Republican committee. His testimony presented a frank picture of the cost of credit to one major retailer.

Credit sales make up 57.5 percent of Carson's total, he said. Other big stores range as high as 75 percent. Carson's losses here last year were $700,000 on $70,000,000 in credit extended. "If we would charge the credit department 6 percent for the money it uses," Martin said, "charge rent for space used and allocate the cost of the help, we would find we lost $800,000 last year in our credit department."

To benefit both the merchant and the customer in our credit-oriented market place, Martin suggested the creation of a central credit reporting agency, perhaps even as a public office, to keep tabs on total individual indebtedness. Such a service would protect the retailer against a bad credit risk, and it would also protect a buyer against unwittingly getting deeper into debt than his circumstances justify.

The proposals that would directly benefit the consumer were also supported by Martin, with the wry prediction that "all my fellow merchants will probably raise hell with me" for doing so.

He endorsed legislation that would make finance companies responsible for the quality of merchandise covered by installment contracts they buy. At present neither the merchant not the finance company is obligated to repair or replace faulty goods. He also backed steps to relieve the buyer of an unrestricted obligation to continue credit payments even after mercandise has been repossessed.

Martin's thoughtful comments shed light in an area that needs more illumination and less emotional rhetoric.

Even the Russians Celebrated National Maritime Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, everyone in this Nation who is concerned with the problems of our merchant marine was hoping that the administration would take the timely opportunity presented by the anniversary of National Maritime Day, yesterday, May 23, to announce its long awaited national maritime policy. But, unfortunately, there was only silence from Washington.

However, from Moscow, in time for our celebration of National Maritime Day, came a clear statement of the national maritime policy of the Soviet Union. For the information of Members of Congress, I insert the New York Times article of May 23, 1966.

SOVIET IS PLANNING BIG SHIPPING RISE IN 5-YEAR PROGRAM

A 50-percent increase in tonnage and an 80-percent rise in cargoes by 1970 is the aim of Soviet merchant marine planners.

Viktor G. Bakayev, Minister of Merchant Marine, in a recent statement, released by Novosti press agency, declared that the Soviet merchant marine, including fishing vessels, has been scheduled to aggregate 15-million tons by 1970.

The Soviet Union, under its five year plan, has scheduled a growth in merchant fleet of a million tons a year, Mr. Bakayev added. Only fast, highly mechanized ships with modern navigation techniques are planned.

CHANGES IN PORTS PLANNED

This building, Mr. Bakayev explained, is to be accompanied by changes in Soviet ports. The schedule calls for a 17 percent increase in piers and jetties, and a 40 percent rise in covered pier sheds, he declared. In addition, ports are scheduled to be equipped with "thousands of new highly productive loading mechanisms."

The installation of the modern cargo-handling gear is expected to increase their capacity by 40 percent, Mr. Bakayev added, and is designed to make Soviet ports world leaders in mechanization.

Other plans call for the completion of modern passenger terminals in Odessa and Sevastopol and the building of new "sea stations" at Archangel, Kerch, Sukhumi, Batum and other cities.

WILL IMPROVE REPAIR FACILITIES

Mr. Bakayev said further development of the ship-repair industry is also contemplated. Management of this modern fleet, he declared will be handled through the application of electronic computers for accounting, planning and evaluation of shipping.

A computing center of the Baltic Shipping Line has been put into operation in Leningrad and additional centers are to be established for other seas and in Moscow.

The History Class

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently the reading public had an opportunity to view the world of 1987 as predicted by George Orwell.

In an editorial for KWTO radio station in Springfield, Mo., News Director Milton Peters takes another look at the year 2000, assuming an acceleration in the Great Society philosophy.

Entitled "The History Class," I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

THE HISTORY CLASS

(By Milton D. Peters)

The subject for today's editorial is history. The year is 2000. The place is a classroom in Federal area 11–D. A thousand students all dressed the same and all with exactly the same amount of money in their belts sit in rapt attention as the tape recorder begins the lesson. The tape recorder begins: In order to prepare for the future we must understand the past. We live now in areas given to us and maintained for us by the Fed (the country's one party and one power . . . the Federalists.) It was not always thus. Farther back than you can remember, there were States, each with its own leader. The leaders were replaced with planners and the States were replaced with a new system of Federal areas of land. The leaders of States, towns, and counties had gone to the Government for so much that the Government decided that it was a waste of time to have them, and so they were done away with and replaced by planners. These planners were trained by the Federal Government in the arts of mass organization, mass spending, mass planning. The idea was to gradually make everyone conform to one standard. When this was accomplished, control of the masses was made much easier. As you look around you now, you can see that the plan worked. Each of you live in a Federal area. Within 1 day you can jet car to anywhere in your area. In that area everything is planned for your convenience. You have no problems and are completely dependent on the Government.

Here, step by step, is the sequence of events that led to our new system: first, as transportation grew better and faster the old ties and traditions of a people of one of the old States grew less important. People were able to move from place to place and fewer and fewer of them had any allegiance to any particular State.

As the population grew . . . problems also grew. Housing, transportation, jobs couldn't keep up with that growth. So the people, rather than solve their own problems, went to Washington and asked for help. The people in office were glad to help because in those days there were elections, and by helping with money and goods, they were able to get and keep more votes. Every time your ancestors went to Washington for help . . . they left a little more power and a few more individual liberties behind them. But, at the time they didn't mind because they were getting money. It was their own money, but enough of them didn't think about that or didn't realize it until they had given up their power to govern themselves.

As each of these State and local powers to govern were given directly or by default to the Federal Government, the society of the sixties became more and more dependent on the Government. The theory of giving money to certain groups of people started in the early 1900's. Money was given to older people for their old age. As this group of people began to receive more money, their children grew lazier. Prior to this time children worked to take care of their parents, but now they didn't have to. And as they knew that the Government would provide for them in their old age, they worked still less because they did not have to provide for themselves.

The Government kept on doing this for larger and larger numbers of people: First because they felt it fulfilled a need, secondly because it was good for votes and because it added to their power.

For 150 years Americans had voted on most of the laws under which they lived. In the sixties this practice began a gradual process of erosion. People voted less and less. As Government control grew they were asked to vote less and less. A few tried to do something about it, but the process had gone too far for anyone or any group to bring back the true system of Government under which the country was formed.

So, an increase in availability and speed of transportation, a desire to shift responsibility to someone else's shoulders, a giving in to the natural instinct of laziness and laws that required no vote of the people set the stage for the final loss of States and State's rights.

Up to this time the process had been a gradual one, but in the sixties the speed of Government control grew. Like hammer blows, new programs were passed by the Government. Every group in the country was either paying for or receiving what the Government, by themselves, decided they needed.

People who used to laugh at science fiction, or scoff at dire predictions of the decay and loss of the American democratic system began to have second thoughts. There was money for those who didn't make enough, there was money for those who didn't work at all. There was food for all, and that was good. But food had to be imported because the Government wouldn't let the farmers use their land, or grow enough to feed the people. The Government built houses for people and then paid their rent.

Then in the late part of 1966 a new bill was introduced by the administration. It set up community development districts, and was the beginning of the system we now live under. This act sent planners into areas and cut up the United States into Federal districts. Those districts went across State and county lines. Government money spent by Government experts set up sewers, water systems, built houses and office buildings and ran that area. Because the Government had more power than the States the State boundaries were forgotten and the planners took over. Anyone who had a problem went to the planner rather than to the mayor or the Governor, and soon there was no reason to have a city or a county or a State government. Every area of the Nation was numbered 1–A, 2–C, and so on.

So that, students, said the tape recorder teacher, is the history of this land and why you live in Federal section 11–D. Now, can you imagine, in this day and age, having to make any decisions for yourself? Isn't it better to let someone else do your thinking for you? As the tape recorder clicked off, the students began laughing about the idea of them making any decisions themselves, or worrying about anything at all.

But there were a few quiet, serious students whose families had kept the spirit and knowledge of democracy alive. These few would start a process as old as civilization itself. They would begin to form another democracy. They would begin to question being led and being told what to do, and what to wear, and what to spend, and where to go and when.

New Hope for Johnny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, in 1955 Rudolf Flesch shocked the American public by writing the book "Why Johnny Can't Read." Parents as well as administrators sadly discovered that not only was Johnny deficient in learning but also that his teachers were unsuccessful in teaching. Today, despite curriculum changes and innovations in the teaching of reading, 15 percent of the 36 million American elementary school children are still at least 2 years behind in reading capability. Researchers are now reporting that perhaps 2 million of these cases are not the fault of inadequate teaching or lazy learning but are the result of a neurophysiological disorder, dyslexia.

The dyslexic child had previously been a subject only for the medical field, but due to the persevering efforts of Frances K. McGlannan, whose own son suffered from dyslexia, the McGlannan School was founded in Miami, Fla. This school hopes to accomplish in a classroom setting what had formerly been reserved only for tutoring sessions. Since this school is dedicated to the unusual objective of putting itself out of business, its purpose is to develop methods of identifying and teaching the dyslexic child that can be taken over by the public schools.

Mr. Speaker, the child who cannot read in our society is prohibited from learning in other areas and is unable to cope with his environment. I urge that the following Saturday Review article be read by all who are concerned with children and the future progress of our Nation:

TEACHING THE DYSLEXIC CHILD: NEW HOPE FOR NONREADERS

(Every school has its quota of "lazy, immature, uncooperative, trouble-making" students who refuse to learn. Many of them are of average or superior intelligence, but for some inexplicable reason they seem to display a willful resistance to efforts to teach them. It appears that they simply don't want to learn. Yet for most this is not the case—they want desperately to learn, but they can't. Through no fault of their own, they have never been able to learn to read. These bright children are suffering from a neurological disability—known to medical science as Specific Dyslexia—which makes it impossible for them to perceive and/or record accurately the symbols of the printed page. With proper help they can overcome their disability and learn how to lead normal, productive lives. But, to date, very little has been done, nationwide, to translate medical knowledge of dyslexia into classroom practice. In the following article the special assistant to the director of the McGlannan School for dyslexics in Miami, Florida, and SR's associate education editor tell the story of education's stake in this little known barrier to learning.)

(By Careth Ellingson and James Cass)

In modern society, dependent as it is on the printed word, those who cannot read are cut off irrevocably from most of the normal channels of learning and communication. Our lives are dominated by instructions, directional signs, and the many sources of information and pleasure—all written—that provide the key to the complexities of modern living. The non-reader finds it impossible to function in this world, either personally or professionally, except at a very elementary level.

Firm figures on the number of children in the country who encounter serious difficulty in learning to read are hard to come by. The experts differ in their estimates—not least because they are sometimes focusing on slightly different groups of children. For instance, Dr. Richard L. Carner, director of the University of Miami Reading Clinic, estimates conservatively that "20 per cent of all children of normal intelligence or above suffer from reading difficulties severe enough to impede learning substantially." Some estimates run much higher. Dr. Katrina de Hirsch, director of the Pediatric Language Disorder Clinic at the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York, on the other hand, has written that "most people agree that from 10 to 14 per cent of all school children . . . have difficulties in mastering the printed word."

Estimates of the number of children who suffer from dyslexia—or "specific language disability" (SLD), as it is often called—vary even more. However, a widely quoted estimate of 10 per cent of all children of normal intelligence or above appears to be safely conservative. And for about two-thirds of these children—an estimated 2,000,000 to 3,000,000—the disability ranges from moderate to very severe.

But the *exact* figures are not important. What *is* important is the fact that large numbers of intellectually able children are barred from living normal lives by a remediable disability that makes it impossible for them to learn.

Medical knowledge of dyslexia dates back to the late nineteenth century when the term "word blindness" was first used to describe individuals with normal sight who, nevertheless, were unable to read words or even letters. Since that time a geat many studies have identified aspects of the disorder more exactly, but its specific cause remains elusive. Considerable confusion has persisted, too, in the definition and use of the term dyslexia. Some authorities have included within its meaing various kinds of minimal brain damage, and other neurological and developmental disorders. But in 1961, the Johns Hopkins Conference on Dyslexia defined the term as a genetic, neurological dysfunction, uncomplicated by other factors. (It is this latter definition that is assumed here.)

Despite the advance in medical knowledge in recent years, however, little awareness of the problem has penetrated the world of classroom education, and most children suffering from dyslexia have received little or no help. The resulting cost in human waste and suffering has been high.

Consider the child. During his early years he is an average, healthy, happy human being. He has seemingly developed normally, and often displays above-average intelligence. Then he enters school. Suddenly he is faced with an environment in which learning to perceive written symbols has become his most important task. It rapidly becomes clear to him that success, both now and in the future, is dependent upon this one complicated—and for him, impossible—skill. The circuits in his personal computer, for some reason, don't receive and process the symbolic data channelled to them from his eyes and ears with the accuracy and consistency of his fellows. He is lost. While the other children are gradually "learning their letters" and one by one are taking off on the high road to learning, he is mired on the low road—going nowhere. What has happened?

No one knows exactly why the dyslexic child is unable to perceive the world of symbols through his senses and record what he sees and hears without distortion. But there is general agreement on the various forms that this distortion may take.

It is common, for instance, for the dyslexic child to have imperfect directional sense—to confuse left and right and up and down. As a result he is likely to reverse letters and words, or syllables within words: "b" becomes "d," "p" becomes "q;" "saw" may be written as "was," "left" as "felt," "on" as "no," and "sorrow" as "sowro;" and numbers may be similarly reversed with "42" substituted for "24." Up and down confusion leads him to write "M" for "W," and "d" for "p." All children, up to about age six, have difficulties of this kind, but the dyslexic child's reversals are far more numerous and persist much longer.

The perceptually impaired child is likely to have difficulty in seeing a word or a complex form as a whole—his attention is attracted by details and he fails to see their relationship to the whole. He may also have trouble in differentiating a figure from its background—he has to work consciously to identify the figure or word that he is supposed to see, as other children hunt for the hidden figures in a visual puzzle that conceals figures in masses of foliage. Many times he also has difficulty in recognizing the same word or object when it appears in a different context, or in a different size or color. "When," for instance, is the same word whether it appears alone on a flash card or as one of several hundred words on a printed page; it is the same whether it is printed in six-point type or in three-inch letters, whether it is printed in black or yellow or red. But for the child with specific language disability, it may be recognized easily in one context or form or color, but appear totally strange in another. He lives, therefore, in an unreliable world in which he is constantly deceived by his senses as the symbols he is required to master elude him.

The dyslexic child's auditory perception, also, is almost certain to be imperfect and to result in similar distortions. In spite of normal hearing he is likely to have difficulty in distinguishing between close gradations of sound and he may scramble even the simplest messages. He may be able to pronounce the sounds of *p*, *a*, and *t* in "pat," but when he blends them together, they come out "tap." If he is asked to write the sentence, "The first bat in the pile is broken," for instance, it is likely to come out, "The frist tab in the pill is broken."

There are, of course, many other manifestations of the SLD child's problem that are apparent to the trained observer, but there are also simple clues to the condition that can be identified easily by the parent or teacher. Very often, for example, the first hint of any disability appears when reading instruction starts in school. Although up to that time his progress has appeared perfectly normal, suddenly he is in trouble. His performance in reading does not match that in the other areas of learning, nor does it come up to expectations based on intelligence tests that do not require reading. He is likely also to be experiencing difficulty in other language areas such as spelling and writing.

His family history may also provide clues since many specific dyslexics come from families in which left-handedness or ambidexterity is common. He himself may display no clear preference for the right or the left hand. And in many cases other members of the family also have a history of language difficulties. Interestingly enough, an unusually high number of cases are children of eminent surgeons whose ambidexterity has added a crucial dimension to their surgical skill.

Perhaps the most difficult cases to identify, however, are those of exceptionally bright children who are suffering from only a mild disability. Despite the fact that their academic progress is substantially impeded, the problem is concealed by their capacity to achieve despite the disability.

But the problem of the dyslexic child is not one that affects only the child—his family and teachers are almost equally involved. To be sure, the emotional disorganization that such a child faces is almost overwhelming. He is confronted with parents, teachers, and friends, in fact, a whole world that seems to feel that he is deliberately malingering. Because of his demonstrative intelligence, his teachers do not understand why he will not learn, and wonder where they have failed. His parents, too, wonder what they have done that should make him seem to want to misbehave. And his friends do not understand his apparent unhappiness with life—a state of mind that, at times, manifests itself in extremely aggressive behavior.

Look at the problem from a child's vantage point. Danny, age nine, in excellent physical health, with a high average I.Q., is one of four children. After three years in public school his world was in ruins. During the first two grades he was always behind in his class work, at the bottom of his reading group. By the third grade he began to feel that it wasn't even worth trying any more. Danny's parents tried to be understanding and helpful, but his increasing irritability and his emotional outbursts over minor incidents, his growing rejection of parental control, and his continued lack of academic progress, triggered problems within the family circle. The family began to function *around* Danny, avoiding whenever possible a direct confrontation with him. But this line of action was not the answer; it just confirmed Danny's opinion of himself as unloved, stupid—a failure.

One day Danny and his mother were shopping in the downtown area of their community, with which he was not familiar, when they became separated. Danny wandered about for more than two hours, becoming more and more confused and frightened. Finally, he was found by a policeman. But even when found, he could not give his correct address or telephone number—he kept reversing the digits—and he could not write the information for the police. Nor did he particularly want to. He had decided that his mother had lost him deliberately because she no longer wanted him around. The police had to wait for Danny's mother to appear.

That evening Danny's parents decided that he should go to a psychologist for help with his "emotional problems." In many ways it was a relief to his parents when the psychologist, after extensive testing, diagnosed his problem as specific dyslexia, with an emotional overlay which he was sure would completely disappear if the child received the proper, specialized scholastic help his condition required.

Danny is one of the lucky ones. Today, two years later, he is a bright-eyed, carefree boy who is achieving in school, is secure in his family's love, and is ready to compete with other boys of his age. His parents are aware that with each new phase of his development they will have new problems to face (to date there is no cure for dyslexia). For example, when Danny is old enough to drive a car, he will need special help with directional problems—to make sure that he won't turn left when he should turn right. But these are solvable problems. Danny has it made.

Hundreds of thousands of other Dannys don't. Yet the prospect for them is brighter than ever before. A substantial body of medical and educational research already exists on dyslexia, and a number of well-known medical scholars, both in the U.S. and in Europe, are actively exploring the problem. A limited number of reading clinics, such as Dr. Carner's at the University of Miami, have the knowledge and facilities to work with dyslexic children, and we may hope that their number will increase.

But most hopeful, perhaps, is the work being carried on at the McGlannan School, a small research language arts center in Miami. With an enrollment of sixty-five and a staff of twenty, the school is dedicated to the unusual objective of putting itself out of business. Its purpose is to develop methods of identifying and teaching the dyslexic child that can be taken over by the public schools.

The school's founder and director, Frances K. McGlannan, became interested in dyslexia while doing graduate work in the field of clinical reading. During seven years of teaching and research she became convinced that reading clinics, despite their excellent work with dyslexic children, were limited by the clinical necessity of teaching on a tutorial, or one-to-one, basis. A successful effort to help an estimated 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 school-age children, she decided, would require the development of methods and techniques that could be employed in regular classrooms by trained classroom teachers. The McGlannan School is the result.

Today, the school, in its second year of operation, offers a full, ungraded curriculum for grades one through six, and works with a carefully selected "pure sample" of children with genetic language disability. It is a teeming center of ordered chaos, boasting a well appointed clinic, an extensive testing program, a pilot teacher-training project, and an exciting atmosphere of constant experiment and discovery. Once the requirements of the students are met, primary efforts are directed toward practical research into improved techniques. Typical of its many efforts in this direction is a project in which statistically paired students are being given different kinds of training in areas of perceptual constancy and horizontal spatial relations to determine which exercises have the most carry-over value to the printed page. And in another area, the staff, working with the school psychometrist, Mrs. Isabel Wills, is correlating statistics from professionally administered psychological tests with classroom testing that may be performed by a trained teacher in order to develop a screening instrument for identifying dyslexic children.

Early identification of a child's disability is the key to effective treatment. Delay in diagnosis increases the problems enormously. Frequently the first grader with the neurological development of a four-year-old is forced into the same classroom mold as his classmates with the advanced perceptual skills of seven-year-olds. The large numbers of children troubled with SLD fall into this category.

The McGlannan School's basic approach to teaching a dyslexic child does not differ materially from that employed generally by reading clinics and specialists in this country and abroad. Where the school does differ is in its successful effort to carry over into group teaching tested clinical methods by which children are taught individually, thus accomplishing in a classroom what has previously been achieved only in tutoring sessions. This requires detailed interpretation of the test patterns of each child's learning strengths and weakness, which, in turn, determines the specific teaching methods to be employed and the way in which students are grouped in the classroom.

Another contribution is its continuing staff effort to refine these techniques and to develop specific adaptations of them to "unlock" the special problems of individual children. Mrs. McGlannan's clinical assistants, Mrs. Clara Leonard and Mrs. Norma Banas, classify and edit these special methods so that they are available to the entire staff immediately.

Learning in the schools is usually approached through the eyes and the ears—the visual and auditory senses. But since the dyslexic child cannot receive symbolic data through these senses without distortion, they must be supplemented by other channels of communication. For him, then, touch and movement—the tactile-kinesthetic avenue to learning—add a "third dimension" to the teaching-learning process. He becomes increasingly familiar with the symbols that he finds so elusive visually through a wide range of activities that allow him to feel them, trace them, arrange them in various sequences, and associate their shape and sound with familiar objects. Starting with simple geometric forms and directionality training, he gradually works through to the letters of the alphabet, and finally to complete words. In this process, his whole being has become involved.

The same approach proves useful in the later grades. Social studies is built upon time lines and sequences that cannot be "seen" and upon geographic locations that are lines on a map. When a dyslexic child looks at a map of the continents, it may appears to him to be a mere collection of symbolic designs. "Looking," therefore, does not necessarily mean that the child "sees" that Africa is larger than Australia, or that England has a jagged coast line while Florida's is smooth. But if he traces the continents, colors them, cuts them out, and then pastes them in proper position on a styrofoam globe, he *is* able to see them and their relationship to each other.

There is, obviously, no real barrier to teaching a dyslexic child. The basic prerequisite is a teacher with knowledge of the problem and its treatment, patience, and ingenuity in adapting techniques to the individual child. A second necessity is parents who understand the problem and are willing to learn along with the child. A third, and most important, is early identification. Given these three necessities, a year or two of intensive treatment—depending upon the severity of the disability—will prepare most children to enter regular school classrooms. But these children will continue to need special help and understanding from their families and teachers.

What, then, are the chances for the hundreds of thousands of boys and girls whose disability has not been discovered? Today, though better than ever before, they are far from encouraging. A very few public schools are attempting to help dyslexics—along with other nonreaders—in their remedial programs. A limited number of university-based reading clinics are equipped to identify and treat the problem. Yet even in these cases the child is likely to spend an hour in the afternoon being tutored at a clinic—after spending a frustrating five or six hours in a classroom where there is little or no understanding of his problem.

Yet it need not be so. The knowledge that is necessary to institute full-scale programs for dyslexics in the schools is already available. When asked whether the clinical teaching techniques could be introduced into a public school system, Mrs. McGlannan said, "With properly trained personnel in each school, it could be done virtually overnight. But until the public and the profession understand the human cost of failure to act, the future holds little promise for these children. They will continue to be as handicapped by the public and professional ignorance surrounding their problem as they are by the problem itself."

CRUCIAL NEXT STEP

The crippling gap between the findings of medical and educational research and the practical application of this knowledge in the classroom derives, at least in part, from the fact that three separate disciplines are involved. Identification of the cause and the eventual prevention of specific dyslexia is the responsibility of the medical profession; the development of more exact methods of diagnosis falls in the field of psychology; and increasingly effective, practical remedies must be found in the field of education.

The problem is also international in scope. Dr. Knud Hermann and the famed Ordblind Institute in Copenhagen, for instance, have long pioneered in the genetic aspects of SLD. A number of eminent researchers in England and the U.S. have, for a number of years, been probing various aspects of the problem. And more recently the Neurological Institute of Moscow has been exploring promising avenues of research.

A growing number of authorities in the field, therefore, believe that the need is now urgent for an international, inter-disciplinary conference to coordinate developments in the field since the 1961 Johns Hopkins Conference on dyslexia. Such a conference, they feel, will focus professional interest on current knowledge and pave the way for more rapid progress in the immediate future. A conference of this kind would also, they believe, help to dramatize, for both the profession and the public, the urgent necessity for more effective diagnosis and treatment in local communities where the children are.

CIA: Is CIA Becoming a Sacred Cow?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the Congress after the experience of recent years is justified in becoming alarmed over the power and secret operations without congressional oversight of the mysterious powers of the Central Intelligence Agency.

A Right To Find Out

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee should push on with its attempt to become more of a watchdog over the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency. For years the CIA has been regarded as a mysterious, untouchable arm of government. In one sense it has to function that way. Spies must remain under cover, and we need spies. However, there have been CIA steps into the policy level where the more wisely grounded legislative arm should exercise more control.

Sen. Eugene McCarthy's resolution to upgrade the subcommittee now ineffectively doing the job would expand the group and give it the title of full Committee on Intelligence Operations. The resolution faces certain opposition, on the grounds that the CIA should be immune from much prying because its activities are so sensitive.

Certainly the senators should not get carried away by the watchdog activities, but there is no reason to believe that responsible, periodic looks at the CIA will hamper its work or threaten national security.

McCarthy is a responsible senator, one whose ability and good judgment has never been seriously questioned. His connection with the watchdog resolution should help to quiet fears about irresponsible probing.

There is sharp disagreement over contentions that the CIA has over stepped its intelligence gathering mission to influence foreign policy. But it is not infallible, and the Senate committee's desire to find out appears justified.

Procurements—Report of Smaller Business Association of New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the Smaller Business Association of New England has presented its 1966 proposals for congressional action and it is my honor to be able to enter these proposals in the Record at this point.

The SBANE report was introduced by Mr. Ernest H. Osgood, Jr., of the State Street Bank & Trust Co. of Boston, Mass. Three areas of possible legislation affecting small business are explored and the report concludes with a summary of the proposals. The association and its members who participated in this project are to be commended for their sacrifice of valuable time and their sincere hard work in presenting this report to the Congress.

The first area covered and printed below concerns "Procurements" and was prepared by Robert S. Goodyear, president of Fenwal Electronics, Inc. I will enter the remaining sections in the Record during the rest of the week.

Procurement

1. Reinstate set-asides and PCR's.
2. Notify firms of nonresponsibility.
3. Revise weighted guidelines.
4. Adhere to procurement regulations.

1. REINVESTMENT OF SBA SET-ASIDE PROGRAM & PCR'S

Once again SBANE strongly urges your support of a measure that will reinstate the Small Business Administration's Set-Aside Program and Procurement Center Representatives. Last year the number of Small Business Administration PCR's was reduced from 46 to 14 by the Administration, thus eliminating SBA's role of initiating small business set-asides.

In our judgment, this move was ill conceived and will mean a substantial reduction in the amount of Government procurement exclusively restricted to small business, at a critical time when defense requirements are increasing to support the conflict in Vietnam.

Small business set-asides

Contracts:	*Value*
For 1963 (45,628)	$2,331,715,350
For 1964 (51,417)	3,041,055,857
For 1965 (51,556)	3,051,057,000

Each year, the SBA has been achieving greater amounts in set-asides by dollar value. These set-asides are largely responsible for the reversal of the downward trend in the percentage of prime contracts awarded to small business. (Figure 6) In the fiscal year 1965, 51,556 joint set-asides were made with an estimated value of $3,851,057,000.

This is a larger amount than in any previous year (figure 7) (not printed in the Record) accounting for approximately 20.3% of prime contracts being awarded to small business in 1965 as compared to 18% in 1964. In view of the growing success of this program, SBANE cannot understand the reasons for its discontinuance.

The removal of SBA PCR's denies small concerns an independent champion for their interests in government procurement agencies. Although the surveillance program agreed to by the SBA in the Department of Defense may yield some constructive results, it cannot, nor is it intended to, replace the set-aside program now being handled on a unilateral basis in the procurement centers. Under the present system, small business specialists at the Center initiate set-asides to the contracting officers.

In many instances, these contracting officers are the people to whom they report in the performance of collateral duties. SBANE appreciates the helpfulness of the small business specialist, but recognizes that no man can equitably serve two masters.

2. NOTIFY SMALL FIRMS OF NON-RESPONSIBILITY

SBANE suggests that revisions be made in the Federal Procurement and Armed Forces Services Procurement Regulations, requiring that the small business bidder be notified when his bids are declared non-responsible.

[Figure 8 résumé]:

Notify small firms of non-responsibility

1. Inadequate financial resources.
2. Lacks production capacity to meet delivery schedule.
3. History of past unsatisfactory performance.
4. Unsatisfactory record of integrity.
5. Does not meet applicable laws and regulations.

XYZ Company has been awarded contract # AB 97531–W, $1,850,000.00.

1. Advise reason.
2. Delay for investigation.

Under present regulations (figure 8) (résumé above) in three of the five reasons under which a bid can be declared non-responsible, the small businessman receives no notification. If his bid is rejected, he is sent a notice, usually a post card, informing him solely of the name of the company receiving the award and its amount. Our Association believes that a bidder deserves at least the courtesy of notification by wire of the reason for the non-responsibility. Further, we recommend that the final award be delayed until the validity of the non-responsible decision has been investigated.

At present, once an award has been made, there is little hope of cancelling or reversing this decision in the interest of the small businessman.

The contracting officer can declare a bid non-responsible when in his judgment the contractor:

1. Fails to possess adequate financial resources;
2. Lacks the capacity to produce what is required in accordance with the specified delivery schedule;
3. Has a history of past unsatisfactory performance due to failure to apply tenacity and perseverance;
4. Lacks satisfactory record of integrity; and
5. Does not meet the requirement of applicable laws and regulations; e.g., the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

In the first two cases, where lack of credit or capacity are the main factors, the case must be referred to SBA for a Certificate of Competency review if the amount involved is $10,000 or more. In these cases, the SBA, not the contracting authority, notifies the small concern. In the last three cases, the businessman is not notified that his bid was determined non-responsible. In our opinion, this practice violates long-established ethics in contract bidding.

3. REVISE "WEIGHTED GUIDELINES METHOD"

The Smaller Business Association of New England proposes that the weight range for subcontracting to small businesses be increased to provide an incentive to the major prime contractor to increase subcontracting to competent small businesses. In recent years, greater emphasis has been placed on incentive contracts with rewards or penalties imposed depending on the contractors' performance, utilizing what is known as the "Weighted Guideline Method" (figure 9) (not printed in the Record). For example, a target cost for a contract is set by the Government and the company through negotiations. If this figure should be exceeded then the company is penalized in an amount determined through a formula of which the "Weighted Guidelines" are an essential consideration.

By this same negotiated method, the company is rewarded if it is able to save money. The Armed Forces Services Procurement Regulations list many factors to be considered, and one of these elements, subcontracting to small business, receives very little consideration.

Subcontracting to small concerns combined with the same for surplus labor area concerns is one of nine elements such as Management, Cost Efficiency, Reliability of Cost Estimates, Cost Reduction Program Accomplishments, Value Engineering Accomplishments, Timely Deliveries, Quality of Product, Inventive and Developmental Contributions, Small Business and Labor Surplus Area Participation, which together are accorded a weight range of only minus 2% to plus 2%. Obviously, the effect of subcontracting is all but lost where it is given such minute consideration. In comparison, here are some other items considered with their weight ranges: engineering labor, 9–15%; engineering overhead, 6–9%; manufacturing labor, 5–9%; manufacturing overhead, 4–7%; and general and administrative expenses, 6–8%.

We recommend weight ranges for subcontracting to small concerns be increased to minus 1½% to plus 1½% in the "Weighted Guideline Method" for incentive contracts.

In 1965 100 companies received approximately 70% of the DOD military awards; 25 received 48%, and one received 7.1%. Yet 300,000 small businesses received only 20%. We believe our proposal will provide an effective incentive to the major prime contractors to increase their subcontracting to small firms.

We also believe that the ASPR's should be revised to require the contracting authorities to consult with the SBA to determine the adequacy of the prime contractor's subcontracting program.

4. STRICTER ADHERENCE TO PROCUREMENT REGULATIONS

One reason the percentage of prime contracts going to small business has remained unchanged from 1956 to 1965 is the tendency of some government agencies to group their procurement rather than divide their requirements.

Such grouping usually results from an attempt to lessen the administrative workload despite regulations against this grouping in procurement guidelines.

We recommend that corrective action be taken to insure that procurement agencies abide by the small business policies spelled out in their regulations.

The Armed Services Procurement Regulations, the Federal Procurement Regulations and the NASA Procurement Regulations provide for division of procurement that will encourage bidding by small business.

A Lesson in Fortitude

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, we can all profit from reflecting on the courage and persistence of men and women who have overcome obstacles more formidable than any we ourselves have had to face. Such an individual was Lowell White, son of the Reverend Ralph E. White, of Frederick, Md., who lived a rich, generous life despite the handicaps of being partially paralyzed at the age of 11.

We can all admire the firmness of Lowell White's faith, the breadth of his ingenuity, and the creative range of his activities. We can also pay tribute to his family and the many friends who shared his efforts and gained inspiration from their partnerships with this remarkable man.

I would like to include in the Record the following essay on Lowell White's life, from the Church of the Brethren magazine, the Messenger, of March 31:

HIS SPIRIT WAS FREE—A STORY FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE HANDICAPPED AND UNHAPPY

(By Pearl Clague)

Until he was eleven years old Lowell White's life as the son of a pastor in Chicago, in Piney Flats, Tennessee, and in Naperville, Illinois, was much like that of any minister's son. The real difference began one day when he said, "Mother, my feet are going to sleep." This happened at Naperville, and a doctor, who was a specialist at Rush Medical School in Chicago but who lived in Naperville, was called. After a careful examination he asked, "Are you set for a siege? Your son will be at least partially paralyzed in twenty-four hours. He may never recover."

In the Presbyterian hospital in Chicago Lowell remained three months while a great carbuncle deep in his back between his shoulders drained the spinal cord. Three problems now presented themselves: (1) What was he to do when paralysis came up to his arms? (2) How long could he expect to live? (The doctor's answer to this was, "Maybe a week, but not past the twenty-first birthday." He really lived until he was almost forty-five). (3) How shall he employ his time? What training should he have? One church leader of that day, when told of the problems and asked for a solution, said, "Poor boy, he would be better off dead." The following story will show how false that answer was.

The best advice from an educator, and a number were consulted, was given by Dr. A. C. Wieand, founder and president of Bethany Seminary. When asked what kind of education such a boy needed, he answered, "The same as anyone else, but more of it."

The next problem was how to get an education when you must spend months in bed and never be able to walk, even on crutches. Doctors, interns, and nurses helped to solve this, even in the hospital, by helping Lowell to keep up with his class in school. His teacher sent in assignments each day and so he lost no time. He even read some things which others did not. In occupational therapy class he learned leather tooling. When he came home from the hospital the Naperville Board of Education sent him private teachers for a number of years

His schoolwork was without much point until he got Mrs. Kline for a teacher. She was well-trained herself and inspired him to do thorough work. One of the subjects she taught him was home economics. His examination on the subject was for him to cook and serve from a wheelchair a luncheon for herself, the principal of the high school, and the superintendent of schools. Without the help of such a teacher he would never have been prepared for college.

Lowell always looked for ways to earn his own money. He wanted a power wheelchair so that he would not have to be pushed. He took orders and made hand-tooled pocketbooks for such a purpose. A great surprise came to him just when he had saved almost enough to buy the wheelchair. A club in Naperville heard of his desire and bought it for him. Many of the residents of Naperville will remember the scene of a power wheelchair with a dog running along by it and surrounded by a troop of youngsters on bicycles.

At the close of Lowell's junior year in high school, his father took a position as field representative for Bridgewater College. This involved some new experiences for Lowell. He must make new friends and work out some new way to continue his education. He would have some built-in resources by being in Bridgewater since his cousins, Rhett Petcher, Donald Clague, and Dorothy Petcher, would be living with his family and helping in the home. But it was a new friend, Galen Wolfe, who really solved his transportation problem by pushing his wheelchair to and from Bridgewater High School. Here he became acquainted with Clifford Huffman, who took an important place in his later life. Lowell was graduated from Bridgewater High school in 1939. By this time his parents had learned that it would not work out for the father to be gone so much, even though there was good help at home. Some new plan had to be worked out.

In the fall of 1939 his father became pastor of First Church of the Brethren in Roanoke, Virginia. Roanoke College was only five miles away in Salem. There would be the problem of getting someone to push the chair. So a week before college started Lowell and his father went to see the president of Roanoke College, Dr. Charles Smith, about entering college and finding a boy to care for Lowell. Dr. Smith said, "I will see what I can do and let you know." A few days later Lowell's father received a letter addressed to both of them. It was from the college president saying, "It looks too hard. I cannot find a boy; so you had better not come to college."

Lowell did not get to see the letter at that time. On enrollment day his father took him, and he was enrolled like anyone else. Within three days from the beginning of classwork the students had solved one of the problems. They took Lowell to classes while his father studied in the library. There were times when his father's duties as pastor kept him from taking Lowell to college and spending his mornings in the library. At such times his mother took him. The solution of the problem of transportation from classroom to classroom was very simple; a Catholic boy and a Jewish boy voluntarily cared for him four years. Sometimes it involved carrying him in a chair from one floor to another.

Since Lowell could not take part in athletics, he went out for the only thing he could do—debating. He made the college debating team and was elected a member of T.K.A., national debating fraternity. All during his college days he was asking himself what he should do when he got out of college. The most help he got from anyone on this problem was from a lecturer at the college, Dr. Gould Wickey, who had had many years and vast experience in educational work. His suggestion was quite simple, "Lowell, it looks difficult for you to go to other people. You need to do something where people would need to come to you." That statement served as a guiding star over the years.

Only a few days before his graduation Lowell received a letter addressed to him which his father got out of the mailbox. His father guessed from the return address what it was. So he got an old letter which had been addressed to both of them to put with it. One letter was from the college president saying, "Do not come," and the new letter was a citation to Who's Who in American Colleges.

Even during college days Lowell was working toward self-support. Clifford Huffman, whom he had known in Bridgewater, was now working in Roanoke as a radio announcer. He wanted to sell a chain of stamp machines for money to go to Elizabethtown College. Since the boys were friends, Clifford sold the machines to Lowell on credit. Lowell operated the machines and month by month sent Clifford the money. He must have help to do this, and the boy, Joe Wilson, whom he secured became a friend and helper for the remainder of Lowell's life, more than twenty years. Another business which Lowell and Joe carried on at night was management of a skating rink, specializing in parties for churches and schools.

Before getting out of college, Lowell secured a job as secretary to the principal of Monroe School in Roanoke. During the two years he worked there he financed his sister, Eva Lee, for two years at Bridgewater College. At the end of this period he desired to go more in the direction which his major in college, business administration would take him. Therefore, he secured a job at a drycleaning place where he would be responsible for the office and checking the truck drivers.

In order to carry on his many activities Lowell had to have his own car. After repeated experiments, he was able to have a car prepared which could be driven entirely with the hands so that he could drive himself. His many business ventures made possible a rather unique attainment for one so seriously paralyzed. Unknown to his parents and most of his friends he had taken flying lessons, and he now secured a pilot's license to fly a cerain kind of plane. He often said that people generally would never know the sense of freedom one gets from going from wheelchair to airplane.

In the spring of 1951 the White family moved to Frederick, Maryland, where Ralph White became pastor of the church, Joe Wilson secured a position as draftsman at Price Electric Company, and Lowell became bookkeeper for a radio station with his office in his home.

Two years later Lowell married Frances Bradshaw. When their first child, Mark, was born they began to look forward to a home of their own. Two years later they had a small home built according to their needs. Although Joe Wilson was now married and living in a home of his own, he continued to help Lowell by taking him to and from his work.

After two years with the radio station, Lowell had gotten a job in the office of the Farmers Cooperative, where he would deal with many farmers of Frederick County. He had also joined the Civitan Club, which had a large membership. Men from both of the groups often asked him for help on taxes and in business matters. He worked at the Farmers Cooperative for nine years and continued to make friends. He was now ready for his last move in business, the one suggested to him by Dr. Wickey while he was still in college. He set up his own office in his own home, where people could come to him.

Securing a college training and more, along with the making of many friends, seemed to be the secret of Lowell's ability to support a family during times when many other people similarly situated would have been on relief. During his entire life he never once considered going on relief. In the first place, he was too independent to do it, and, in the second place he could make a better living by his own efforts. He loved to drive a car, and for security reasons he had to have a good car so that it would not fail him.

Friendship was one of the greatest things in Lowell's life. He had a strange power to attract and keep friends. A person in a wheelchair naturally attracts attention, but he also had a quick wit with which he amused and held friends. Without regard to race or economic status, he had an interest in people in any kind of trouble. For years he gave toward the support of a Chinese war orphan. A little boy, Randy, three years younger than Mark, had been adopted into Lowell's home. No person, regardless of race, was so poor that he did not try to help him to straighten out his taxes, his finances, or his other difficulties.

People were attracted to him by his attitude. Rare indeed would be the occasion when he would not have a ready answer. On one occasion a woman on the street saw his father trying to get him up some steps in a wheelchair and said to him, "It must be hard for the man to do that." Lowell answered her, "He has to; he expects me to support him in his old age."

Lowell had always been active in the church. He was always found "where the action was," and he had a rather unique ability to keep people interested in some project and to hold a group together. He had been a tither for many years. During his life he had undergone many operations, with as much as three months at a time in the hospital. Both of his legs had been amputated above the knees. His tubes were referred to as "my plumbing system." On two occasions he had been annointed. But very seldom did he even mention his constant discomfort or even extreme pain.

Death came somewhat suddenly and unexpectedly. Just before Easter last year he was taken to the Frederick Memorial hospital critically ill. He kept asking when Easter would come and said, "If I can make it to Easter, everything will be all right." In the hospital at 12:05 a.m. on Easter morning he quitely slipped away.

Lowell thought much about why God permitted him to suffer, but he was never morose about it. The real secret of his buoyant attitude was likely found in an incident which took place early in his sickness. A woman healer was holdin ga meeting in Naperville, Illinois, and she included Lowell's home among the places in which she called. She had a prayer with him and asked God to heal him immediately. As she left she said, "Now, Lowell, I expect to see you walking soon." He answered, "Maybe not." She said, "Why?" His answer was, "Maybe God can use me better as I am."

Comes the Millennium?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of concern over the complications which will face our senior citizens, their doctors and the hospitals of the country when the medicare program commences to operate on July 1. The La Grange Citizen, an outstanding independent publication serving suburban Cook County, Ill., carried a brief but pertinent editorial comment on this subject in its May 19 edition, and I have leave to insert in the RECORD as a continuation of my remarks:

COMES THE MILLENNIUM

Another example of the mistaken notion that medicare will bring the millennium was reported by a physician last week.

An aged patient requiring minor (and certainly not emergency) surgery was advised by her doctor that because of the relatively greater urgency of other cases and crowded hospital facilities, her operation was scheduled several months from now.

Her son was incensed at this news and informed the physician that his mother simply would apply after the July 1 opening date of medicare service, "and then," he said, "you'll have to take her right away."

To which the doctor gave in reply the British experience: the waiting time probably will be three years, and if, when the appointed day for surgery arrives, the patient has so much as a head cold, he or she returns to the bottom of the list.

Twelfth Report From Washington to the Residents of Los Angeles 30th Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 17, 1966

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I believe that one of the most important responsibilities of a Member of Congress is to make regular reports on his activities in Washington to his constituents at home.

For that reason, and because of the importance of an active and fully informed citizenry, I would like to include in today's RECORD the text of my 12th in a series of regular reports to the residents of my 30th California Congressional District.

The report follows:

REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, MAY 1966

(By Congressman ED ROYBAL)

This is the 12th in a series of regular "Reports from Washington" made to the residents of the 30th District on my activities as your Representative in the Nation's Capital.

These, plus nine special reports, were designed to cover all major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly, those matters of special concern to Metropolitan Los Angeles and Southern California.

The tempo of Congressional action has speeded up lately as the various Committees, after long hours of hearings, are bringing important measures to the Floor for debate and decision by the full membership of the House—and I believe the 2nd session of the 89th Congress will establish a productive record of legislative achievement.

For example, since coming to Congress, I have been working for a fresh approach to deal more effectively with the problem of narcotic addiction, stressing medical treatment, rehabilitation programs, and intensive aftercare for narcotic victims.

Drug addiction, taking LSD, glue sniffing, and the use of marihuana, weigh heavily on the youth of our nation, especially and we are long overdue in attacking the problem head on.

Now, however, with full Administration endorsement for a federal Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act, I hope to report favorable action soon on this promising new national effort, modeled after California's successful pioneering civil commitment program for addicts.

VOTE YOUR CHOICE

The right to vote is America's badge of freedom. We should treasure and protect this precious right by exercising our franchise on Primary Election Day, June 7.

If you have not yet registered, contact the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters, phone: 628-9211 (after regular office hours or on weekends call 629-2451), for information on where and how to register in order to be eligible to vote in the General Election this November.

MEDICARE

A new era in American history begins July 1st. That is the date on which the protection of medicare becomes effective for some 19 million men and women 65 and over.

As one of the original Congressional sponsors of this historic plan to provide comprehensive health benefits for the aged, I am deeply gratified that never again in this country should our senior citizens find their life savings suddenly wiped out by huge hospital and medical bills.

And never again should children and grandchildren be forced to strain their own limited financial resources to pay the medical expenses of an elderly parent.

In my opinion, medicare will take its place with the social security program of 30 years ago as among the most progressive and forward-looking pieces of legislation ever enacted by Congress.

AUTO SAFETY

Congress is responding to an aroused public demand for strong affirmative action to help reduce the tragic toll of needless death and injury on the Nation's highways by moving to adopt federal minimum standards for highway traffic, motor vehicle, and tire safety.

With 50,000 Americans killed, over 2,000,000 injured, and tens of million of dollars in property damage and lost wages every year due to auto accidents, we have suddenly awakened to the fact that traffic safety is is one of the most critical problems facing the country today—requiring not only strict Federal engineering and design standards, but also better enforcement of present traffic safety and auto inspection laws, as well as continued emphasis on driver responsibility.

TAX INCREASE

I voted against the Administration's plan to suspend last year's excise tax cut on autos and phone service, and re-impose the previous higher rates, because, though circumstances may change, I didn't feel the current economic situation here at home, or our overseas responsibilities, required such a major increase in Federal taxes at the time.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

I was happy to add my vote in favor of a constructive U.S. role in the new 19-nation Asian Development Bank—as a means of promoting more rapid self-help economic and social progress in Southeast Asia—and hopefully pointing the way toward a brighter, more peaceful future for that war-ravaged part of the world.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The House also approved stronger authority for the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to help eliminate, once and for all, unfair job discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

TRUTH-IN-PACKAGING

Prospects are looking better for enactment this year of the Truth-in-Packaging Consumer Protection Bill to outlaw deceptive and unfair practices in labeling and packaging retail goods, and to provide American consumers and housewives with accurate, complete, and honest information on the foods and drugs they purchase—a big help in managing the family budget, and enabling all consumers to shop and buy wisely.

I am also hopeful we can pass the companion Truth-in-Lending Bill to protect borrowers by requiring full disclosure of the total cost of credit and all hidden charges in financing consumer articles or services.

FELLOW GRAD

I was happy to arrange a special White House tour and personal meeting with the President for my fellow Roosevelt High School graduate, U.S.C.'s 1965 All-American football star, Mike Garrett, and his mother Mrs. Ella Sigur.

Mike visited the Nation's Capital as winner of the California State District Attorney Association's annual Citizenship Award given him for outstanding social and recreation work among local Los Angeles youth groups.

HUMANE TREATMENT OF ANIMALS

By an overwhelming 352-10 count, the House passed and sent to the Senate a bill designed to stop the practice of stealing pets, and to prevent cruelty to dogs, cats and other animals used in medical research, without hampering vital programs to find a cure for such killers as heart disease and cancer.

SERVICE ACADEMY EXAMS OF 1967

For the fifth year in a row—in order that every young man in the 30th District, who is interested in one of the freshman cadet openings available next year at the Military, Naval, Air Force, or Merchant Marine Academy, will have an equal chance to compete, I am asking all applicants to take the Civil Service Commission's special Academy Designation Exam to be given in the Federal Building in Los Angeles on Monday, July 11th. A make-up exam will be held August 22nd for those unable to report for the July test.

For more information, application blanks, and a letter of authorization to take the exam, interested students should contact my Los Angeles Field Representative Alex Garcia, phone: 688-4870.

PARTICIPATION SALES

By a narrow 206 to 190 vote the House OK'd the Administration's controversial Participation Sales program to permit the Federal National Mortgage Association to sell to private investors interest-bearing "participation shares" in pooled government loan assets now held by federal agencies like the Small Business Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Office of Education, Veterans Administration, and the new Department of Housing.

I cast my vote against this Administration proposal because I felt it would have an adverse effect on the home mortgage market, raise the interest rates on home financing, and increase the cost of owning a home to the borrowing public.

In addition, as a member of a special California Congressional Delegation Committee studying the present record high interest rate situation, I am deeply concerned about the harmful financial impact such large-scale federal sales would have on private lending agencies, on the real estate and building industry, and on the entire economy of our State.

AT YOUR SERVICE

The members of my Congressional office staff in Washington, as well as those in our Los Angeles District Office, are anxious to help you in any way they can. I hope you will continue to make full use of the many services available through our offices by contacting us whenever you feel we can be of personal assistance.

LINCOLN STATUE IN MEXICO

The First Lady welcomes me aboard the special Presidential Jet "Air Force One" prior to departure from Washington as members of the official U.S. Delegation to Mexico City for the presentation of a statue of Abraham Lincoln as a symbol of our friendship for the people of Mexico and in commemoration of that Nation's independence.

After stopping in San Antonio to pick up President Johnson, who was staying at the Texas White House, we flew to Mexico City and the most enthusiastic reception ever accorded an American President South of the border.

As one of the original legislative sponsors of the Lincoln statue proposal, I was delighted at the successful conclusion to our more than six years' effort to secure Congressional approval of the project.

In addition, I am confident the nearly 5 million U.S. citizens of Mexican descent are especially honored by this gesture of recognition and token of esteem for the great contributions to the cause of freedom and liberty made by our neighboring Republic of Mexico.

LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Again this year I sent out a questionnaire soliciting the views of the residents of the 30th District on some of the major legislative issues of special interest to Los Angeles, the State of California, and the Nation.

Like the encouraging experience with my two previous Congressional Polls, I was highly pleased at the overwhelming response to this opportunity to participate in the affairs of government by indicating your opinion on these vital issues.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have urged such top Administration officials as Secretary of State Dean Rusk to explore every possibility for international agreement on stopping the spread of nuclear weapons.

With China's recent atomic explosion, and the French Pacific A-bomb tests scheduled within the next few weeks, time is working against us.

Unless we move quickly to work out a nonproliferation treaty, with adequate safeguards and inspection control provisions, we may miss civilization's last real chance to avoid nuclear destruction.

For, as President John Kennedy said, "Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind".

PEACETIME G.I. BILL

As co-author of the new GI Bill of Rights, I was proud to receive one of the pens President Johnson used in signing into law this permanent program of comprehensive readjustment benefits to help some 5 million post-Korean and Vietnam veterans return to civilian life, go to college, train for a job, and have a chance to buy a home for their families.

Considered one of the best pieces of legislation adopted by the 89th Congress, it includes up to 4-years' college education aid, vocational training, job placement assistance, guaranteed and direct home loans, as well as limited medical care for non-service-connected disabilities.

For information on applying for any of these fine programs, contact the Veterans Administration Los Angeles Regional Office, phone: 478-3711.

CARE

In its 20 years of service to humanity, CARE has brought aid, on a person-to-person basis, to millions all over the world. And with our support, CARE will continue to fulfill this vital role as long as there are hungry or needy people.

If you want to help in this worldwide effort, or assist in the current CARE Vietnam Relief drive to aid civilian war victims and refugees in Vietnam, send your contribution to CARE, Room 1220, 215 W. 5th Street, Los Angeles, California, 90013, phone: 626-3625.

Everybody Celebrated National Maritime Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, May 23, 1966, marked the 34th annual celebration of National Maritime Day. This observance marks the anniversary of the first transatlantic voyage by any steam-powered ship, the American-flag *Savannah* in 1819. National Maritime Day, 1966, was marked, however, with pessimism. Across the Nation concerned citizens were eagerly awaiting a statement from the administration announcing its long lost national maritime policy. But there was silence. There was silence, at least, from Washington. But from New York, from Houston, Galveston, and from New Orleans angry shipbuilders, and merchantmen were heard from. This cry of despair could have been quieted with only a sure, clear word about maritime policy from the administration. But there was only silence.

For the information of Members of Congress I insert into the RECORD the following accounts of how National Maritime Day was celebrated by our merchant marine. One article from the Journal of Commerce of May 23, 1966, and two articles from the New York Times, of May 21 and May 23:

[From the Journal of Commerce, May 23, 1966]

FOR SHIP POLICY FAILURES: U.S. RAKED OVER THE COALS

Top spokesmen for the U.S. ship operating and shipbuilding industries levelled their most bitter criticism at the government's maritime policy—or lack of it—in Maritime Day speeches delivered over the weekend.

Capt. J. W. Clark, president of Delta Steamship Lines and chairman of the Committee of American Steamship Lines, also had some scathing comments about presumed friends and allies of this country whose merchant fleets are working in close cooperation with the Communist cause in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

Edwin M. Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, accused the Maritime Administration of spouting "pure nonsense" and ignoring fundamental business and economic principles in arguing for the proposal to facilitate even greater building of American ships in foreign shipyards than is now the case.

Captain Clark spoke Friday before the Propeller Club in Houston. Mr. Hood addressed the Propeller Club of New Orleans on Saturday.

FLEET SINKING RAPIDLY

Both warned that the American-flag merchant fleet is sinking rapidly into obsolescence, Mr. Hood charging that over 70 percent of the fleet is composed of ships at least 20 years old and that 1,200 of the 1,400 ships in the mothball reserve fleet are virtually worthless.

Both speakers also accused the Government of failure to recognize the vital necessity of the U.S.-flag merchant fleet in emergencies or wartime.

In the light of the Government's recent call upon the steamship lines to provide 23 more ships for charter to the Military Sea Transportation Service, Captain Clark said the lines and Federal officials are now endeavoring to work out some plans whereby adequate commercial service will be provided for customers of the lines despite the diversion of more ships to the Viet Nam sealift.

"We will provide the ships," Captain Clark said, referring to the 23 vessels required by MSTS. "We recognize our obligations in a time of emergency." At the same time, we are extremely preoccupied with the need to service our commercial trade routes.

"Once we lose our commercial customers, they are always difficult to get back. A very effective solicitation device of some fair-weather foreign-flag competitors is: 'American-flag ships will go to war and you had better give your cargoes to us while we still have some space.' "

This was the mildest of Captain Clark's references to "our so-called NATO allies." He remarked ironically that American-flag shipowners had asked the Department of Defense about the possibility of utilizing for Viet Nam some ships of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries—"and we were promptly answered by one of the gentlemen to the effect that they simply could not rely upon foreign-flag ships and therefore they had to call upon American-flag ships."

Of the NATO allies, Captain Clark observed:

"SAD FACT"

"It's a sad fact that not only are they not assisting us to any extent in the Viet Nam conflict but in many instances their ships are being chartered to the Communists for service to the port of Haiphong, or they are called at the adjacent mainland ports of China, such as Pakhoi, Whampoa or the Island of Hainan, and transshipping their cargoes to small coastal vessels for delivery to the Communists.

"They have done the same thing in the case of Cuba. These people are chartering their vessels to the Russians through the important Baltic Exchange, located in London.

"This means that the Communists can free their own shipping to engage in direct traffic with Cuba and North Viet Nam, while chartered NATO ally ships can be used in other Communist traffic and not be subjected to the U.S. 'black list.'

"The results are the same. They might just as well be going into North Viet Nam under such circumstances."

Russia is building ships on such a scale that, at the present rate of Soviet gain and U.S. decline, the Russian merchant fleet will be almost twice the size of this country's within 10 years, he added.

"The Russians are now actively participating in international trade organizations, and recently they rejoined the Baltic Exchange as a full member." Captain Clark went on. "They have reached agreement with our European friends in international organizations to 'combat discriminations in world shipping.' "

"Public announcements indicate that the effect will be to direct an attack against Western Hemisphere shipping, not only the United States, but also the developing fleets of Latin American nations.

"In this they are apparently allied with an European shipping group known as 'Colosa.' It is interesting to note that of the vice chairmen of this group, one is a Norwegian and the other is a German."

Captain Clark also attacked the Defense Department's plan for "fast deployment logistic ships"—vessels loaded with military supplies that would be stationed at key points around the world so they could make rapid deliveries at any trouble spots.

He said Admiral Arleigh Burke, former chief of naval operations, had authorized him to quote Admiral Burke as saying that he did not consider this a practical idea and that he had recommended against it when he was the Naval chief.

"His conclusion was that the plan seemed about as workable as would be a proposal to have loaded freight trains sitting on sidings against the possibility of their need within the Continental United States," said Captain Clark.

"Whatever the merits of the FDLS program are, our Committee on American Steamship Lines decided in Washington just last week that we would undertake to construct and operate under long-term time charters with the Navy Department additional vessels, similar to the FDLS type but with commercial characteristics, to supplement the Navy sea-lift requirements."

Neither Captain Clark nor Mr. Hood had anything but the most biting criticism for Maritime Administrator Nicholas Johnson. Captain Clark said he had caused confusion about maritime policies which in turn had generated labor unrest—"and I think that this is the direct cause of many work stoppages."

Mr. Hood charged that the Maritime Administrator's campaign for building U.S.-flag ships abroad has "confused not only people directly involved, but also the customers, investors and lenders without which shipyards could not exist." Mr. Johnson's claim that the overall health of the American shipbuilding industry would not be seriously affected by changes in the government support program was described by Mr. Hood as "pure nonsense."

[From the New York Times, May 21, 1966]

Shipping Leaders Score U.S. Policy

Galveston, Tex., May 20.—An indifferent public and an "inattentive" government menace the future of the merchant marine, a leading maritime official declared here yesterday.

In an address before a joint meeting of shipping, traffic and trade groups, John T. Gilbride, president of the Todd Shipyards Corporation, warned that Russia was already carrying 42 percent of her own foreign cargoes as compared to the 10 percent that American-flag ships carried in this country's foreign commerce.

The attack on Federal policy was one of several being made in various ports by top industry officials in connection with the annual observance of National Maritime Day on Monday.

Scores budget allocation

The meeting here was sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, the Traffic Club of Galveston-Texas City and the Propeller Club of the Port of Galveston.

Mr. Gilbride spoke of "national apathy" because the shipping industry operated "out of sight" in its vital role. He urged Federal action to "correct this national humiliation," and he charged that Nicholas Johnson, Maritime Administrator of the Department of Commerce, whose chief mandate is promotion of the merchant marine, "seems to be more intent on presiding at its requiem."

"The Federal budget contemplates expenditures of billions of dollars on space adventures, billions on defense, billions more on a variety of social projects, but only a fraction of 1 percent for maritime purposes," Mr. Gilbride declared.

Mr. Gilbride said the United States had grown far too dependent on entrusting its commerce to foreign ships. The Vietnam crisis is the latest example of how foreign vessels are "unwilling or unable to help us when we find ourselves engaged in overseas entanglements," he said.

ADMINISTRATOR IS ASSAILED

(Special to The New York Times)

Houston, May 20.—Capt J. W. Clark, president of Delta Lines, who is chairman of the Committee of American Steamship Lines, said here today that Nicholas Johnson, "whether wittingly or unwittingly," was making too many public statements that tended "to discredit the American merchant marine."

"In his talks to lay audiences I am sure that he sounds extremely plausible," Captain Clark said. "But to professionals we first found Nicholas Johnson about two years ago to be interesting, then we found him to be amusing and now we are not only frustrated but bored by his too-frequent public appearances."

Captain Clark spoke at a Maritime Day meeting of the Propeller Club of Houston.

FUTURE OF FLEET CITED

(Special to The New York Times)

New Orleans, May 20.—The United States merchant marine is in such serious difficulties that the nation may lose its standing as a maritime power "by default," according to Edwin M. Hood, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America.

Mr. Hood will speak here tomorrow at a meeting of the New Orleans Propeller Club. The council, which represents major shipbuilding and ship repair interests in the country, today made public the text of his address, in which Mr. Hood sharply attacks Federal shipping authorities and Nicholas Johnson in particular. Mr. Johnson has been accused of taking a negative attitude toward the industry in numerous public appearances in recent months.

[From the New York Times, May 23, 1966]

"Rust Bucket" Fleet Is Criticized—13 Steamship Lines Say U.S. Ignores Their War Role—Study Calls Airlifts Unsuited To Meet Defense Needs

(By Edward C. Burks)

Most of the nation's once preeminent merchant fleet consists of obsolete "rust buckets," yet its role in the country's defense is vital beyond question.

This is the chief point of a comprehensive report released yesterday by the Committee of American Steamship Lines, called Casl, which represents 13 major privately owned steamship companies.

The report is intended to dispel any notion that airlifts can replace ships or that the United States can win a war without a fast, modern merchant fleet as the supply line. It notes that American-flag ships are carrying 98 per cent of all the supplies moving to United States forces in Southeast Asia.

Casl contends the Government repeatedly puts a giant load on the merchant marine in times of crisis, but otherwise, and especially since World War II, allows it to rust in peace.

SOVIET GAINS NOTED

In peacetime the need for a strong American merchant marine "has been relegated to the hip pocket of Government thinking," Casl says.

The situation is especially critical now, according to the steamship companies, because the huge mothballed fleet built during World War II is obsolete and the Soviet Union is outbuilding the United States.

At the present rate of construction, the Soviet merchant fleet may exceed the tonnage of the aging American merchant marine by 1970.

Casl calls on the Government to step up the merchant marine construction program, to build up an adequate reserve fleet for future emergencies, and to devise workable policy on shipping to Vietnam.

Government subsidies are needed both for construction and operation of many merchant ships to meet low wage, low cost foreign competition.

But the report describes the $300-million allocated in the Federal budget for such subsidies as "peanuts compared to the annual expenditure of $5 billion to send a man to the moon."

The report also criticizes Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and other Government officials, accusing them of downgrading a modern merchant fleet as a defense measure.

The document, the seventh in a series of Casl studies on merchant fleet problems, stresses the defense role played by the merchantmen since the Spanish American War of 1898. It is entitled "The American Merchant Marine: Hero in War—Stepchild in Peace."

Rear Adm. Ralph K. James, retired, Casl's executive director, made sure that copies of the "document of proof" were distributed to the Defense Department and other Government agencies.

According to the report, short-sighted policy has forced the Government to take drastic emergency measures to build up the merchant marine to meet each war crisis in this century. It notes forty wars in the world since 1945, "any one of which could have erupted into a larger scale conflict" involving the United States. Of course, several did.

KOREAN WAR CITED

At the time of the Korean War in 1950, the United States could still draw on its vast mothballed fleet from War II.

But Casl says there was a vast difference in the status of the merchant fleet when President Johnson initiated the big buildup of American forces in Vietnam last year and called on the merchant marine to supply them.

There were plenty of bottoms—about 1,500—in the American reserve fleet. They were not only old, but some were also extremely slow by modern standards. These were the 10-to-12 knot Liberty ships.

In addition, says the report, "mothballing had been done on a minimal scale." The ships, it says, "had been put away with insufficient protective coating, and no effort has been made to really preserve them while in storage."

Casl found the Defense Department reluctant at first to spend more than about $325,000 to reactivate each vessel, although shipyards said that $75,000 to $100,000 more was needed. Costs have since risen to about $421,000 per vessel.

But there is a shortage of skilled help in the shipyards, and skilled seamen are also in short supply "because the industry has been permitted to slip to such a low ebb," the report adds.

Early this year the Government stated that only 258 of the vessels in the reserve or "mothball" fleet had a speed of 14 knots or better.

During the Vietnam buildup last year, the steamship lines committee found, the United States was "in a phony position" in being listed as first in merchant ship capacity in the world. That was because "bloc obsolescence" had overtaken most of the fleet.

"Three-fifths of the nation's capacity was inactive and in mothballs, while more than four-fifths of the active fleet was at least 20 years old."

The true picture was that the United States had declined to twelfth in the world in merchant ship construction, according to the report. It had dropped to sixth in the size of its active merchant fleet, "the bulk of which was obsolete."

FOREIGN SHIPS USED

For the first time foreign ships were used to supplement American vessels on main trade routes, maintained on a subsidized basis by the Government. The Government also invited foreign shipowners to bid on transporting military supplies to Europe and Asia.

The ship companies see a crisis in the fleet's ability to measure up to responsibilities. The American economy is taking 50 per cent of the world's raw materials. Furthermore, it depends increasingly on imports, and requires "reliable transportation by sea of these vital raw products."

At the same time it has taken over from Britain and France the task of keeping world trade lanes open and supplying military forces on far fronts. This, the steamship companies say, is all being done with "a pipeline of rust buckets struggling in an effort to continue operating."

Casl feels that the Government has been unrealistic in chartering some of the newest and fastest merchant ships on the Vietnam supply run, diverting them from commercial trade routes built up at much cost by the steamship companies.

The reasoning is this: Vietnamese port facilities are so limited that the fast ships wait "weeks on end" to berth. The industry felt that slower ships would be just as useful.

From July to December last year, the steamship lines say, they lost 425,000 tons of commercial cargo and $16,500,000 in revenue because their fast ships were diverted from trade routes and chartered by the Government for Vietnam service. The cargo was picked up by foreign-flag operators with a resulting adverse effect on United States balance of payments, Casl says.

The report is at pains to show that airlifts cannot substitute for shipping. War supplies transported overseas by ships varied only from 100 per cent in the Spanish-American war to 99 per cent in the Korean War and 98 per cent today, the industry points out.

The projected C–5A giant jet cargo plane will handle "only 50 to 55 tons of cargo." According to the ship owners "that's but a drop in the bucket on the defense dollar-return realized from the transportation of cargo in a modern, large, fast cargo ship." This is described as a vessel of 25 to 30 knots.

AIRLIFT CRITICIZED

Commeting on "Operation Big Lift," the air transport of 15,000 soldiers from Texas to Germany in 240 planes in three days in 1964, the report emphasized that they carried only light equipment with them. The heavy battle equipment used in their exercise abroad had been delivered by ship. Casl asks what would happen in a real combat situation if the heavy equipment could not be pre-positioned.

The report notes there is a fleet of 418 vessels of all types, including the relics out of mothballs, now on the Vietnam supply run.

It also indicates considerable pride in the 103 modern, fast cargo ships that have been added to the merchant fleet at a cost of $1 bililon in recent years under the Government subsidy program. Thirty-nine more will soon join them. What the industry wants is many more.

The member companies of Casl are American Mail Line, American President Lines, Delta Steamship Lines, Farrell Lines, Grace Line, Gulf & South American Steamship Company, Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, Moore-McCormack Lines, Pacific Far East Line, Prudential Lines, States Steamship Company, The Oceanic Steamship Company and United States Lines.

Today there are about 900 privately owned, active American merchant ships in ocean-borne commerce. Of the 600 in foreign trade, about 60 tankers have speeds of around 15 knots, and about 116 dry cargo ships in operation or building have speeds over 20 knots.

In World War I, President Wilson launched a massive building program because the United States depended on foreign ships for its trade. These were either withdrawn or made available only for exorbitant prices. Although the United States built up a fleet of 14.7-million deadweight tons, the first war had ended before the bulk of the fleet was ready.

"We did not have the ships when we needed them most," the government conceded. To a lesser extent the same was true in World War II. Then 5,600 ships of 54-million deadweight tons were contracted for. The fleet peak was in 1945: 4,125 ships of 44,400,000 deadweight tons.

Progress Along the C. & O. Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have advocated the expansion of the valuable C. & O. Canal National Monument into a C. & O. Canal National Historical Park, as a spur to the restoration and recreational development of this unique historical and scenic resource. I am glad to be able to report that progress is now being made, along the canal itself if not yet in Washington.

At the 12th annual reunion hike and banquet of the C. & O. Canal Association on April 23, the dedicated members of that association unanimously reaffirmed their conviction that a C. & O. Canal National Historical Park should be established without further delay. More than 400 people joined Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Association President Ellery Fosdick, incoming President Paul Hauck and the alumni of the famous 1954 hike for the annual day on the canal, a day which underlined again the great attraction which the canal holds for people of all ages. I regret that recent surgery prevented me from joining the members of the association on April 23, and am very glad that our distinguished colleague from Maryland, Mr. MORTON, a member of the House Interior Committee, could attend the banquet to declare his own endorsement of the proposed C. & O. Canal National Historical Park.

I regret that, despite these signs of wide support for the park, the Department of the Interior has not yet seen fit to submit any report on my bill, H.R. 9366, which has been before the House Interior Committee since last June 25. As the Washington Post declared in an editorial on April 26, "the proposed Chesapeake and Ohio Park could be an immediate and direct step toward the larger objective" of a Potomac Valley Park system, and should be endorsed by the Interior Department for action this year.

It is very encouraging that the lack of energy in Washington has not deterred canal enthusiasts from acting on their own initiative to begin restoration and improvement of the canal. Under the direction of the able and imaginative canal superintendent, W. Dean McClanahan, more and more conservation and sportsmens' groups in western Maryland have begun to discuss specific development projects. Through local efforts, I believe that great progress can be made toward cleaning up the canal, rewatering appropriate portions of it, improving the towpath, and publicizing widely the tremendous recreational assets of this historic waterway.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the Post editorial and an article about Superintendent McClanahan's proposals, from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of May 19:

[From the Washington Post, April 26, 1966]

STALLED C. & O. CANAL BILL

The annual hike of Justice Douglas and other devotees of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal towpath came as a reminder that nothing has been done this year to assure the preservation of this great recreational asset. Representative CHARLES McC. MATHIAS has been pressing for action on his bill to expand the C&O Canal National Monument into a national historical park, with help from many sources. But no hearings have been held.

The chief reason for the current stalemate appears to be the lack of positive support from the Department of the Interior. No report on the bill has thus far been forthcoming from the Department. It is true that an Interdepartmental Task Force on the Potomac recommended prompt establishment of a Potomac Valley Park a few months ago. Although this would include the C&O Canal property, it is essentially a long-range concept. To carry it out, large sums will be necessary for the acquisition of recreational lands, for the construction of the proposed George Washington Country Parkway and so forth.

The proposed Chesapeake & Ohio Park could be an immediate and direct step toward the larger objective. It is especially urgent to acquire the additional lands needed for campgrounds and further protection of the narrow strip of park running from Washing to Cumberland. We think Interior should give the C&O National Historical Park bill a hearty endorsement and press for its enactment inthe present session.

[From the Hagerstown Morning Herald, May 19, 1966]

RESTORATION PLANS DISCLOSED: C. & O. CANAL WILL LIVE AGAIN

(By Harry Warner)

The C. & O. Canal will live again at two points in Washington County.

Moreover, many other areas in Washington County have been ticketed for recreational development along the historic waterway.

Dean McClanahan, superintendent of the C. & O. Canal National Monument, unveiled tentative plans for the future during a talk to the Williamsport C. & O. Canal Club Wednesday night.

Five points have been chosen for extensive restoration of the canal along its 185-mile length. Those in this county will be at Four Locks and Harpers Ferry, if present plans work out.

McClanahan envisioned rewatering of the canal at these points, construction of full-size replicas of the canal boats that used to go up and down the waterway, restoration and refurnishing of the lock houses, carpenter shops, and mule barns, and putting back into operating condition locks and associated facilities.

Similar historical development is planned for the canal at the North Branch area near Cumberland, Paw Paw around the famous tunnel, and at Seneca Creek, he said.

The superintendent listed these Washington County sites as under consideration for recreational development: McCoy Ferry, the town of Hancock, town of Williamsport, Taylors Landing, Dam No. Four, Fort Frederick, Mountain Lock, and Shinhams.

Altogether, 20 areas are tentatively listed for recreational development for the canal as a whole.

Possibilities for these areas would include boat launching ramps, docks, camping grounds, picnic facilities, comfort stations, parking space, and water supply, McLanahan pointed out.

The speaker emphasized the importance of cooperation between the National Park Service and local groups, particularly the county government and the two towns along the canal. He suggested a link between the NPS plans and the county's developing park system.

"We'll put every ounce of strength into this program, and we hope you'll give us assistance," he hold the group. "Any developments will be for the benefit of the four-state area.

"If any of you have ideas about the canal's future, I'd like to hear them."

No time schedule was given for completion of the projects. But the speaker revealed one event affecting the canal that is only two weeks in the future.

On June 1, he said, the "canal will be spliced back together as one unit." This will happen when the NPS puts the entire canal under the National Capital Region. Part of it is now under the Philadelphia Region of the agency.

The superintendent estimated that 18 million persons form the recreational potential of the canal, and he linked it with the more ambitious Potomac Valley Park that has been proposed for the river basin.

Melvin Kaplan, president of the Williamsport club, introduced the speaker and announced that revised maps of the canal will soon come off the presses for the convenience of hikers and other users of the towpath.

Wolff Endorses National Council of Churches Formula for Peace in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the problem of Vietnam does not lend itself to a black or white solution; we must constantly and aggressively search for new ways to bring a just peace to that troubled land. I have not seen a clearer articulation of a general road to follow toward peace in Vietnam than that outlined by Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church, which was adopted by the National Council of Churches. The five points adopted by the National Council are similar to positions adopted by national Catholic and Jewish groups. The five points include:

> (1) a United Nations-convened peace conference with representation by all interested parties; (2) readiness on the part of the United States for unconditional discussion and negotiation; (3) strict adherence on the part of the U.S. to the policy of avoiding bombing of centers of population in North Viet Nam; (4) increased efforts to relieve the desperate plight of non-combatants in South Viet Nam; (5) a phased withdrawal of all U.S. troops and bases from Viet Namese territory, if and when they can be replaced by adequate international peacekeeping forces;

The search for peace must continue; every available means must be explored. I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to support the five points enumerated above as I do.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

I Have Need of the Sky, I Have Business With the Grass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the prettiest page in the New York Times of Sunday, May 22 unfortunately cannot be duplicated in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The reason is that three-fourths of the page displays a spectacular view looking toward the 10,042-foot summit of Beartooth Pass at the Montana-Wyoming border.

The other one-fourth of the page carries an essay by Jeanne Beaty of Missoula, Mont. Under the headline "I Have Need of the Sky, I Have Business With the Grass," taken from a poem by Richard Hovey, Mrs. Beaty describes some of her experiences hiking and climbing in the wilderness areas of my home State and several of its neighbors. She goes on to outline a number of the wilderness trips available to the public and sponsored by a variety of organizations in the West.

A well-written article such as Jeanne Beaty's helps bring home the meaning of our efforts in the Congress to preserve the wilderness for the enjoyment of all and to conserve the land which is our birthright. It is, therefore, appropriate for me to bring such an article to the attention of my colleagues. I do so realizing at the same time that it presents a threat to the maintenance of a quorum. For those of us here, with nothing to put under our feet but tile or carpet or pavement, are bound to be tempted to take our feet out to the wilderness Mrs. Beaty brings so vividly to our minds.

I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I HAVE NEED OF THE SKY, I HAVE BUSINESS WITH THE GRASS

(By Jeanne Beaty)

MISSOULA, MONT.—It has been nearly four years since I climbed to Jackson Glacier, on the Continental Divide in Glacier National Park. Yet, I can still recall a moment when I sat on a slab of limestone—it was just below the snowline alongside the glacier—with water spilling over the edge of the slab from a clear, cool pool beside me.

The air was cool and clear, but the sun was warm on that August afternoon. Below me lay the mile-wide cirque, or hollow, with its massive tiers of tilted, yellow bedrock, from which the ice had retreated in the last 60 years. It had been an exhausting climb, but I was suddenly swept with the exhilaration of just being alive.

I can recall, too, the inescapable feeling, as I looked out across the mountain wilderness of the park, that I was sitting in the upper row of a ruined amphitheater that had been dedicated to some ancient gods.

At times, when the telephone has rung repeatedly and voices try to sell me magazines, vacuum cleaners or aluminum siding for the house; when traffic has been unduly frustrating as I fetched the children to after-school lessons; when life has seemed an endless round of committee meetings to plan political campaigns, to develop community programs or to solve church problems, I deliberately remember this wilderness trip to Jackson Glacier.

Sometimes, I recall another trip—to a spectacular series of waterfalls in a narrow canyon in the western wall of California's White Mountains, the highest desert range in the Great Basin. Not even a trail leads to the pothole at the base of the bedrock rim from which the final cascade leaps. My husband, who is a physical geographer, and I had to climb the face of a fault scarp, or declivity, to reach this overlook. I remember the feeling of genuine accomplishment that I experienced on reaching this vantage point.

In the heart of Idaho, from a dirt road in a deep, rock-walled canyon, one can see for a half-mile up the lower Middle Fork, a wild river that flows through the Idaho Primitive Area. Long ago, my husband and I spent a summer on a Forest Service lookout 20 miles back in this wilderness. I have stood at this canyon junction more often in memory than in fact, thinking that this was the most beautiful spot on earth.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SANCTUARY

These recollections are like safety valves, reminding me of places without telephones or automobiles, where the closest thing to a committee meeting is an informal gathering around the campfire at the end of a day's hike or ride. I may not see them often, but I know they are there, like sanctuaries, to be relished again and again.

Nor am I alone in this feeling. The wilderness is becoming more popular every year. In the last decade, visitors to wilderness areas in the northern Rockies have nearly tripled in number. In fact, a few Forest Service officials are becoming concerned about overuse of these wilderness areas by grazing pack animals.

Like the Sierra Club and the American Forestry Assocaition, the Wilderness Society is one of the country's principal watchdogs of the wilderness and an exponent of wilderness values. The society has expanded its summer program to meet the demand of increasing numbers of visitors.

The society offers a variety of hiking and riding trips for those who want guided introductions to the wilderness. These series begins in the Pecos Wilderness of New Mexico in mid-June and ends with a second trip in the same area in late September.

Nine other riding trips are on the society's schedule, including journeys into the Bob Marshall Wilderness in Montana, the Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness of Idaho, the Teton and Yellowstone Park Wilderness Areas in Wyoming, the North Cascades Wilderness in Washington and the Rio Grande and San Juan Wilderness in Colorado. These are 10- to 12-day riding trips that range in cost from $250 to $315.

The American Forestry Association has scheduled 18 trips for its Trail Riders of the Wilderness summer program. The trips are scheduled to begin late this month in Great Smokey Mountains National Park.

RIDES AND CANOE TRIPS

Besides duplicating many of the Wilderness Society's trips, the association will also sponsor rides into the Wind River Mountains of Wyoming, the Anaconda-Pintlar Wilderness of Montana, the Glacier Peak-Lake Chelan area of Washington and the High Sierras of California. It will also offer a canoe expedition in Maine's Allagash Wilderness in late August.

Information on these trips can be obtained from the Forestry Association at 919 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Information on the wide variety of outings arranged by the Sierra Club, which now includes family burro trips, can be obtained from the club's headquarters in Mills Tower, San Francisco 94104.

For the first time this year, the Wilderness Society has organized three back-packing trips in Colorado. Two are scheduled for the Gore Range Wilderness and one for the Flat Tops Wilderness. These are seven-day hikes for which the outfitter furnishes everything but clothes and personal items for a cost of $160.

Seven hiking trips have been scheduled by this group. They will penetrate the Mission Mountains and Jewel Basin Wilderness Areas, both in Montana; Idaho's Selway-Bitterroot Wilderness and the Great Gulf Wilderness in New Hampshire.

These hikes, nine or 10 days in length, cost $160. Information on all trips can be obtained from the Western Regional Office of the Wilderness Society, 2422 Downing Street, Denver.

FAVORITE TRIPS

My favorite wilderness trips are those in the last group—the hikes on which a pack string carries all the gear. Last year, the Wilderness Society took a group of vacationists into the Mission Mountains in western Montana; the trip to the Mission Mountains will be repeated this year.

The area is one of the most spectacular mountain fronts in the Rockies. It rises from a checkerboard valley floor of small ranches to glaciated heights of more than 10,000 feet. The western slope of the range is owned mostly by Indians of the Flathead Reservation, while the eastern face is national forest to a large extent.

Such hiking groups are limited to 20, with a physician and a representative of the society for every group. Participants come from all over the country and vary widely in age and interests. Last year, there were more women than men on the hiking venture into the Mission Mountains.

Although eight miles a day is the standard hike, the distance covered can vary either way. Some days, our party covered more; some, less. It was a strenuous journey—climbing a major drainage, winding past several small lakes in the upper basin, crossing the rugged crest and then trailing along the eastern side. All this before returning over a second pass and back to the home ranch.

After the first day out, one of the older hikers (60-plus) found the climb too rough and rode with the pack string that carried our gear.

FRESH VICTUALS

The outfitter's wife served as cook, and the party ate well on fresh vegetables and meat. The hikers packed their own lunches after breakfast, fished, swam in ice-cold lakes, traveled at their own pace, took side hikes and slept at night in two-man teepee tents. From a higher ridge, the cluster of tents looked like an Indian encampment.

The hikers also learned the prime rule of the trail—to reserve enough strength to inflate one's air mattress at the end of the day. They learned a respect for the wilderness. They left edible refuse for the smaller animals—marmots, ground squirrels and chipmunks—burned what they could of the rest and packed out all the tin cans and other debris.

What is the attraction of the wilderness? Why do people across the country lift their voices and billfolds in defense of the wilderness concept, and become emotional about a few hundred acres of mountain terrain they may never have seen, when they hear it is to be withdrawn from wilderness status?

Or, as one Eastern travel editor put it, "What do you crazy nuts get out of getting on top of an unfriendly horse and climbing up into the mountains, where you don't really belong since the Indians drove you out in the first place? And, besides, the campfire coffee most likely will give you indigestion."

His misconception about coffee is minor, although even "side-boiled" coffee from a smokejumper's wilderness campfire tastes good. But the misconception about "nuts" in the wilderness is a major error.

BACKING OFF FOR PERSPECTIVE

There are a few permanent hermits, but most of those who love and enjoy the wild, untouched regions of the country look to such areas as temporary refuge. They provide a chance to back off from the everyday world and to regain perspective. We are not ready to become "nuts," or to retreat from civilization and leave it to the direction of those who do not even recognize good coffee.

There is nothing mysterious about the joys of the wilderness. They are very simple: scenic grandeur and physical challenge, clean air and pure water, and a vacation from people and the tensions of modern living.

Not all of this country's natural beauty lies within the boundaries of the national parks, as the wilderness traveler discovers at virtually every turn of the trail.

VIEWED IN ISOLATION

A small, blue mountain lake, high up at the head of a canyon beneath a gray rock rim and viewed in relative isolation, may seem as lovely as St. Mary Lake in Glacier National Park.

Among my favorite places are the high mountain meadows, where the trees are stunted, the mosses and lichens are soggy underfoot and where there is always a breeze and the sound of trickling water. All this gives one the tranquil feeling that he is almost on top of the world.

There is an exhilaration in having met the physical challenge, in having endured, in having climbed the pass or scaled the peak. The pleasure of going to bed at the end of the day physically tired, rather than mentally tired, is lost to most of us in the sedentary lives we will lead.

There are no television sets or newspapers in the wilderness, and the relief of missing a few of the world's daily crises is a revelation. It may be disconcerting to the ego to return to the world and find it has not shattered to bits because of one's absence, but in the long run there are few things more reassuring.

FISHING FOR BREAKFAST

In the meantime, one can concentrate on simpler pleasures, such as fishing for one's breakfast, enjoying the camaraderie of the trail, drinking from a mountain stream or watching the night sky beyond the towering cliff at the head of the bedroll.

The wilderness has been called savage, cruel, majestic and serene. It is none of these. These are emotional qualities, and the wilderness is impersonal, without emotion.

It simply exists—a natural landscape—for us to use or not to use as we see fit. It does not care. We can destroy the wilderness, and we may, and it will not care.

A Future Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: Several days ago I was paid a visit by a young man from my district, Edwin R. Fry, of Chestertown, Kent County, Md.

Visits from people like Mr. Fry make the entire day worthwhile. They get you thinking about the qualities of our youth, particularly our young farmers and about the general good qualities of hard-working intelligent Americans.

Mr. Fry is only 18, but already is an active farming partner with his dad, Edwin C. Fry, on 1,400 acres of the most fertile and productive dairy land in the world.

He is Maryland's president of that fine organization, the Future Farmers of America, and is presently majoring in dairy production at the College of Agriculture, University of Maryland at nearby College Park.

The boy is paying his way through college by raising and selling Holstein cattle and has 25 acres of his father's farm in production for himself.

He is also helping the United States in the export market because in the past year he has sold $1,600 worth of heifers to Italian customers.

I know $1,600 is not going to knock a big hole in our balance-of-payments shortage but it is heartening to see an 18-year-old start tackling the problem and making a positive contribution.

He is more than just a good young American farmer getting a good education. Talking with him I learned that he is quite interested in the workings of government both at home and abroad. I might add, he is quite knowledgeable in this area too.

He is taking his time to help other young FFA members and next month will preside at the Maryland State Convention of this organization's 2,782 members. He will also attend the National Youth Conference on Natural Beauty and Conservation here in Washington next month.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, may I say that if the next generation of farmers is to be composed of young men like Ed Fry, we should have no fear for the plight of agriculture. We should take hope in our ability to feed and feed well the new great numbers of people. I join the members of the Future Farmers of America of Maryland in paying a much deserved tribute to this fine young man.

The 225th Anniversary of the Town of Holden, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, during the period from May 28 to June 4 the town of Holden will be celebrating its 225th anniversary. Throughout the years since its incorporation in 1741, the town has played a significant role in the economic life and progress of Massachusetts. At one time it was a center of cotton and woolen milling. The economic profile has changed now, but Holden is still a thriving community surrounded by lush farms.

From a fine beginning in 1741, Holden has continued to be the peaceful family town which is the bulwark of Massachusetts and America. I congratulate its citizens as they celebrate this important anniversary and I ask unanimous consent to have printed as part of my remarks a brief history of Holden.

There being no objection, the historical sketch was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOLDEN, MASS.: INCORPORATED 1741

The first settlers of HOLDEN came from Concord, Lexington and Boston to farm rich parcels of land to the north of Worcester. First choice of land went to Colonel Adam Winthrop, whose enterprise and sagacity through 18 years of service as Moderator earned him the title "Father of the Town". From Governor John Hancock the settlement received a gift of one acre of land which became part of Hancock Common.

On January 9, 1741 the little community was incorporated. It held the first Town Meeting May 4th, 1741, in the stately First Meeting House facing the Common. Two weeks later the Town Fathers with commendable foresight voted first "to have the gospel preached in town" and second "to have a writing and reading school".

Holden was named in honor of Samuel Holden, prosperous London merchant, member of Parliament and director of the Bank of England, whose deep interest in the American Colonies prompted him to make many generous gifts to the struggling settlements. By 1765 the town boasted seventy-five families widely scattered over seven surrounding hills.

Through the ensuing years stalwart sons marched off in the service of their country to secure the freedoms enjoyed today. Holden men fought for God and King against the French, then for freedom from the tyranny of King George the Third. Captain George Webb was the town's sole commissioned officer in the Continental Army. It was in his Company that a young American woman, Deborah Sampson, served through two rugged campaigns before her disguise was discovered. "The Holden Rifles" stood for Union and Honor Rolls bespeak two World Wars and the conflict in Korea.

By 1850 in addition to its prosperous farms, Holden hummed with the activity of four cotton mills, two woolen mills, a quarry, a brickyard, two potash works, saw and grist mills.

Church, School and later Library were the foundation stones upon which the townsfolk built. The years passed and churches increased in number as did the schools, which began as Common Schools kept only three months a year in private houses.

True also to the ideals of education established by the founding fathers, a group of citizens, the Holden Library Association, provided for the circulation of books. In 1888 its 1400 volumes were turned over to the Gale Free Library, then installed in the new Damon Memorial building which it shared with the high-school.

The Damon Memorial, a "noble edifice", built of rugged native granite by local labor at the behest of the donors, who "sought to do this Town some good thing", provided a beautiful home for both library and much-needed high-school. It stands today a monument to all those who strove down the years "to bring about not only fine thinking but fine doing". The high-school outgrew these quarters and today the Library is the sole occupant.

Holden, then, continues as it began 225 years ago, a peaceful, family town with church, school and library still solidly entrenched, thanks to those pious souls who at First Town Meeting voted education for the young, a place of worship, and a free man's tax to give support to these just blessings.

Senior Citizen Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, on the first of April of this year, the President issued a proclamation designating May of 1966 as Senior Citizen Month. Today, I would like to pay tribute, as so many of my colleagues have done, to the more than 2 million older Americans whom President Johnson has asked us to honor this month.

It is most fitting that May of 1966 be designated Senior Citizen Month since the year that precedes it has seen the passage of so much legislation vital to the dignity and well-being of our Nation's senior citizen. Of course, medicare comes first to mind—this landmark law which should go far to remove the fear and insecurity which before haunted the elderly. This was the fear that a major illness would strike and insecurity because a major illness could well mean financial disaster. I was proud to have been a part of the Congress which passed the Social Security Amendments of 1965 and thus demonstrated that we, as a nation, recognize our obligation to provide the means by which each citizen in his financially productive years may provide security for his future from the specter of long-term illness.

Medicare was not the only legislation by which Congress recognized the responsibility to see that our senior citizens are able to live out their lives with dignity and self-respect. The Older Americans Act of 1965, for instance, provided for the development of programs to assist the aged in their own communities. The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 has among its provisions, aid for housing for the elderly. Also, the comprehensive medical services established as a result of the Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke Amendments of 1965 will benefit the elderly and the amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act insured that the elderly will be included in the war on poverty.

Much of this legislation, of course, addresses itself to the physical well-being of our senior citizens, since it is this aspect of their lives which can be most directly benefited by governmental action. This should not be taken to mean, however, that we in Congress feel that our only responsibility is to see that the aged are given a life of physical comfort and financial security so that they may retire from any activity in the community. No, we try to accomplish these things first so that we may repay in small part the contribution which our senior citizens have made to the life of our Nation. But, perhaps more important, so that free from worry, pain and degradation, they may contribute to our society the wisdom which life has given them for which we will be eternally in their debt.

Educators View the Draft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at a time, when the draft is calling thousands of American boys into the service of their country, attention is being focused on our draft policies. The following suggestions and recommendations of the Metropolitan Detroit Science Club were submitted to me on May 2 by Clarence W. Rice, past president. I have just received their permission to insert this statement into the RECORD.

As we see it, we feel that any draft plan must:

1. Not throw young men into an all out scramble for high marks simply for the sake of marks while in college. This might interfere seriously in their selection of courses, of colleges, and in the way in which a given course might be studied.

2. Not permit a deliberate failing of intelligence tests to be a method of dodging the draft.

3. Permit all young people (both college and non-college) to train for their highest level of skill which they wish and are able to attain before being drafted. However, reasonable precautions must be made to prevent the establishment of bogus training schools which would serve simply as a draft shelter.

4. A possibility of drafting young women was discussed as a means of providing enough "manpower" to enable all young people to finish their vocational training before being drafted.

L.B.J. Clamp on Food Prices Compared With Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in the Monday, May 23, edition of the Greenville News, of Greenville, S.C., there appeared an article entitled "L.B.J. Clamp on Food Prices Compared With Inflation." This article was written by Mr. Ben Leonard whose comments on matters affecting farm policy appear regularly in the Greenville News.

Mr. Leonard is a well-respected and knowledgeable commentator, and this particular article adds a badly needed word of caution to the administration's efforts to achieve a voluntary embargo by the housewife on selected farm commodities. I ask unanimous consent that this article appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

L.B.J. CLAMP ON FOOD PRICES COMPARED WITH INFLATION

(By Ben Leonard, Farmers' Market manager)

The present government efforts to curb inflation by putting clamps on food prices may turn out to be a case of the cure being worse than the illness.

The American pricing system, as controlled by the law of supply and demand, has long been the guiding light for agricultural production. Even under present and past farm programs, price has been the key factor, although federal regulations, such as acreage allotments, also have had an effect on production.

Farmers, no doubt, would prefer a fixed price, if it were high enough to guarantee profits. However, a price high enough to be profitable to one individual often will cause another to go broke. Then, too, if the price is set high enough to assure everyone a profit, everyone would jump on the gravy train and over-production would result.

Past experience shows that farm prices vary with production. If prices are up, production increases follow. When prices dip, so does production. Admittedly such a system works a hardship on producers, but it has resulted in an always ample food supply in this country—something other nations have not been able to claim under other systems.

President Johnson's special assistant on consumer affairs, Mrs. Esther Peterson, recently advocated switching from fresh to powdered milk when fresh milk prices increased.

Considering the fact there is no apparent fresh milk storage in this country, we look upon this administration-blessed advice as irresponsible tampering with a good thing—supply and demand—that would do little to curb inflation.

So milk has experienced a moderate rise in price lately. So what? So has nearly everything else. In reality, farmers across the nation have been cutting their dairy herds; many have gone out of business. Again it's supply and demand. With the moderate price rise, production can be expected to pick up. At least, that is what could be expected from past history.

But, should the government succeed in keeping the price down and farmers refrain from increasing production while the trend toward increased reproduction by the populace continues, a serious milk shortage could develop.

The entire country is indeed feeling the pinch of inflation and it is up to the president and his advisors to seek ways to arrest this economic cancer.

Is it not better to pay a penny or two more for a quart of milk, or pound of fruits, fresh vegetables, pork, beef or chicken at the neighborhood supermarket than to go there and find out there isn't any for sale at any price?

Big Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. RHODES of Pensylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an interesting article by Martz Schoffstall in a recent issue of the Reading, Pa., Times:

BIG GOVERNMENT

Good morning! And will you permit me to make weariness the subject of this morning's eassay? My bones and joints are weary these days but I don't want to talk about osteology today. I want to talk about the kind of weariness that comes from hearing the same thing over and over again.

I am weary, sick to the point of emotional nausea, about hearing and reading of the evils of government. The folks who constantly complain about this matter usually call it "big government," though, in all truth, they mean all government, large and small. "Big government," they say and write, "is taking over. There is no room for individualism any more, no room for private enterprise.

Well, I'm an individual. I've been living and working in the free enterprise system all my life. And there's still room for me—and mine. Of course, "big government" has taken over. It had to. We're a big country and a big world, so bigness, in government, industry, business or anything else, should not surprise or dismay us. We are no longer primarily an agricultural economy. We are really big. Ask any Texan or any Alaskan. If our population, economy, industry, or anything else, grows, we have to grow with it. So, of course, government, on every level, continues to become bigger. How could it be otherwise?

You hear people say, "Government's taking us over." True, in a way. But read a little history and you'll realize that government, on every level, has been "taking us over" since George Washington was administered the oath of office. Let me give you a few for-instances. You resent the fact that the federal government enters so deeply into your life? Reply: Where would we be without Social Security—and forget about your prejudices. Your state taxes are too high? Where would you be without the hundreds of miles of hard roads the state has built in Berks County in the last quarter-century? Your county taxes are too high? Would you throw several hundred old and sick people into a gas chamber instead of spending a few dollars a year of your money to keep Berks Heim operating? Your water rates are exorbitant? Well dig yourself a well. You are paying too much for sanitary sewers? Then dig yourself a hole and put a septic tank into it. School taxes are high? So let your children—or the neighbor's children—grow up illiterate and see what happens in a world where too many people can't read or write.

Bigness in government? No, not for its own sake. But the world does move and does get bigger. As for bigness in government—well, who asked for many of the services now given by "big government" in Washington? You did, of course. What you wanted you got, so don't yelp. You want somebody else to pay for it?

Valley Forge Cadets in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, 55 cadets from the Valley Forge Military Academy in Wayne, Pa., recently returned from a spring trip to Rome, Italy. Their deportment while abroad was exemplary and was a credit to their institution and Nation—in sharp contrast to the behavior of many exhibitionists and beatniks who receive so much public attention. I ask unanimous consent that a letter to the academy's superitendent, Lt. Gen. Milton G. Baker, regarding the boys' visit to Rome be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRAVEL ASSOCIATES, INC.,
Havertown, Pa., April 26, 1966.

Lt. General MILTON G. BAKER,
Superintendent, Valley Forge Military Academy, Wayne, Pa.

DEAR GENERAL: As in 1965, our firm was responsible for the execution of the land arrangements for the Classical Society's annual tour to Rome. We thus came in close contact with the hundreds of participants from all walks of life, color, creed and religion (Their number this year amounted to nearly 1200).

For us this is not always an easy experience. American youngsters are not accustomed to foreign ways, are highly critical of everything non-American, have great difficulty adapting themselves if the interest is there to do so (which it often isn't!). While all return with glowing reports, this is not always too important to us when their behavior abroad leaves to be desired.

The reason for this letter is to express my personal thanks to you to give me an opportunity to meet up with a group—so different—so outstanding, that I kept watching them in amazement and . . . disbelief. This group of Valley Forge Military Academy cadets represented the United States in the most honorable way which was quite surprising for such young people. The relationship to their teachers was such that I would like you to ask your admission department to send me an application for my (second) son, Edward.

Could you also please give me the address of Captain Louis Ringler, a tough taskmaster but spirited leader whose example did so much to make this group such an excellent example of young American manhood.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD G. SERLÉ,
Lieutenant Commander, R.N.N.R.

Brotherhood-in-Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on April 14, four distinguished American citizens were honored with awards by Brotherhood-in-Action on the occasion of the dedication of its human relations conference and training center. One of the recipients of this award was Hon. Charles H. Tuttle, president of Brotherhood-in-Action and one of my constituents, who offered an eloquent acceptance speech on behalf of himself and the three other award winners. Much has been said about brotherhood, and all too much has become a cliche, but Mr. Tuttle's remarks, coming from one who has practiced this concept in word and deed throughout his lifetime, are a reminder of the ideal toward which all men of good will are striving.

I should like to include in the RECORD some of his comments as reported in the Villager, a fine newspaper serving the Greenwich Village community. I hope my colleagues will take the time to read it.

BROTHERHOOD-IN-ACTION

Our esteemed neighbor the Honorable Charles H. Tuttle, President of Brotherhood-in-Action, at the dinner dedicating its Human Relations Conference and Training Center Monday evening, May 16, at the Hotel Americana, spoke for himself and for four others who received BIA Awards following the dedication of the building by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller. The four were the Hon. Thurgood Marshall, Albert A. List, the Hon. Arthur J. Goldberg, and Irving Geist. No one in the capacity-taxed ballroom listened more attentively than the evening's special guest, Francis Cardinal Spellman as Mr. Tuttle spoke:

In accordance with my assignment by our Program Committee to speak briefly for all the recipients, I venture the belief that we regard ourselves as included in this historic event not as particular individuals but rather as impersonal symbols of what, in the contemporary annals of ideals of Brotherhood-in-Action, we have been privileged to be identified with, as symbols which tonight are being associated together in portrayal and dedication of this unique and challenging building, in itself a supreme symbol of a supreme Ideal.

That supreme Ideal was authoritatively proclaimed last December in the Ecumenical Council's greeting to the World:

"In our time a special obligation binds us to make ourselves the neighbor of every person without exception, and of actively helping him when he comes across our path."

And of that Ideal the Holy Father said in his closing benediction upon the updating declarations of the Council:

"Our greeting is in the ideal order. Is it a dream? Is it poetry? Is it only a conventional and meaningless exaggeration as often happens in our day-to-day expression of good wishes? No. This greeting is ideal but not unreal."

That this Ideal is not unreal, are the conclusive testimonies of this unique occasion itself; the perpetual witnessing to which this building is now dedicated; and the symbols here assembled in proof that in this critical hour Brotherhood-in-Action is for the Family of Man not only an ever enlarging and benedictory presence but a stern and inescapable necessity.

These symbols are here assembled to remind us that even in our generation the proliferating Ideal of Brotherhood-in-Action has become part of the United Nations' International Creed of fundamental human rights; has blown the trumpet which awakened the Emancipation Proclamation from its hundred-year sleep and stood it on its feet; has created a dedicated and impelling realization of the stewardship of private wealth for the betterment of our fellowmen; has provided perpetual memorials for the supreme sacrifices made in witness that greater love has no man than this that he lay down his life for his friends; and is now bringing our Christian Churches to a new awareness of the pressing obligation of unity for truer service to Christ and the world.

Hence the Ideal of Brotherhood-in-Action is not falling dead in our busy streets. It has to indissoluble an affinity with the soul of man. Its banner is marching forward, and men everywhere are pressing toward it.

As promised of old by the mouth of the prophet Habakkuk:

The vision has its own appointed hour;
It ripens, it will flower;
If it be long, then wait,
For it is sure, and it will not be late.

Significant Anniversaries for Bureau of Reclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the May issue of Public Power carries an excellent article by Commissioner of Reclamation Floyd E. Dominy. He tells of the important role that the Bureau of Reclamation power program plays in financing irrigation and other water development in the West.

Power generated by Bureau dams, as Commissioner Dominy points out, is the paying partner in water development.

During the developmental period of the West in the early part of this century, the Bureau of Reclamation helped open up what have become new centers of agriculture, industry and commerce. Today, with problems much more complex due to population pressures and water shortages, the Bureau of Reclamation under the competent administration of Commissioner Dominy provides vital services that benefit commercial and industrial establishments as well as agriculture.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert Commissioner Dominy's article at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIXTY YEARS OF BUREAU POWER—RECLAMATION MARKS FOUR SIGNIFICANT ELECTRIC POWER ANNIVERSARIES THIS YEAR

(By Floyd E. Dominy, Commissioner, U.S. Bureau of Reclamation)

It is rare for a Federal agency to observe four major anniversaries in a single year, but the Bureau of Reclamation is doing so in 1966. Moreover, power operations are associated with all of them.

These are the important milestones that have been or will be reached by this multiple-purpose water resource agency during the current year:

60th Anniversary of Power Generation—March 28 (1906)

30th Anniversary of Hoover Dam Power—Oct. 26 (1936)

25th Anniversary of Grand Coulee Power—March 22 (1941)

10th Anniversary of authorization, Colorado River Storage Project—April 11 (1956)

The oldest anniversary commemorates a relatively modest event, but one of far-reaching significance, that occurred in Arizona's Salt River Valley six decades ago. At that time, a 900-kw hydroelectric unit went into operation on the Roosevelt Power Canal near the site of Theodore Roosevelt Dam. The small hydro unit was installed by the Bureau to provide power needed for the construction, in an isolated canyon 79 miles east of Phoenix, of what was destined to be the world's largest masonry dam.

When this construction powerplant was built—to meet an emergency need for power—there was no provision in the basic Reclamation Act of 1902 for the utilization of the energy potential of water stored by structures built by the fledgling Reclamation Service. The deficiency was corrected in amendatory legislation of 1906 to authorize the development of feasible hydroelectric energy on Reclamation projects. This amendment gave the green light to planning for construction of a permanent plant at the dam which today has a generating capacity of 19, 290 kw and is a key feature of the Salt River Project's extensive and efficient power operations.

Honors for the first commercial production of Reclamation power, however, did not go to the first plant of the still-expanding Salt River system. Unit one of the Minidoka Project powerplant in Idaho went on line on May 1, 1909, and the unit is still operating today. First commercial power from the Theodore Roosevelt Powerplant was generated on Sept. 30, 1909, for sale to the Phoenix Gas & Electric Co.

The significance of the 900-kw powerplant in a cave beside the Salt River in 1906 was not the amount of electricity is produced—even though that power was vital to operate a cement mill, to hoist the giant blocks of stone to be quarried by the Apache Indians, and to operate the tramway and other construction equipment. Its primary importance lay in the fact that this use of the energy of the river was the first utilization of hydroelectric power in a Federally-built multipurpose water resource development. No one knew at that time that the West ultimately would come to rely heavily upon whirring hydroelectric turbines as "cash registers" to help repay the capital costs of the massive, 63-year-old, internationally-known resource development program of the Bureau of Reclamation.

Today the Bureau of Reclamation operates 47 powerplants with a total capacity of 6,470,800 kw. These generating plants produce more than 34 million kwh of electricity annually, for transmission over a system of nearly 14,000 circuit miles of transmission line. Gross power revenues recently exceeded $100 million annually.

POWER IS "PAYING PARTNER"

But more significantly, some two-thirds of the revenues required to be returned to the Treasury for the reimbursable portion of the ultimate capital costs of the $7½ billion investment in Reclamation facilities will come from hydroelectric power revenues. This explains why hydroelectric power is described as Reclamation's "paying partner."

The Bureau of Reclamation's other three 1966 anniversaries also mark significant developments.

First commercial power production at Grand Coulee Dam—1941. Still regarded as one of the man-made wonders of the world, Grand Coulee Dam has produced nearly 250 billion kwh of electric energy during the past quarter-century, making it the world's largest total power producer.

Completion of the power plant was timely; America was on the threshold of World War II, during which Grand Coulee contributed to the war effort more than 15 billion kwh, the equivalent of a million men working an eight-hour day for 78 years. Grand Coulee power also pumps water from the Columbia River into a water distribution system that has converted nearly a half-million acres of sagebrush desert into fertile farmland.

On April 19, the House approved a bill to authorize construction of a third powerplant at Grand Coulee Dam. A similar measure had already passed the Senate (PUBLIC POWER, April, page 68). Construction of the proposed third powerplant would add approximately 3,600,000 kw to the existing hydroelectric plant capacity of 1,974,000 kw. This would give a total installed capacity of 5,574,000 kw at the dam and again make it the largest hydroelectric installation in the world.

First Commercial Generation of Hoover Dam Power—1936. Commercial power generation in the Hoover Powerplant was begun Oct. 26, 1936, when the N-2 generating unit was placed in operation to serve the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The last of 19 generating units was installed in 1962, giving the plant a total generating capacity of 1,344,800 kw, making it one of the world's largest hydroelectric powerplants. Annual energy deliveries during the past 15 years have averaged 4 billion kwh.

MANY BENEFITS FROM HOOVER DAM

During its first year of operation, it was estimated that Hoover energy resulted in a saving of $1,320,000 to the consumers in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Tremendous other contributions in flood control, municipal and industrial water supply for 8 million residents of the Pacific Southwest, defense production, recreation, and other benefits have accrued from this structure.

Authorization of the Colorado River Storage Project—1956. Completion is expected next month of the 900,000-kw powerplant at Glen Canyon Dam, largest of the hydropower installations in the 5-State Colorado River Storage Project.

Even though this great multiple-purpose water resource development only reached its tenth birthday this year, it has already contributed to major infusions in the economic life of the area. Some $500 million has been invested in dams, reservoirs, powerplants, transmission lines, and other facilities. First commercial power was produced at Flaming Gorge in 1963. It is estimated that in the fiscal year ending June 30 the Colorado River Storage Project will derive revenues of $11,400,000 from power produced by the powerplants at Flaming Gorge and Glen Canyon.

Construction is proceeding on the Bureau's first major underground powerplant at Morrow Point Dam on the Curecanti Unit in Colorado, on extensive recreational facilities, and on 12 "participating" irrigation developments.

Meanwhile the Bureau of Reclamation continues to look forward and to apply its technical know-how in efforts to solve the continuing and prodigious challenge of supplying water and its associated multiple benefits for the arid and semiarid West. This imposing problem becomes larger and even more complex under increasing population pressures, and we in Reclamation are pleased to have the support of a "paying partner," hydroelectric power, as we approach new challenges and other mileposts in the third portion of an eventful century.

Address by Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Special Assistant to the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following illuminating address by the able assistant to the President, Joseph A. Califano, Jr., before the Thomas More Society of America's annual luncheon at the National Lawyers Club, Washington, D.C., on May 19, 1966:

ADDRESS BY JOSEPH A. CALIFANO, JR., SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, BEFORE THE THOMAS MORE SOCIETY OF AMERICA ANNUAL LUNCHEON AT THE NATIONAL LAWYERS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 19, 1966

An invitation to address the Thomas More Society about the goals of the Great Society sets up an almost irresistible temptation.

One is readily tempted to deliver a talk on the topic of "Utopia and the Great Society."

I have decided to resist that temptation. I have no desire to read a headline in tomorrow's newspapers stating: "White House Aide Says Great Society is Utopia."

I have even less desire to read that "White House Aide Says Great Society is not Utopia."

Without creating that particular dilemma, however, I would like to invoke some thoughts about Thomas More's best known work, and the world of The Great Society.

Thomas More's Utopia is part of a long tradition of writing on ideal political societies which began with Plato and the Republic.

In More's Utopia, the chief narrator comes upon a state which is in being, rather than in the process of development. As in Plato's Republic, More presents his Utopia as an achieved ideal.

All the ideal societies of the past—all the Utopias—had one common characteristic. They were all static societies. They did not change. Change might be necessary at first to achieve the ideal. But once the ideal has been achieved, time itself virtually came to a stop.

In More's Utopia, everything is in a state of perfect balance:

There are 54 identical city-states, "all spacious and magnificent, identical in language, traditions, customs and laws."

"No city has any desire to extend its territories for they consider themselves as the tenants rather than the master of what they hold."

Diseases are curable and medical care is plentiful.

Not only is there full employment, but each individual performs the work for which he is best suited.

Poverty is non-existent, and leisure hours are all spent in productive and reinvigorating relaxation.

All the inhabitants are motivated only by the highest ideals; pride, ambition, avarice are unknown.

In short, the old are respected and secure. The young are healthy and educated. The government is always wise, compassionate and just. Complete harmony reigns supreme, and there is no need for change.

The Utopias have passed beyond progress. They are beyond change, because they have achieved Perfection. The city of Man has—very nearly—become the City of God.

Like it or not, we have not achieved perfection and never will in this world. Perfection remains the exclusive goal which man on earth will pursue, but never quite attain. Each change that brings us a step closer to that elusive goal also brings new problems which make the remaining steps ever more difficult and ever more challenging.

Like it or not, change—social, economic, and scientific—is the most significant factor in the world today. Change has always been the very heart of the human condition. But today the pace of change is startling. The prospect is that its pace will become faster and faster, affecting every part of life. It will affect personal values, morality, and even religion—those things which seem most remote from technology. So swift is the acceleration, that as one commentator put it, trying to make sense out of change may soon come to be our basic industry.

Change is certainly the central influence in our Federal System—in the city, in the state and in the National Government. The programs of the Great Society are responsive to changing conditions. They constitute nothing less than a revolution in education, in health, in economic opportunity, in man's attempt to control his environment.

Yet, the Great Society programs of last year have barely been signed into law before this year's needs project us into new adventures to rebuild cities, clean rivers, eliminate poverty, reduce crime.

In this dynamic atmosphere, ever-changing programs must not only be administered efficiently. Their administration must take full advantage of the inventive genius the Constitution was designed to foster. With constantly increasing involvement of government at every level, the object of the Great Society is to provide each American citizen with a full and equal opportunity to attain the highest level of human and spiritual development of which he is capable. And the problem of the Great Society is to achieve this end in an environment of constant and rapid change.

It is precisely this problem to which the Administration addresses itself when we speak of "creative federalism." For even in More's Utopia, the provision of extended social welfare, employment and educational opportunities resulted in severe restrictions of individual freedom.

For a generation, we debated the extent and limit of the Federal role in general welfare. While we argued, a remarkable—but little noticed—thing happened. Federal participation—through the "cooperative federalism" that launched and guided the welfare programs of Franklin Roosevelt—helped to keep our state and local governments alive.

Now the steam has gone out of the old controversy. The vast accomplishments of the 89th Congress in welfare legislation have confirmed the baptized child of the New Deal. The nation now accepts—indeed demands—a Federal role in promoting the general welfare.

But the new accomplishments of the 89th Congress have brought new problems.

We are now embarking upon the great adventure of extending Federal services to education at all levels, to mass transportation, to regional development, to urban rehabilitation, to a concerted war on poverty, to the purification of our waters and atmosphere, to beautification of our natural environment, and even to that most fundamental right of the individual citizen in a democracy—the act of voting.

As we do so, we discover that an even more remarkable thing has happened. Now that we acknowledge that national responsibility in every sphere, we find that Federal power cannot be applied in any sphere except as it works through states, cities, local institutions and private citizens. We are entering a new era of relations among governmental levels and with private institutions and individual citizens. It is an era in which Federal laws and funds fail to achieve their full potential without a vast array of actions at all levels—action which we do not yet fully perceive or wholly comprehend.

This, nothing less, is the scale of the political and organizational problem we face, as our nation moves into the decisive decades ahead.

It is the need for our political institutions and forces to adapt to relentless and electric change. It is the problem of a new, creative federalism.

The problem has many facets:

First, Federal, State, and local governments alike are now determined to deal with a host of public needs in social and economic development. Most of the needs behind such laws cut across established governmental boundaries. They cannot be met by single jurisdictions, acting alone.

Air and water pollution are prime examples. The air we breathe and the water that flows in our rivers know no local and state boundary lines. Mass transportation—with commuters moving in and out of central cities, and, in many cases, across different state lines—is another example.

Second, no two public needs call for the same groupings of governments. These needs, and others of the sort, demand concerted action by numerous jurisdictions which differ, markedly, from case to case. For instance, the State and local units which must join together in the case of air or water pollution may not fit the needs of transportation, urban development or law enforcement.

Third, these public needs require contributions from all levels of government—Federal, state and local. The costs involved and the technical, human, and scientific resources that must be marshalled combine to levy staggering requirements on our society. As President Johnson observed last week at Princeton,

"Over the next five years, the Federal Government [alone] will need 30,000 more scientists and engineers and 6,000 more specialists in health, technology and education."

But local conditions vary so much, and local participation is so critical that cities, towns, and countries must not abdicate their functions. If these are the requirements of the Federal Government—just think of the problems for states or cities.

Fourth, not governments alone but private citizens—as groups and as individuals—have active roles to play in meeting many of our urgent needs. Our poverty programs, our mass transit and pollution programs, our supersonic transport and communication satellite programs, show our new dependence on a participating private citizenry.

Yet, all too often there are no precedents for citizens to follow, whether as neighbors, union leaders or corporation managers—no organizations in the field, no structures to guide their necessary efforts. Here, for the most part, we must rely on the spirit of innovation.

Fifth, within the Federal Government itself, the public needs for which we now provide, spill over the dividing lines and rectangular boxes of organization charts—both in the traditional Executive departments and in the committees of the Congress. They involve hundreds of separate authorizations under law. They engage scores of operating agencies with their own intra-departmental bureaucracies. These needs no more respect the jurisdictions of Federal departments than they do local or state governments, for the needs are functional. The Federal Government must find new ways to pool its talents and resources—in Washington and in the field—in a manner commensurate with the scope of the final decades of the Twentieth Century.

These five points suggest some of the elements of a creative Federalism and the problem of bringing it to fruition.

Historically, the Federal system was invented by the framers of our Constitution as a check against abuse of centralized power. It balanced Federal and State governments against each other by providing each a measure of exclusive jurisdiction. While certain activities were mingled deliberately, each level of Government was meant to guard its own prerogatives against the other.

But this historic Federalism no longer meets modern conditions. The new "creative Federalism" requires:

Joint action by all levels of government on common problems that cannot be solved by anyone alone.

Joint action at the local level through groups of governmental units—and of citizens as well—which differ sharply from problem to problem.

In the Great Society, it is precisely this joint action, and not jealously guarded jurisdiction, which preserves the checks a Federal system should provide. In the Great Society, no one governmental level acts, or can act effectively alone. "Togetherness" becomes our guarantee of balance under the Constitution.

If we are to work toward such a new, creative Federalism we must first discard a number of stale notions. To mold the institutions of creative Federalism, we must stretch our minds in a herculean intellectual, organizational, and, above all, political effort. We must abandon many notions that have guided conservative bureaucracies at all levels of government for a generation:

The notion that the issue is states' rights—when the issue is states' responsibilities.

The notion that cities or counties are self-sufficient political entities—when the great problems of crime and transportation, of nutrition and education know no artificial boundaries in a mobile society.

The notion that free enterprise requires a wall of separation between the Federal Government and business and labor—when federal partnerships are essential to nourish and sustain our economic system.

The notion that obsolete programs must be continued for their own sake—when they have been supplanted by broader, more effective and less costly programs.

The notion that there is some one, single government institution that will solve all problems—when we require many institutions, as versatile as the problems are varied.

The notion that we cannot afford to attack poverty head on, to rebuild our cities, to clean our rivers and our air—when we are such an affluent society that our $112 billion dollar budget for 1967 is a smaller percentage of our Gross National Product than it has been in all but one of the last 16 years since 1951.

The principle that Federal involvement in poverty, in employment, in education and in medicare somehow diminishes individual freedom and initiative—when economic security, good health, and education on the ability to learn rather than ability to pay, enhance each individual's opportunity to achieve his highest level of human and spiritual development.

With what do we replace those outworn ideas? How do we shed old prerogatives? How do we proceed through shared authority and joint responsibility, without dooming ourselves to poor administration, waste, confusion, ineffectiveness, and most of all, lessening of individual freedom?

This is the heart of the problem. This is the problem—as well as the opportunity—of which President Johnson spoke, when he said:

"Only through a creative and cooperative partnership of all private interests and all branches of Government—a creative federalism—can our economic and social objectives be attained."

The problem cannot be solved by the President alone. For the President cannot be the Mayor of every city, or the Governor of every State. He cannot be the Chairman of every Board or the President of every union. Nor can Secretary Gardner be the head of every school board, any more than the Surgeon General can be the head of every health district.

Governors must govern their states, and Mayors their cities. For these elected officials—no less than the President—are the bulwarks of our constitutional system. But they must recognize that some of their most critical problems today transcend artificial boundaries written by Pilgrims in New England or Pioneers in the West.

For our part, the Federal Government must get its own house in order. It must encourage the establishment of local and regional institutions essential for effective resolution of our pressing problems.

This, the President has sought to do.

At the Federal level, the President has already begun to organize the Government functionally.

He has proposed, and the Congress has established, a Department of Housing and Urban Development.

He has proposed and the Congress is now considering a Department of Transportation. He is focusing the problem of water pollution in the Department which handles all other water resources and planning problems. He has brought the Civil Rights effort of the Federal Government under the guidance of the Attorney General.

The President has also begun to encourage the formation of problem-oriented local and regional institutions.

He has proposed to the Congress a Community Development District Bill, whereby several counties in rural areas can band together, rise above their county lines, and pool their common human and material resources to provide services at a level never before known in rural America. In President Johnson's words:

"Our purpose is to demonstrate how a common effort can provide the needed district vocational school in one county, the hospital in another, the police training in a third, industry for an adequate library in a fourth. This effort can avoid the waste of duplication—or worse still, the total lack of such facilities or services because of a failure to pool common resources."

The President has proposed the Clean Rivers Bill to attack the problem of pollution on a scale never before attempted, to clean the entire river, from source to mouth, through union of state, city and county along the river. For one part of a river cannot be cleaned any more than one part of a bloodstream can be cured of leukemia.

The President has proposed mass transit programs and urban planning programs that recognize the mobility of the worker in and around the American city and the fact that city center can no longer ignore its suburbs, whether within or without the city limits, whether within or without the same state.

The President has recognized that deep Federal involvement and support may be essential for the development of individual freedom and the nourishment of free enterprise. From Project Head-Start to Project ComSat, the Federal programs are designed to preserve our traditional values. The need of a helping hand for the poverty stricken four-year old to become a useful citizen is no less enormous than the need of a billion dollars for an AT&T or a Boeing or a Lockheed to develop a Communications Satellite or a Supersonic Transport.

These are by no means the answers to all of our problems. They are not even—to paraphrase Churchill—the "end of the beginning." They are the first steps on the road to creative federalism. They show that under the enduring shelter of our Constitution, there is ample room for the political ingenuity essential to meet the challenges of tomorrow.

But we do not pretend to know all the answers. For we cannot know what the future holds for us—how many changes will take place in science, in housing, in transportation, in education.

Even now, as I speak, two American astronauts are preparing to circle the planet. It is a reminder that, in just a few short years, the world will be very different from the world we know today.

The unrelenting, swift pace of change is uprooting old ways and placing new demands on all of us—in every sector of the economy, in every walk of life, and in every branch of the Government.

Some have asked, "Are we really equal to the challenge of the sudden new world that confronts us?"

It seems to me that the answer was given back in 1835, by Alexis de Tocqueville, who said:

"[The Americans] have all a lively faith in the perfect ability of man, they judge that the diffusion of knowledge must necessarily be advantageous, and the consequences of ignorance fatal; they all consider society as a body in a state of improvement, humanity as a changing scene, in which nothing is, or ought to be, permanent; and they admit that what appears to them today to be good, may be superseded by something better tomorrow."

Efrain D. Vassallo, Small Business Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, Senor Efrain D. Vassallo, president of Vassallo Industries, Ponce, P.R., was acclaimed as Small Business Man of the Year and presented with his certificate by President Johnson today.

The sentiments expressed in his address certainly are a guide and a model, not only to all businessmen, but to all Americans for a successful life as well as a successful business. I commend to my colleagues the thoughts expressed by Senor Vassallo.

Saludos amigos . . . muy buenos dias, encantadoras señoras . . . y distinguidos caballeros . . . which means in english—Saludos amigos . . . muy buenos dias encantadoras señoras . . . y distinguidos caballeros.

Let me tell you, *dear friends* . . . that we Puerto Ricans are proud of the fact . . . that we are part of two differents cultures . . . and for this reason we are bilinguals. Nevertheless . . . I respectfully request your indulgence . . . not to ask me to *translate* what I have *previously said in Spanish* . . .but you can rest assured . . . that my greetings in spanish came straight from my heart.

Its really amazing . . . how many friendly people you find in this great capital city of Washington . . . . As soon as I came here today . . . our Mr. Charles H. Krieger . . . a good friend of the Puerto Rican people—said to me: "Amigo, do not worry about anything . . . we want you to be happy while you are here in Washington . . . if there is anything you want that *we haven't got,* let me know . . . and I will show you how to get along *without* it.

It is indeed a great pleasure, and honor . . . and it gives a lot of personal privilege and satisfaction . . . that I have been invited to address such a distinguished group of prominent citizens of this great nation.

On behalf of my dear wife, Ada Rita, and my six children . . . on behalf of my beloved mother and brothers . . . on behalf of my esteemed associates and co-workers . . . and specially on behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico . . . I want to express my most sincere gratitude . . . for being selected the National Small Business Man of the year . . . I accept this honor with great humility. . . . For this I thank you, dear friends . . . thank you.

FRIENDS . . . SUCCESS IS A WAY OF THINKING

Success is just a way of thinking. . . . There are many basic components in my personal success . . . that I want to share with you today, they are:

1. Hard Work.
2. Family Unity.
3. Positive Thinking.
4. Foresight.
5. Fair Trade.
6. Sharing Well-being among our associates and co-workers.
7. Conquer of Fear.
8. Faith in God . . . and
9. A Noble Goal in Life.

LET'S BEGIN WITH . . . HARD WORK

Hard Work—is the highest price for success . . . and I learned this as a youngster. I was only 12 years old . . . when I first complained to my father about hard work and not enough time to play with the other children. I shall never forget his response . . . and it will always remain in my scroll of memories. Show me . . . he said—a successful man that only works eight hours a day . . . and I'll promise you, my dear son . . . that I would let you work less and play more.

NEXT I WILL TAKE . . . FAMILY UNITY

We inherited from our beloved father . . . may God bless his soul . . . the unity of our family. We are four brothers actively engaged in our business . . . and I happened to be the oldest. My mother is also an associate of ours in all of our endeavors. She plays a very important and dynamic role in our lives guarding the family unity . . . which has meant so much in our success. There is an unwritten golden rule in our family. No member . . . has the right to interfere with the well being and comfort of another . . . for his own personal gain and advantage.

A KEY FACTOR IN SUCCESS IS ATTITUDE . . . POSITIVE THINKING

You will never get astigmatism by looking at the bright side. Friends . . . it is good to be alive . . . and sometimes we underestimate our abilities by letting our minds think in a negative way. We must refuse to believe . . . that there are any circumstances sufficiently strong enough to defeat us in accomplishing our purposes.

Let me share with you . . . if you please . . . six ways to cultivate a positive mental attitude . . . that has brought me peace and happiness.

1st. Fill your mind with thoughts of peace, courage, health, and hope.

2nd. Never try to get even with your enemies.

3rd. Expect ingratitude.

4th. Count your blessings—not your troubles.

5th. Try to profit from your losses, and

6th. Create happiness for others.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR IN MY SUCCESS HAS BEEN . . . FORESIGHT

FORESIGHT

A successful man must have an ample vision. The day that he quits looking ahead into the future . . . is the day he starts going down. The mind was divinely designed to be imaginative. It is surprising how much limitation man imposes on himself. Opportunities are enormous . . . beyond belief. But it takes imagination . . . you must be different.

Imagination sometimes is more important than knowledge. For knowledge is limited . . . whereas imagination embraces the entire world. Mr. Alex Osborn in his booklet—Creative Thinking—says: "You were born with creative imagination . . . chances are . . . you possess much more of this talent than you realize. Let me resume by saying that ideas are the most potent force in the world.

NEXT FRIENDS AND BUSINESSMEN . . . FAIR TRADE

It has been our company policy . . . and it will always be . . . to manufacture a quality product . . . at the lowest competitive price . . . to best serve the public needs . . . and provide the best possible service. It has always been our belief . . . that the true meaning of fair trade . . . is good business for all people involved. There is no other way to happiness in our work . . . than to live by christian principles.

NEXT . . . SHARING WELL-BEING-AMONG OUR ASSOCIATES AND CO-WORKERS

We have experienced . . . that by taking personal interest in the well-being of our associates and co-workers . . . we have increased our productivity . . . which in turn generates wealth, and prosperity, for all parts involved. We are very fortunate to say . . . that our enterprises are just like a big contented group of families. We will find . . . that we get back from our living . . . exactly what we put into it.

If we give the world a selfish life . . . one that is filled with distrust and hate . . . we will get back that kind of life. In giving faith . . . hope . . . love . . . and prosperity . . . we find a life that blooms and blossoms.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR, MY DEAR FRIENDS IS . . . . . CONQUERING FEAR

I dare to say . . . that no one can attain success if he doesn't learn to conquer and destroy fear. There have been many times in my life . . . when I had to face the demon of fear . . . . . conquering it is not an easy task . . . but is a must for the successful man. Conquering fear is just like a mathematical problem, you must analyze it. To analyze any fear . . . . . you must ask yourself such questions as . . . . Just exactly what is my fear? . . . . What are the facts in my case? . . . . . and then . . . be specific. Remember that God gives us power . . . . . to get what we want from life. There is a passage from Timothy in the Bible that reads . . . . . "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear . . . but of power, and love . . . . and of sound mind.

One of America's great soldiers . . . . General George S. Patton . . . . once said: "If bravery is a quality which knows not fear . . . . I have never seen a brave man . . . . all men are frightened . . . . the more intelligent they are . . . the more they are frightened . . . the courageous man is the man who forces himself . . . in spite of his fear, to carry on.

NEXT . . . . FAITH IN GOD

Faith in God relaxes the sense of strain that is brought about by our self-centeredness, Faith in God . . . brings rest and repose by trusting in the care . . . guidance . . . and providence . . . . . of the Almighty. In his presence there comes to us an infinite quietness . . . supported by an infinite power. When God becomes our partner . . . . we do more with less worry. The security that God offers . . . . gives us the opportunity to let go of our own fears . . . . and participate in a vitality that is bound to create success.

LAST IN ORDER . . . . BUT NOT IN IMPORTANCE . . . .

A NOBLE GOAL IN LIFE

Perhaps any man that has most of these basic qualities . . . . which I have previously enumerated . . . could become a successful man. But I seriously questioned it . . . . . because in my own personal criteria . . . . a true successful man . . . is a man . . . who has an ultimate noble goal in life . . . . to share his success with his fellow men and humanity. If a successful man does not carry on until the last minute of his existence . . . . to provide others less fortunate what he has enjoyed through his own effort . . . . . that man will never reach the Utopia of success.

My dear friends . . . . before I conclude this great opportunity . . . . . to address our government people here present today . . . . and also the elite of the Small Business Administration of the U.S. . . . . . lets always remember to communicate to the rest of the citizens of the world . . . . . that our free enterprise system, is the fastest road to success and let our faith in God . . . . guide the destiny of our great America.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Chairman, at a time when the Nation is seeking to gear its economy to meeting burdensome demands of foreign commitments, there are critics who would shelve all progress within our country.

No one, of course, can deny that our economy is necessarily forging ahead at a high rate of production that at times seems to threaten serious inflationary pressures. But let no one deny also that the so-called inflationary arguments so far have been focused only on the just and equitable wage increases of America's workers. The workers in private industry and in public service have had to shoulder the major attacks of the inflationists.

The workers of this country are the ones whose sacrifice has been exacted because of Vietnam or because of some other sacrificial call. These are the same workers, Mr. Chairman, who are paying higher costs for a food basket at the grocery store and for their family car. And yet few voices are raised about the need to hold down the prices being paid by already underpaid workers.

Mr. Chairman, the wage increases that would result from the legislation being debated today, in my judgment, are indeed moderate and reasonable.

This Nation has committed its moral resources to the eradication of poverty. I suggest that now is the time to commit our material resources. A vote for today's minimum wage proposal is one weapon we can all provide our army against poverty. I intend to vote for it.

Operation: Moral Support—Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY A. TAYLOR
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the attached letter from the president of the Jaycettes of Asheville, N.C., outlines a program that is of value as a morale builder to military personnel in Vietnam and is also rewarding to the Jaycette members participating. I recommend it to my colleagues and to civic organizations in other cities and communities:

ASHEVILLE JAYCETTES,
Asheville, N.C., May 9, 1966.

Hon. ROY A. TAYLOR,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE TAYLOR: Please allow me to take this opportunity to convey a delayed thank-you for your help in starting one of the most worthwhile projects the Asheville Jaycette Club has ever attempted. You may recall that I wrote to you in December asking for suggestions as to what Asheville and particularly the Jaycettes could do to help, in some small way, the Viet Nam situation. You referred my letter to Assistant Secretary of Defense, Arthur Sylvester, and he, in turn, gave us many helpful ideas. These ideas helped us kick off what we call Operation: Moral Support—Viet Nam.

Perhaps you have kept up with the news from our area through the Citizen-Times. If so, you may be familiar with our project, but in case you are not, I will give you some idea of what we are doing.

In March, our club made a public appeal through the local news media for the names and address and other information of the men from the Asheville-Buncombe County area. The response was overwhelming. We had no idea there were so many men from this area in Viet Nam, and even though we felt that these men would like to hear from "hometown folks", we were surprised at the reaction from the families of these men. They are very appreciative and for the first few weeks after our news releases, our phones were busy constantly.

At this writing, we have the names and information of 170 men. Each Jaycette has three or four names. In other words, her family has adopted three or four GIs and following an initial letter from me, as president, introducing him to his "adopted family" each family will follow up with mail and packages on special occasions such as birthdays and holidays. We had planned to take all the expenses from our own pockets, but due to the large response we have had to ask the local merchants clubs and general public for help in the way of postage mailable merchandise money or anything they could offer. The response has been good and we have close to $400 and hope for more in order to keep this project going in the effective way we want it to. The money we have will help buy gifts.

I know this letter is long but we did want you to know what we are doing and to thank you and Mr. Sylverster for your help. We would like to let other clubs and cities know what we are doing and if you can offer any suggestions along this line we would be more than appreciative.

This project, we hope, has helped a little to boost the morale of our home-town men, but it has done even more for us. I believe each family participating is more aware of our situation in Viet Nam and certainly listens more carefully and reads everything available regarding the situation. But even more important than the news media is the word we receive personally from those who are there. We have a close and personal contact now and feel much more aware and involved in a far-away war which is, or will, effect the lives of all of us.

Thank you again for your help and please feel free to offer any advise or suggestions you may have.

Very sincerely yours,
MRS. JOANN E. ROGERS,
President.

Prayer on Behalf of President Lyndon Baines Johnson, McCormick Place, May 17, 1966, Delivered by Dr. Seymour J. Cohen, Spiritual Leader of the Anshe Emet Synagogue, President of the Synagogue Council of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen of the Anshe Emet Synagogue is one of the great spiritual leaders of the city of Chicago. His eloquent benediction following the President's address at the dinner of the Cook County Democratic organization in Chicago on May 17 struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the thousands who were there. The benediction follows:

Our God and God of all mankind who dwells on high yet is near to the prayers of men, humbly to Thee we turn.

As this historic occasion comes to a close, an evening in which our community has been honored by the presence of the President of the United States and his gracious lady, we join heart and voice in common prayer to Thee for their well-being.

In this unprecedented hour which truly tests the souls of all men, we mourn like the prophet of old that "the whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint."

Heavenly Father, we ask that Thou bless our Chief Executive as he stands on the lonely summit of national leadership and global responsibility.

Out of the depths of our being we ask that Thou sustain Lyndon Baines Johnson by the beneficence as he bears the most awesome burdens of decision which affect the destiny of all mankind.

May he continue to teach us to remain ever sensitive to the agony of the poor, the anguish of the oppressed, and the cry of those who long to be free.

Endow him with that wisdom that can only come from Thee so that his heart's deepest prayer and his most fervent passion to serve our people as "the President of peace" may be fulfilled.

May our beloved land under Thy divine providence be an influence only for good throughout the world, may there be fulfilled the ancient promise heard first in Judea of old that the day will come when "the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and confidence forever."—Isaiah 32: 17. Amen.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH
OF
HON. GLENN ANDREWS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GLENN ANDREWS].

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, we have been surrounded this afternoon by a substantial group of gentlemen from California, with their rich soil, their irrigated fields, and their huge cats drawing eight tractors behind them; and their superior cotton staple.

Mr. Chairman, I am interested in the real import of this bill which I do not think really has been expressed on the floor of the House, but the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] came rather close to it.

I have never met so many proponents of the minimum wage bill for agriculture as I have from the fine State of California with its very well known fine climate and rich soil, and their relative position of so-called inferiority because of freight rates—something that I have heard of for so many years as a monopoly enjoyed by the Southern States.

I would like to ask the gentleman, any of them from the State of California, to please answer me—what the effect generally is going to be on the upland cotton produced throughout the Southern States when the pegged price or the support price is $165 and when the Cotton Council estimates that when the minimum wage comes in, the production of cotton will cost $200 a bale.

I would like to ask the gentlemen from California who produce five bales of cotton per acre on their land, what they really expect is going to happen as a result of this minimum wage deal in upland cotton production throughout the southern United States.

I would like an expression from the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] as to what his answer to that problem would be. What will happen to the production of southern upland cotton if it will cost $200 a bale to produce it and the price is $165?

Mr. DENT. Is the gentleman from Alabama asking me that question?

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. I will ask anyone from California to answer that question.

Mr. DENT. I am not from California, but I would say that cotton happens to be one of those products that is under the price support program. If the farmer has to pay a higher price to grow cotton than he gets from the present subsidized plan, we will raise the money to give it to him.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. That is a great big "if," and an enormous promise.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. I would like to say to the gentleman, first of all, that the industrial situation in California and in the Nation as a whole has not been hurt by any minimum wage changes. I do not mean merely agriculture; I mean any type of industry in the Nation.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. The gentleman realizes that up until now agriculture has not been affected by minimum wages.

Mr. BELL. I do not think it will be adversely affected. I think it will be improved.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Are you speaking of California agriculture?

Mr. BELL. I am speaking of all agriculture, agriculture generally. I do wish to say that California, despite the point which the gentleman from Alabama has made relative to the advantages that California has, does have a very definite disadvantage in shipping and hauling costs, and yet despite that disadvantage California has been continuing its operation and is operating on a minimum wage today. California has in effect a minimum wage today, and there has been no loss and no problem of unemployment. There are no problems in other areas the gentleman has mentioned.

I think perhaps if the gentleman would try to work with the minimum wage program such as this bill, when it passes, will bring to the whole Nation, I think he will find that the conditions in his State may improve substantially. I might add that a considerable number of people from his State have moved to California, as tourists and so forth, and apparently they enjoy it. I know we have a large population of people from your State there.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on the occasion of her millennium, to Poland and her people, so many of whom she has contributed to America. This year and especially this month has seen many ceremonies in Poland celebrating this millennium, and it is only fitting that we join in spirit in these celebrations which mean so much to the many fine Polish Americans who have enriched the life of our Nation.

Poland became a part of Western culture in 966 when Catholicism was accepted from Rome and in the 1,000 years that followed, Póland has developed as a symbol of a gallant people's struggle for freedom from authoritarian rule. The Poles have suffered many kinds of oppression and for centuries have been a pawn in the struggle between Germany and Russia for control of Eastern Europe. Throughout this period, the Polish people have continued to maintain their love of liberty and to work constantly to regain it.

I salute this love of liberty and freedom which has ever given life to the Polish people and would like to express my earnest wish that their desire for self-government finally bear fruit.

TV Birchers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of The New Era, Reading, Pa., its editor, Bob Gerhart, wrote an interesting column on the John Birch Society's TV programs.

I include, herewith, the editorial which illustrates how heavily financed radio and TV programs promoted by rightwing extremist elements are spreading confusion, disunity, suspicion, and distrust of representative government:

> Just about two weeks ago I was eating breakfast and watching TV when suddenly a meeting of a John Birch Society group in New York popped onto the screen. This could be jolting enough in mid-afternoon or early evening but imagine the impact before you've poured down the first cup of coffee in the morning!
>
> Tone of the meeting was set immediately by the reading of a "prayer for the United States." Among other things, Divine assistance was invoked to "root out internal sedition," presumably communism. Yet the prayer originaated in 1794 from the mouth of George Washington who was mainly preoccupied with Redcoats. I suppose that the purpose of the prayer was to draw a parallel between modern times and Revolutionary Days and implant the thought that our nation is in as great danger today from communism as we were in 1794 from the tyranny of British kings. With our FBI and military might and unprecedented productivity, I can't quite feel that we're that close to collapse!
>
> The living room Birchers in the TV report included a wide variety of people—a stockbroker, a secretary who paid $1,000 for a lifetime membership, a bakery owner, a policeman's wife, a sailor and a houseswife. Obviously, the Birch Society offered them an answer to all society's ills, including a reduction in assaults and muggings.
>
> An agenda ranging from recruiting new members to impeaching Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren charted the meeting's course. Members reported on their activity in each category—and each one expressed what appeared to be an obvious fear for the future. They firmly believed that America is being taken over by a foreign power from within, and the theme, "communist conspiracy," lurked behind every sofa and under every table and in every socially progressive piece of legislation—and even in our conduct of the Vietnam war.
>
> If this TV Bircher meeting is symbolic of all other chapters, the "hawks" are winging high on the Vietnam issue. "Get this thing over with," said the sailor. He didn't say how. "If we aren't going to win this war we should get the hell out—one, two, three." Or take this comment: "When are we going to win this war? It didn't take 10 years to beat Germany and Japan." He didn't consider a global conflict with Russia, and China. The whole approach implies that a sinister plot is underfoot by commies in our government to prolong the war deliberately to weaken the country and thereby aid a foreign takeover. True, they didn't say it that way but you got the idea.
>
> My impression of the Bircher attitude and comments was that they have little faith in our nation, little faith in our democratically-elected leaders and little faith in new solutions to new problems. You get the feeling they want to return to the "good old days" of segregation and isolation in world affairs, and a form of rugged individualism which ignores the concept that we are our brother's keeper.
>
> I find it difficult to understand how anyone—yes, anyone—can subscribe to a creed written by Birch Society Founder Welsh who said that President Eisenhower was an unwitting agent of the communists. The Birchers attribute every problem, every frustration to hidden communist conspirators. They are in the civil rights movement. They dominate the United Nations (from which the Birchers want to withdraw). They influence our Vietnam policy. They are trying to influence police departments. It's just one great big bad dream, in the Birchers' confused imagination. But you don't have to leave the Reading area to find a cell of Birchers at work. We're crawling with them.

South Dakota School Board Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN REIFEL

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure yesterday to attend the national awards luncheon of the National Education Association-Thom McAn School Board Awards program where the Sisseton, S. Dak., Independent School Board of my district was cited as one of two national winners.

This outstanding school board was selected for its leadership in providing quality education in its community. It received the citation in competition with thousands of other school boards representing schools of less than 3,000 enrollment.

This program was initiated last year for the purpose of focusing public attention on the school board's contribution to its community and to broaden respect and understanding between the board and its professional education community. The award carries a specially designed trophy and $2,500 in cash.

As one who has had the privilege, particularly during the past year, of working closely with this school board in providing more adequate facilities to serve the children of the nearby Sisseton Sioux Indian Reservation, I join the people of Sisseton in taking special pride in this recognition.

Here to receive the award were Mr. Harlan Hammer, president of the Sisseton Independent School Board; Mr. P. A. Setnes, superintendent of schools; and Mrs. Sadie Ellis, president of Sisseton Education Association.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include the citation which this outstanding school board received from the Department of Classroom Teachers of the NEA.

SISSETON INDEPENDENT SCHOOL BOARD, SISSETON, S. DAK.—NATIONAL FIRST PLACE—SYSTEMS UNDER 3,000 ENROLLMENT

The Sisseton Independent School Board has supported and encouraged educational innovation, an accomplishment among many which the local education association has considered worthy of national recognition. This vital school board, while primarily honored for its instructional planning, has developed special programs to meet the needs of their system. In doing so all possible state and federal programs to benefit students have been explored and utilized.

The Parade Magazine-NEA Pacemaker Award for 1965 singled out the visionary Sisseton Independent School Board for outstanding performance in counselling, guidance and remedial education. Its special programs for the Sioux Indians is a notable example of special programs to meet unique needs.

The list of firsts of this dynamic school system is impressive. Sisseton schools were the first in their area to successfully negotiate and operate the Neighborhood Youth Corps under the Economic Opportunity Act and they have also participated in Project Head Start.

A most significant accomplishment of this school board in the opinion of the local education association is the encouragement of professional growth through participation in professional associations. Many school board members participate at the state, regional and national levels of the National School Boards Association and encourage the professional educators to assume an active role in their professional associations.

Salute to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Third Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, this May marks the third year since the founding of the Organization of African Unity—OAU—at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1963.

Comprised of all the independent states of Africa except South Africa, this organization has maintained its existence despite some trying experiences *which might have wrecked less cohesive groupings.* Prior to its creation, the continent was made up of various blocs going their separate ways, but each one desirous of one particular goal—African unity and solidarity. Since each state agreed upon this principle, the framework was laid for the writing of the OAU Charter.

The OAU provides a structure and a framework within which to discuss and define problems among African states, and hopefully, to reconcile differences and resolve disputes. Thus far the organization has met with some success, such as halting the fighting between Algeria and Morocco in November 1963, and playing a major role in lessening tension between Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia in February 1964.

In addition to the question of Rhodesian independence, one of the primary items to which the OAU addressed itself in 1965 was urging the United Nations General Assembly to consider the topic of denuclearization of Africa. A declaration on this subject has been agreed upon at the July 1964 meeting of the OAU. In the resolution that was passed, the General Assembly endorsed the Declaration of Heads of State and Government of Africa on the denuclearization of that region and also called on all states to refrain from the use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons on the African Continent, to refrain from testing, manufacturing, acquiring, using, or deploying such weapons in Africa, and not to transfer nuclear weapons, scientific data or technological assistance to assist in the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons in Africa.

The decision of the OAU to concentrate on all African issues at its latest meeting in October 1965, at Accra, is a firm indication that the organization is determined to make serious efforts to keep out of cold war problems and solve some of its own difficulties.

Africa has been undergoing numerous upheavals during the last few months, but the solidarity and unity of the OAU has remained intact. That is indeed a good indicator of the overriding importance each nation places in the goal of true African unity. I extend best wishes to them as they commemorate their third year as a functioning body and wish them continued success in their search for solutions to Africa's problems.

A Protest From a Small Businessman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, as the Federal Government, through acts of Congress, continues to pile more and more regulations upon the business community, it is no wonder that many of them decide to get out of business rather than fight a losing battle against the system.

This point was brought home to me *this week in a letter from a small businessman in Abilene, Kans., Fred E. Holmstrom, of Abilene Auto Parts.* He sees the new minimum wage legislation and the proposed changes in the unemployment compensation program as a further encroachment upon his right to operate his own business.

Every time one of these small business firms closes its doors we lose another employer, employees are thrown out of work, a source of tax revenue is lost, and another cog in the vital machinery of the main street economy is stripped away.

I feel obliged to bring his protest to the attention of my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks, I ask that his letter appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The letter follows:

ABILENE AUTO PARTS,
Abilene, Kans., May 19, 1966.

Congressman CHESTER MIZE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MIZE: In view of the seemingly unending encroachment of our Federal Government upon the public, and particularly the small business man, the time to protest is overdue.

Two pieces of legislation presently being considered by the congress, if passed, will be absolutely ruinous to the small business man. I refer to the Minimum Wage Bill, and H.R. 8282 dealing with unemployment benefits.

During the twenty years that I have operated a small but profitable business, I have watched my neighbors, one after another, go out of business. Some of course have failed, but more have rebelled against the continuing encroachment of government upon their prerogatives, and have given up their businesses in disgust.

Year after year I have watched my profits after taxes dwindle. The point has finally been reached whereby the passage of the two pieces of legislation mentioned above will be the straws that break this camel's back. I will join my neighbors and liquidate my business rather than submit to the injustice, harassment, and dictation that these bills would force upon me.

I hope your view of these matters is similar to mine.

Yours very truly,
FRED E. HOLMSTROM.

Unassuming Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McGRATH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. Speaker, the Baltimore Sun, on Monday, May 23, paid well-deserved tribute to a modest, highly capable, and dedicated public servant from Atlantic City, N.J., and now from Texas.

The following column by a perceptive observer of those who work in the White House, Muriel Dobbin, is a realistic appraisal of one of the White House assistants who works, willingly, unlimited hours per day and days per week in the tradition of our President, Lyndon B. Johnson, as he, with his staff, dedicate their lives to this Nation.

The article follows:

JACOBSEN HAS QUIET UBIQUITY

(By Muriel Dobbin)

WASHINGTON, May 22.—Jake Jacobsen is a Texan from New Jersey who says the good Lord gave him the knack of getting along with everybody—including the President of the United States.

Honey-voiced, easily smiling, experienced in the ways of politics and people, Jacobsen is the White House special assistant who may be in line for the job of Presidential shadow—a post hitherto held by Jack Valenti.

COMMENT TO DANIELS

A man who walks as softly as he speaks, Jacobsen has already displayed a flair for unobtrusive ubiquity. During the President's trips to Texas, it is Jacobsen who soundlessly materializes and dematerializes on cue.

President Johnson apparently recognized both determination and talent underlying the imperturbable courtesy of Jabobsen when thirteen years ago he admitted to then-Senator Price Daniels of Texas that he would like to hire his administrative assistant.

Yet in April 1965, Jacobsen had to be coaxed to leave a successful law practice in Austin to become a Presidential assistant. He admits his reuctance to leave Texas, which he adopted as his home State in preference to his native New Jersey.

During his service in World War II—in the course of which he was decorated twice—he spent some time in Texas, graduated from the University of Texas Law School, married a Texan girl, became assistant attorney general for Texas, and spent three years in Washington as administrative assistant to Senator Daniels.

TO TEXAS WITH GOVERNOR

In 1956 Jacobsen returned to Texas as executive assistant to Governor Daniels, and entered private law practice two years later.

"I like Texas," he says in an accent which testifies to his affection.

"I like the warm, friendly people, and the open spaces—it's uncluttered geographically."

But he explains that he had to come to Washington when the President asked him to do so.

"I feel if you have an ounce of patriotism or sympathy, you can't say 'No' to a President."

Jacobsen, who is experienced in what has been referred to as the bloody battleground of Texas politics, makes a wry comparison with the machinations in the nation's capital.

"Texas politics are tough, but compared to this, it's nothing," he observes.

However, Jacobsen appears to be a man who can make the best of most things. When he moved to Washington as a White House assistant, he promptly made himself comfortable in a second-floor office, contemporary in style, with chairs upholstered in deep purple and orange in contrast to pale beige walls and rugs, and the bittersweet tunes of the Nineteen Forties as background music.

LIKES TO DESIGN COMFORT

"I like to design comfortable surroundings and then work in them," says Jacobsen, who asserts that he is not prone to haunt the President's office, although he is included in the select group which arrives daily in the President's bedroom before breakfast to confer on the day ahead.

Jacobsen reads the congressional record at home before he leaves for the White House, underlining passages relating to Administration policies or programs, to be drawn to Mr. Johnson's attention.

But after half an hour or so with the President as a beginning to the day, Jacobsen retires to his own office to work on projects suggested by Mr. Johnson, or relating to the previous day's work.

CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON

Congressional liaison is one of Jacobsen's duties, and he spends some time daily chatting with contacts on Capitol Hill.

He descibes himself as a "general assignment" man and maintains that he has no wish to become another Valenti.

"Jack is a lovable kind of guy, but I don't think anybody could take his place," he says, adding, "I don't fit the mold."

According to Jacobsen, the most important characteristic for a White House assistant is the ability to use his own judgment and to state facts concisely, whether verbally or in a memorandum.

LONG MEMORANDA TABOO

"The President doesn't like long memoranda—but then, nobody does," he notes.

His attitude toward Mr. Johnson, a man rumored to be both difficult and demanding as an employer, reflects the Jacobsen brand of pragmatism.

"I read all the stories about how hard it was to work for him," he recalls, "and I believed them because I had no reason not to. I have simply found them to be untrue, at least in my case."

"I like his personality," he continues. "It stimulates you to witness the operation of his mind. He makes you think you can do things which you don't think you can do."

NO CONTROL OF YOUR TIME

Jacobsen describes the White House as "like any other public office where you have no control of your time."

"When I ran a law office, I set my own schedule," he points out. "I could tell important clients when I could see them. Here, the public—or the President—owns your time."

Like other White House aides, Jacobsen is high on the invitation list of status-conscious Washington hostesses. But he says he almost never accepts invitations except from a few friends.

SOUNDS PRETTY GOOD

"A White House assistant sounds pretty good, almost as good as a Cabinet officer," he observes shrewdly.

Leaning back in a purple chair, smoking a long slim cigar, Jacobsen admits that working for the President is demanding, but adds firmly that it is "no more difficult than anything else I have ever done."

Grinning, he drawls, "I'm used to demands. I used to be as poor as a church mouse. I've been demanded of all my life."

The Role of the Citizen in Today's Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. GILLIGAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. GILLIGAN. Mr. Speaker, it is commonplace today to define our age in terms of loss—or loss of confidence and assurance, almost hopelessly adrift in a turbulent world, unsure of our course and even what our course should be. Ours is supposed to be an era of anxiety and alienation.

This diagnosis is, I believe, only partly true. We are confusing a retrospective and nostalgic cast of mind with an aimlessness. We are unsure of the future, but every age has been, just as every age has suffered from anxiety. But we have not lost touch with the past, which is a necessary and powerful source of strength, nor have we abandoned the future.

Men in the last century, if we look closely, concealed their uncertainty under a cloak variety of deterministic philosophies. This outlook itself was, at least in part, a substitution for an anxious feeling. Our predecessors spoke and wrote bravely of progress, but they were uncertain and hesitant in their pronouncements.

Some of us have become victims of a style of thought. I do not recognize among our people a despairing attitude or a sense of life without purpose. On the contrary, what uncertainty exists stems from a keener awareness of the complexities of our age's problems, a recognition that answers are not easy to formulate, an understanding that solutions are accomplished slowly and with difficulty. We are not victims of the simplistic faith in progress that troubled men in the last century. Those who today describe our society as purposeless sift the evidence to match their preconceptions, ignoring the idealism and sense of movement which is deeply rooted in our democratic faith. Our mission today is more subtle, less liable to be summed up in slogans, but it is evident everywhere.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John Gardner recently spoke on this theme, "The Role of the Citizen in Today's Society." He spoke of faith, of hope, and of understanding, and he spoke for many Americans who look to the future aggressively.

His remarks follow:

THE ROLE OF THE CITIZEN IN TODAY'S SOCIETY

(By John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, as delivered at the Glenn Memorial Church Auditorium, Emory University Campus, Atlanta, Ga., Saturday, April 30, 1966)

As many of you know, my concern for years has been with the individual, with how society can best serve the individual, and how we the citizens can create such a society.

Until recently, I pursued this concern in the relative tranquillity of a philanthropic organization. Like most of you, I was a private citizen. Then the President asked me to come to Washington. That was eight months ago, and I must say that it's been an exciting time.

We are living in one of the most creative moments of history, a moment when the past is slipping away and the future is being shaped. It is also a difficult and painful moment. Creative times usually are.

I'm always surprised to discover how many intelligent citizens are untouched by the excitement of the world that I see and know, and how many are not moved to participate in the events of their time.

Some of these people are overwhelmed by the size and scope of our problems today. It's a natural feeling. It does often seem that we're producing more history than we can consume. But most generations of man since the beginning have been faced with overwhelming problems. What distinguishes us from earlier generations is that we are far more aware of our problems, and far less fatalistic about them.

Another source of discouragement today is the view that there's little the individual citizen can do. Even though he may believe that the problems are solvable, he's likely to doubt that he as an individual can be of help. Again, it's a natural feeling, but I think anyone who is guided by it is too easily discouraged.

It's true that as our society grows larger and more complex, citizen participation isn't the simple thing it once was. But the surprising and cheering thing is that the tradition of citizen action is not only surviving, it's growing stronger. And it's more needed than ever.

Some people have assumed that the growth of the Federal establishment has diminished the responsibility of the individual, the community, and the State. That is certainly not true of the programs administered by my Department.

Let me tell you why.

Our programs deal with people, with a wide range of human needs. They are carried out not only by our bureaus in Washington, but in conjunction with many other institutions: the States and local communities, hospitals and school boards, universities and voluntary organizations. The quality of most of our work ultimately depends on the performance of these non-Federal institutions and agencies. We provide resources. It's their responsibility to use them. The payoff is at the local level.

The Federal Government can't bring about that final result in Washington. Federal laws, dollars and programs don't teach children nor heal the sick. Teachers teach children and doctors heal the sick—individual teachers and doctors in the schools and clinics of Atlanta and Seattle and Phoenix. This means that to get full benefit from Federal programs, vitality at the local level is essential. In short, you are as responsible for most of the Federal programs as we are.

President Johnson has a name for this deepening involvement of citizens and institutions in the work of government. He calls it "creative Federalism," meaning a creative partnership between the Federal Government and State, local and non-governmental institutions and agencies.

But it won't work unless there is real vitality at the local end of the partnership—and that's where you come in. You're the only ones who can keep State and local agencies and institutions vital.

Now, I know it is traditional for Federal officials traveling around the country to talk about the achievements of government (especially in even numbered years). I respect this tradition, and I can tell you that our achievements have been substantial.

But to talk only of achievements would give you a very inaccurate picture of my world. When I get up in the morning, I don't think about our achievements, I think about our problems.

And, after all, they are not exclusively Washington's problems although we are working hard to find answers to them. They are Atlanta's problems. They are the problems of our time.

Let's begin with health. I spent most of this morning at the Communicable Disease Center here, which, as you may know, is an arm of my Department. It's an extraordinary operation, reflecting some of the spectacular advances in the health sciences.

The American people, through their Federal Government, support a gigantic health effort. Your taxes pay for about two-thirds of all the medical research being done in this country today. But research is only the first step toward better health. A step that sometimes seems considerably more difficult is how to make available to all Americans the gains already achieved.

Much of the recent health legislation enacted by the Congress is an effort to do this, to bring the best of modern medical care to the aged, to the poor, to children, to those who live far from the leading medical centers.

In order to accomplish that we have some difficult problems to solve, and by we I mean everyone in and out of government who is concerned with the health field.

There are already grave shortages of health manpower of all sorts—doctors, nurses, technicians, and so on. How do we recruit them, how do we educate them for careers in a field that is changing so fast? How do we sort out professional and sub-professional tasks so that physicians aren't doing jobs that registered nurses could be doing, and so that neither is doing tasks that sub-professional aides should be doing?

How can we ensure that the small-town doctor has access to the expensive equipment so essential to modern medicine? How do we make it possible for him to keep up with the life-saving advances in medicine?

There is extensive duplication of health services in most of our metropolitan areas. People don't know where to go for what, and often those who need help most don't even know it is available. How can we better organize and communicate these services?

Thanks to the extraordinary scope of recent legislation, we are now able to tackle these problems with new vigor and imagination. And again it is not a matter of the Federal Government acting alone. The legislation puts us in partnership with State and local agencies, hospitals and universities, voluntary and professional associations, independent laboratories and clinics.

Now let's take a look at the War on Poverty. If you don't bother to understand it, the War on Poverty can appear to be demagoguery, or routine do-goodism, or just a tired phrase. But if you see how our approach to poverty has evolved historically, and understand how complex the problem continues to be, you will comprehend how courageous and inventive some of the current efforts really are.

Poverty has always been with us, but it is only in recent years in the highly developed countries that there has been sufficient productive capacity to make the elimination of poverty a realistic hope.

As we in this country have worked on it, in my own life-time, the nature of the problem has changed continuously. What we have accomplished in the past 30 years in gaining control of our economic system is immensely impressive.

But we still have deeply embedded pockets of poverty in a generally affluent society. These pockets—and they contain 35 million Americans—won't dissolve with the waving of an economic wand.

We now recognize that poverty is deeply rooted—in the early deprivation of the child, in his parents' lack of education, in their feelings of resignation and apathy and defeat, in the slum environments that confirm such attitudes, and in the urban disorganization that permits—and promotes—a high rate of social casualties.

How do you get at these things? We are working at them today from all sides and at every level of government. You all know about Operation Head Start, about the Neighborhood Youth Corps, about various occupational retraining and job-placement programs. My own Department is deeply involved in many of these efforts, as it is, of course, in vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, in improving slum schools and in strengthening family life.

The fact that some of these efforts give rise to controversy is inevitable. It's inevitable, too, that we shall experience some failures. Everyone wants the Government to be bold and imaginative and infallible—all at the same time. It will never happen. But our approach to the problem today is more broadly based, more inventive and more honest than anything yet tried.

Now let's turn to education. In the last three years 19 major pieces of legislation have been passed. When President Johnson came to office, we were spending less than $4.75 billion on education. This year we will spend $10.2 billion. A few years ago the Office of Education was a relatively insignificant agency; in the last six years its budget has increased 545 percent.

But as in the earlier examples I have given you, I want to take you behind the multibillion dollar figures to some of the human issues we are tackling and I want to talk about problems rather than achievements.

How can we improve the distressingly bad education offered in most low-income areas? How can we overcome the initial educational handicaps of the deeply deprived youngster? What can we do to upgrade the teaching profession and teacher education? How can we better prepare young people for employment? How can we prepare them for lifelong learning? How can we best assist the colleges and universities in this period of rapid expansion?

Thanks to the great legislation of recent years, we are able to make a frontal assault on these problems. And as in all of our other programs, it is a partnership effort, in which we collaborate with all of the States, with the school districts, with the Universities and with professional associations.

I doubt that there has ever been a time in our history when the effort to improve education has been so widely shared. Not only teachers and administrators but school board members, parents, and local officials all over the country have been drawn into the difficult and exciting business of redesigning the educational system.

It isn't a comfortable process for any of them. It isn't supposed to be. But out of it is going to come a better educational system and a better nation.

A corollary problem we're working on is racial equality. As you know, this is not exclusively a Southern issue. It is a national issue, as acute in Buffalo as it is in Birmingham, in Los Angeles as it is in Nashville.

The problem of justice for the Negro has gnawed on the national conscience ever since this Nation was founded. It is in an important sense, *the* American problem.

We are now committed, as a Nation, to solve that problem. Perhaps we were always so commmitted. Freedom, justice, and equality are not mere abstractions. They are the foundations of this society. What we build upon them can only be precarious if they are not firm and sure. In acting to bring Negroes into the full stream of American life, we are doing what must be done to preserve and strengthen the foundations of our society.

This means moving steadily, progressively toward a single school system. It means the removal of racial barriers in hospitals, nursing homes, welfare agencies, and so on. It means serious and insistent efforts to make inroads on Northern *de facto* segregation.

As in all of the earlier issues I've talked about, we face some large, unsolved problems.

How can we repair the deficiencies of education that segregated schooling has left us? How can we teach tolerance and mutual respect to both Negro and white? How can we heal the wounds of all these years of strife and bitterness?

Residential patterns in all our large cities still enforce the cleavage of races. How can we alter these patterns? How can we build bridges of communication and understanding between the Negro ghettos of the cities and their predominantly white suburbs?

I know a lot of people are working on these issues. We need more. We need the best minds, the clearest heads, the warmest hearts. And we need strong, responsible leadership, for people will not go where their leaders will not take them.

If I had the time I'd like to talk to you about a great many more problems that we're at work on—mental illness, aging, juvenile delinquency, problems of addiction, air pollution, home and highway accidents, mental retardation, the safety of new drugs, and so on.

I could show you how every one of these affects intimately the quality of life in our society and more immediately the quality of life in your community.

And that brings me to a final word concerning the purpose of our efforts—the purpose of all our trials and errors and seeking and finding. It is to enhance the individual human being. That is easy to lose sight of because we talk, as we must, of institutions, of processes, of dollars. But their only legitimate purpose is to foster the conditions in which individual lives may be lived humanely.

It is not easy to live the good life in an enormously crowded and complicated world. A lot of rich as well as poor people find it increasingly hard to do so. When we look outward, we see complexity where we yearn for simplicity. When we look inward, all too often we see fragmentation when we long for wholeness.

The world is complex. We must accept that fact and learn to control it, so that as individuals we may be whole and not fragmented. We pass laws and design government programs to try to deal with complexity, to protect individuals from the buffeting of forces they cannot control. But we should never forget the central purpose of laws and government programs in a free society. That is to make the world manageable, so that individuals may have the maximum amount of freedom, freedom to grow and develop, freedom to be what they have in them to be, freedom to choose.

No society can properly define for any indivdual the purpose and meaning of his life. Quite the reverse: the Great Society must create the conditions in which the individual can find his own purpose and meaning in life.

We may fumble frequently in trying to build that kind of society, but our efforts are not an appropriate target for either cynicism or despair.

The American people, and that means you, have tackled some extraordinarily tough problems. Through your elected representatives, you have chosen to face up to some of the realities that comfortable people usually prefer to forget—that in fact many of our children do not have an equal chance, that in fact many of our older people cannot live out their lives in dignity, that we are polluting our streams and lakes and the air we breathe, that most of our cities cannot be a source of pride to a rich and powerful people.

Well, I like the fact that we've tackled the toughest problems we could find. I would never have interrupted my happy and productive life as a private citizen had it not been for my belief that the Johnson Administration and the 89th Congress were plunging into the most complex issues in our national life.

I don't underestimate the difficulty of what we're undertaking. We've committed ourselves to a rugged agenda. But it will be a sad day for this great Nation when we get so placid and comfortable that we no longer bite off more than we can chew. That's what this Nation is about.

The history of American education is one long, turbulent record of a nation that wasn't afraid to risk failure or trouble or confusion in pursuit of a goal that at first seemed wildly impractical: to give every American child a chance to develop to the limit of his ability. It is still one of the most radical ideas in human history, yet it grew out of the American soil as naturally as wheat or corn.

In short, difficult assignments are something we've never avoided. President Johnson said recently that the Great Society is going to have to be built brick by brick in the heat of the day and the noise of the marketplace. That will take visionaries who are not afraid of grinding work. It will take dedicated people who understand how complex and challenging the problems really are.

If you are that kind of person you can share in these great efforts. And when you are very old and people talk about the turning point in our society that began in the 1960's, you san say: "I not only remember it—I was part of it."

Crisis in Detroit's Inner City Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, Detroit's Northern High School recently attracted national attention when its virtually all-Negro student body went out on strike. A victory was scored by the students when the superintendent of schools, Samuel Brownell, removed the veteran Northern principal, Art Carty. But public reaction was negative, even hostile, and this attitude might be reflected in future millage votes. In the barrage of charge and countercharge, a calm, sensitive, and objective article by Jean Sharley appeared in the Detroit Free Press, May 1, 1966. The article stresses a need for public understanding, for although a new deal was claimed, old problems will persist.

Since the problem at Northern is common to many other Detroit schools and, indeed, to all large urban areas, I insert the article in the RECORD, under leave to extend my remarks:

NEED FOR UNDERSTANDING POINTED UP

(By Jean Sharley)

This June, about 260 Northern High School seniors are scheduled to graduate. Less than 50 of them are ready to graduate.

Only 50 will have performed satisfactorily in high school, using city and national reading achievement averages as a guide.

The other 210 read below the city and national norms for 12th grade. More than that write below average. Even more are far below average in mathematics.

Most read at about an eighth-grade level.

As the flareup at Northern calms, at least temporarily, here is a look at these students.

What happened to them? What went wrong?

Most are not hot-shot rebels. They are not juvenile delinquents.

They are 16- and 17-year-old youngsters who probably will get jobs here, get married here, and pass along whatever they have gained in knowledge and social graces to another generation of Detroiters.

For two decades, the majority of the public has tried not to look at these kids; they are expected to attend classes and study and do their homework and graduate and stay out of trouble.

Educators have explained, year after dreary year, that because of a hundred factors they are "culturally disadvantaged" kids, for whom we need to spend more education-tax dollars. Some of the public understood; more didn't.

The need to understand is desperate, and based on cold, hard facts.

Northern is not the only Detroit school turning out youngsters far below average in achievement.

In October, 1965, some 9,510 Detroit students in the first half of their senior years took tests in scholastic ability and in scholastic achievement. Most of these youngsters will graduate in June.

What achievement and aptitude tests show is important. Aptitude scores, which can change, rate a child's ability, compared to that of other children in the country. Achievement scores show, roughly, whether he is working up to his ability.

Neither score tells how good a school or a pupil is, but only what the student has to work with and how much work he has accomplished.

Northern test results showed 47 students doing average or better work in math, and 215 doing below average work. In reading, 50 were average or better, and 210 below average.

In writing and punctuating, 48 were average or above, and 216 below average.

The students in other Inner-City high schools showed similar levels of achievement.

This means that many of these youngsters will not be prepared to take jobs, to go to college or to contribute significantly to the age of specialization into which they are being thrust.

Look at the comparable figures for Redford High School. Year after year Redford battles with Cass Technical High School for the city's top academic position.

Of Radford's 623 first-semester seniors tested last year in math, 479 were doing average work or better, and 144 ranked below the national norms.

At Redford: 436 seniors scored average or better in reading, and 185 scored below average.

At Redford: 425 wrote at or above the average 12th grade level, and 202 wrote below average.

These figures indicate that Redford also has problems, which it does.

But the complete charts show that a great many of the 185 Redford students having trouble with math are lumped not far below the average. They squeak by. A majority of the 215 Northern students below the average in math are at the bottom of the achievement scale.

Such figures never before have been released to a newspaper by the Detroit Public Schools, partly because so many wrong conclusions can be drawn in interpreting them.

Some possible misinterpretations:

Northern kids can't be taught.

Northern kids aren't being exposed to good classes and haven't good teachers.

But look at the 50 Northern students doing above-average work in reading.

About 15 are reading exceptionally well. Several Northern readers are as brilliant as the few top Redford readers. Several Northern seniors are as good in math as the top Redford seniors.

A number of them have come through the Northern High School curriculum since the 10th grade. What they achieved, they achieved at Northern.

What comes through is that intelligence is not a middleclass. Northwest Side monopoly.

Northern kids, like kids everywhere, have inferior, average and superior minds.

Then what's the problem at Northern?

Look at some more statistics, released to the Free Press this week by Dr. Robert K. Lankton, director of educational research for the Detroit Public Schools.

These deal with "scholastic aptitudes"—not achievements.

Aptitude. Dictionaries say the word means the ability or capacity to learn; the inclination to learn; the fitness to learn.

The rating system for aptitude is a percentile scale ranging from one to 100—with 50 the national average.

The citywide Detroit percentile figure is below 50, in the mid-40s.

For Northern High School students, combined aptitude figure is at the 19th percentile, compared to Redford's near-50.

What does it mean?

It means a teacher at Northern or some other inner city school faces a class with less than half the cumulative fitness, inclination, ability or capacity to learn that a Redford class possesses.

It means that teachers at Northern and at any innercity school were scholastic aptitude is low, must try continually to stir their students to learn; to motivate them; to try to make them understand.

"It means," said Dr. Lankton, "that innercity teachers are doing some hard work in pulling achievement marks higher than aptitude."

It means that you cannot fairly or realistically compare Northern High School to Cass Technical High School, where aptitude is high.

At Northern, last October, first-semester seniors were reading at exactly their combined aptitude percentile—19. They were ahead of their aptitude in social studies: 23. Ahead in writing: 26. Ahead in listening comprehension: 25. Behind in science: 18. Behind in math: 17.

While scholastic aptitude is closely related to native ability, it's also a learned ability. It can change.

This is why the schools keep measuring through the 12th grade. The goal in the inner city is to pull the aptitude closer to that of students in average-achievement schools.

Aptitude cannot be shaped entirely in a classroom.

The Northern High youngsters in the pictures do not all live in neat homes with lawns, although some do. More live in flats, duplexes and apartments along Clairmont and John R., an area fast becoming the most densely populated in the city.

As the freeways have come through, more and more families have moved into the area.

There is no urban renewal. There is little community involvement with the school.

There is little concern by the rest of the city, except to drive through—quickly.

Some of the most knowledgeable, people in the school system interviewed dozens of the Northern students privately following the recent walkout.

Their findings were startling:

"It was as if the Northern High School area is not a city community, but a colony, an island," said one assistant superintendent.

"The feeling of abandonment that some of these youngsters have is appalling. The teachers they think are 'good' are the teachers who seem to like them. Almost all of them confessed to feelings of loneliness."

The loneliness comes from many things.

Despite the feeling by many Detroiters that the immigration from the South has ended, statistics show that there is a constant turnover in the inner-city schools. One reported a change of nearly 100 percent in students last year.

In attempting to prepare students for high schools, the local "feeder" junior highs and elementary schools must work with the regulars and with a constant influx of kids who don't know how to sit down correctly, to say nothing of how to read. It takes teachers. Also skill and money.

The Northern student whose family doesn't care what he does as long as he gets out for the day is no exception. Nor is the one who goes to school without sleep or breakfast. Or the one who sleeps with five kids in one bed and who has no place, and no encouragement, to do his homework.

"At one PTA meeting," said a teacher, "the only people who showed up were the ones in charge of refreshments."

If aptitudes can be raised, and if motivation is the answer, where is it going to come from?

"It isn't the job of the schools."

"I don't like smart kids telling off principals: I'll vote against millage."

These two viewpoints can kill whatever hope there is for doing a good educational job in Detroit.

One $60-million school building program was approved a few years ago. A new Eastern High School is being built with part of that money.

Another $60-million school building program was rejected, which is why biology students are studying in drafting rooms, and probably will continue to, at a crumbling Northern High and an aged Northwestern High.

About 10 years ago, Detroit became the pilot city for the Great Cities Improvement Program which proved itself immediately in motivating inner city children to do better. It isn't in all schools because of money.

Eastern High School is a Great Cities School. Was that another reason the Eastern kids didn't walk out last week? Because they have a summer program, an after-school program, a school community agent—the "visible symbols" that somebody cares?

Great Cities costs $37 a child each year to operate. It was two-thirds Ford Foundation money and one-third Detroit money; and its big point is that it involves parents.

"We have to involve parents or we don't succeed," said Carl Marburger, the first director of the program and now assistant superintendent.

"You can take any suburban school, add the lousiest principal, the lousiest teachers. You can still damage the children," he said, "but they will read because of the home reinforcement."

At Northern the remnants of yesterday's glory are all around. It was once the prestige school of Detroit, gathering its students from the plush Boston Blvd., North Woodward area.

Tarnished trophies still in the hall cases point to a hundred champion teams; to great school pride.

There's a fine library at Northern, access to special classes, elective courses. Are they as good as they should be? Are there enough top students to fill such classes?

What happens to the student who transfers from Redford or Cass to Northern?

"It is possible that he might slip into the rut of acceptability," Dr. Lankton said. "He would miss the challenge of a school where more students were performing at a higher level."

It is also possible that he might rebel.

What happens to highly trained teachers working day after day under tense, strained conditions: Crowded schoolrooms, students needing far more time and some needing far more discipline than the teachers have strength to give?

It's possible that they, to might rebel.

What could come out of Northern is the awareness by the community that this is not a simple issue to be dismissed with cliche judgments.

The Second War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I recently had brought to my attention an excellent article by the editor of the Farm Journal magazine on the work which is going on behind the fighting front in Vietnam. This article provides an important summary of the many efforts which are being undertaken to consolidate military victories in the field. Indeed, our best hope for peace in Vietnam and for the eventual stability of the country is to win this second war. I wish to commend the following article to my colleagues' attention:

THAT SECOND WAR IN VIETNAM

(NOTE.—*The most crucial struggle is the one not in the news. A valiant army of Vietnamese aided by brave U.S. AID technicians, IVS farm-boy volunteers, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, are doing some amazing things to win the people to our side.*)

As this is written—April 11—the scene in Vietnam is changing hourly. No one can say whether a stable government can emerge which we or anybody can prop up. As I reported from that country last month, there is no front. There are probably 100,000 Viet Cong right in Saigon, to say nothing of those elsewhere in "our" part of Vietnam.

Militarily we are winning, but whether the South Vietnamese can pull themselves together remains to be seen. If they can—

Vietnam could be one of the garden spots of the world, and ironically the war could help it become just that.

If so, a valiant band of American ag specialists, ex-county agents, educators, doctors and other civilians will have had a large hand in it. Their deeds are one of the great untold stories of the war.

Some of our ag specialists over there say that the fabulous Mekong Delta, one of the great rice bowls of the world, could produce eight times more. If the war will allow they'll show it how. They've done a lot already. The highland plateaus of the interior, practically unfarmed now except for an occasional rubber or tea plantation, could be raising good grain crops and grazing a lot of cattle.

The farmers are hard-working, intelligent and "just pretty wonderful people," says Jim Linn of New Jersey, one of our International Voluntary Services boys who lives and works out among them.

Most Vietnamese would like to be on our side and will be anytime (1) we can convince them we are going to be the winners (nobody here dares be caught among the losers), (2) when their own government can give them security and a safe bed at night, and (3) when they see that we can really bring them a better life. Last month I discussed the military and village-security aspects. Now let's look at the "farm war," equally important.

We've shipped mountains of supplies—fertilizer, insecticides, seed, feed, cement, galvanized roofing, reinforcing bars, pumps, windmills, knapsacks, sprayers, Rhode Island Red roosters, Yorkshire and Berkshire hogs, Santa Gertrudis bulls, and rat poison.

We have sent over 26 excellent, hard-working ag scientists, who are exposed to danger daily. (We need three times that many, but more are on the way.)

Also, we have 13 IVS boys there and we're aiming to have 40 more. International Voluntary Services, a non-governmental outfit of fellows in their 20s, pre-dated the Peace Corps by several years and furnished the pattern for it. "They're absolutely tops," says Karl van Haeften, chief of our ag mission in Vietnam, and I agree.

Other countries are in this second war with us, too. The Chinese, from Taiwan, have 72 men here in agriculture, (300 in all counting industrial projects) and do a great job. These men are Asiatics, not white Americans. They know Asiatic farming. They've plowed with water buffaloes. Barefooted, they get right in the field alongside Vietnamese farmers.

The Japanese have helped boost Vietnam's fish harvest from the sea and farm ponds five times over since 1959, have motorized 10,500 sampans, introduced nylon nets, and bigger boats. We have built bigger wharfs and cold storage.

Americans in Vietnam are working a dozen unpublicized miracles.

Let's start with rats, which in 1962 in some areas were gobbling 35% of all the grain. It was estimated there were 1,000 rats per person!

When Ray Russell of U.S. AID tried to move out a big cache of rice captured from the VC he couldn't find a single gunny sack in the whole province without a rat hole in it. He flew in 50,000 bags.

We shipped in ten tons of rat poison, organized village rat-control committees, with no less than the village chiefs as chairmen, paid 10c per tail for all tails over 100.

In three years, some 88 million rats were exterminated. The savings in food were enough to feed all Vietnam for 18 days. Bubonic plague, carried by rat-borne fleas, subsided. And the whole campaign cost only $100,000 of U.S. AID.

There's a catch, though. Rats still abound in farm country held by the VC (an that's most of it), and reinfested the rest.

Vietnamese farmers are enthusiastic about fertilizer. They're clamoring for more—at least three times more—and will gladly pay for it. We don't have to give it to them. Trouble is we can't deliver it because most roads are controlled by the VC. We're about to land it on beaches by the same landing craft that brought the Marines in.

Till now, farmers there have accepted insects as an act of God. Now everywhere you see men and women with knapsack sprayers, poisoning bugs on crops. And nowhere have I seen so many to poison.

One thriving project interrupted by the war was the pig-corn deal. We shipped in cement to build thousands of floors for little pig sties, plus a great pile of our surplus corn (much of it wormy, incidentally).

A good many pig sties are empty now because the VC blocks the supply of feed. Open the roads, and you'll soon find a lot of hogs in Vietnam. Good hogs, too. The native pig is a pathetic little creature with a sway back and a belly nearly dragging the ground, but the good Berks and Yorks brought in from the U.S., Taiwan and Japan are fixing that.

Incidentally, the biggest hog operation I saw is owned by a Catholic priest, Father Vinh Loc of Can Tho. He has 150 head.

The increase in crop yields has been phenomenal—25% to 100%, and in the case of a yam (Okinawa 100) it is 250%. We brought in 74 varieties of sugar cane and from them finally selected three. The eight experiment stations in the country have tried 800 varieties of rice, settling on 25.

The Chinese and the U.S. have introduced seven entirely new crops that are now good money-makers: Irish potatoes, strawberries, avocados, big white onions, garlic, cow peas and sorghum.

Lloyd Clyburn, our agricultural advisor for five northern provinces, discovered that almost no one had a garden. Using Extension methods from back in Texas, he now has 7,000 gardens. They look good, too.

Chuck Simmons of IVS, a Negro boy from North Carolina, has pushed better poultry. The native hen is the size of a prairie chicken and almost as wild. Chuck brought in Rhode Island Red roosters and doled them out to farmers who promised to kill their native roosters. The one thing in which the native cocks are far superior is fighting. They can kill a meaty Rhode Island Red in a hurry.

All this works because Vietnam has a fairly good Extension Service.

It also helps that Vietnam has 1,200 4–T Clubs (modeled on our 4–H) with 46,000 members, all the way from school children to 40-year-olds.

Even among one primitive mountain tribe, Don Wadley of Pleasant Valley, Utah has 300 girls learning to sew on 32 machines.

Our personnel are careful to see that the Vietnamese know these are their programs, and that we are there only to advise.

"We welcome your help and need more of it," Lam Van Tri, the able Minister of Agriculture told me. "Please convey to the farmers of America our deep gratitude in our struggle in this difficult time."

Self-help projects—where we furnish the materials and the Vietnamese do the work—have built hundreds of schools, warehouses, village wells, landings along canals, etc. It's a good idea. What they build is theirs, not ours. The VC know how the people feel and are careful not to destroy these objects of community pride.

Our aid to education has been brilliant. Here, as everywhere, the quickest way to win a friend is to do something for his children. Moreover, the Vietnamese, like the Chinese, have a deep respect for learning. The man most admired is not the richest but the wisest.

Since early 1963 we have furnished materials for 5,500 classrooms and money to train 5,600 teachers. We've distributed six million textbooks—the first school books these kids ever had. Some of these children proudly showed me their new books and read for me.

Our "Doctors in Vietnam" project is keeping 30 to 40 American physicians over there for two months each. "At home I'm a surgeon." Dr. J. C. McBratney of South Dartmouth, Mass., told me, "over here I'm a country doctor."

A military adviser, Lt. Col. Bob Storm of Avon, Conn., saw so many children with harelip and cleft palate that he induced Dr. Joseph O'Malley, to journey from Danang up to Quang Tri to demonstrate 28 cleft palate operations in three days before local doctors. One grateful father told O'Malley, "You have just given each little girl a husband and each little boy a wife."

Has all this a chance? Can our good works prevail over terrorism, war-weariness and civil war?

That will depend on whether the government, whatever it turns out to be, wants us to go on or happens to invite us to get out of the country.

We can win the military battle, in fact we are winning it. But whether it is possible to build a viable country on the political and religious sands of South Vietnam is still a good question. It's too early to tell. Also it's too early to despair. The news is disconcerting, even discouraging, but the game is by no means up.

One thing sure: whatever happens, Vietnam will forever be better off because a valiant band of Americans have been showing the people there how to raise food, keep well, and educate their children. That much will last.

Bicentennial Commemoration of Birth of Sequoya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. MACKAY
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. MACKAY. Mr. Speaker, this morning at 9 a.m. a gigantic sequoia redwood tree was presented on the Capitol grounds. This tree was provided by Mrs. Sidney Ruskin, known to the Cherokee as Princess Chewani.

The ceremony was most impressive, and the significance of the symbol that this sequoia redwood maintains gave emphasis to the occasion.

The tree is a dedication to the memory of the great Chief Sequoya who, even though he was an illiterate, is listed as one of the 12 men in all human history who has invented an alphabet. Sequoya gave his people an alphabet which worked a revolution. It gave the Cherokee an opportunity to become educated. It greatly helped the early missionaries to convert the Cherokees to Christianity by making possible the translations of the New Testament, sermons, and hymns, into their native language.

Mrs. Ruskin, Princess Chewani of the Cherokee, was the national chairman of the bicentennial commemoration of the birth of Sequoya in 1960. She instigated programs honoring the great leader in all the States where he lived. Mrs. Ruskin is my constituent from the Fourth District of Georgia. This great woman, who is dedicated to the memory of Sequoya, donated the gigantic sequoia redwood tree to the Capitol in 1961. This morning we presented in a formal ceremony that tree which has grown from a 2-foot seedling to 12 feet in height since 1961. It now stands in its permanent place of growth on the lawn of the Capitol under the Grotto.

I would like to include at this point in the Appendix a report of the activities of Princess Chewani:

THE BICENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION OF THE BIRTH OF SEQUOYA, 1960–62 ACTIVITIES OF MRS. SIDNEY H. RUSKIN, DECATUR, GA., NATIONWIDE CHAIRMAN OF PROGRAMS HONORING SEQUOYA

As National Chairman of the Bicentennial Commemoration of the Birth of Sequoya in 1960, Mrs. Ruskin instigated programs honoring the great leader in all the states where he lived and labored. Because of the many people who wanted a part in honoring this famous Cherokee Indian on his 200th birthday anniversary, permission was granted to extend the Observances into the year 1962.

There is no documented evidence as to the exact date of Sequoya's birth. However, the Smithsonian Institution is our best evidence. Dr. James Mooney, in his Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, states: ". . . according to personal information of James Wafford, who knew him (Sequoya) well, being his second cousin, Sequoya was probably born about the year 1760. . . ." Dr. William H. Gilbert, Head of Research in the Library of Congress writes: ". . . . to the best of my present knowledge, the date given by James Mooney for Sequoya's birth has not been invalidated . . . this must serve only as a best possible guess at an unknown fact."

Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., present Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, in a letter, commends the Bicentennial Observances saying, "I think it fitting that you people are holding a Bicentennial Commemoration of the Birth of Sequoyah, the famous Cherokee leader. He certainly merits such recognition."

EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN 1960 INSTIGATED BY THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, MRS. RUSKIN

Mr. Leon V. Langan, Acting Commissioner, bureau of Indian Affairs, requested Mrs. Sidney Ruskin to submit a resolution memorializing Sequoya on his 200th birthday anniversary. Such a resolution was to be approved by Chiefs W. W. Keeler and O. B. Saunooke and submitted to The Congress through their representatives for final passage and for insertion in the Congressional Record. Such a resolution was submitted to the Chiefs.

Claremore, Oklahoma, dramatic reading in costume "The White Man's Magic" by author, Mrs. Sidney Ruskin, for Pocahontas Club, composed of Cherokee women, descendants of those who trudged the Trail of Tears.

May 7, Homecoming Day, Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma. In Tahlequah, the old Cherokee capital, "The White Man's Magic," with a cast of Indians, produced by the Drama Department of Northeastern State College.

Many years ago, Mrs. Ruskin went to the Superintendent of DeKalb County Schools with a request that, as new schools were being built, one might bear the name of the Cherokee educator, Sequoya. In 1960, the Sequoya school was dedicated.

Large picture of Sequoya presented to Sequoya school by Mrs. Ruskin at which time a performance of, "The White Man's Magic," as a dramatic reading was given.

Pilgrimage to site of Sequoya's birthplace below Knoxville, Tennessee, by Cherokee Indians from the reservation in North Carolina.

Reading of play, "The White Man's Magic," in Cherokee costume. The Robert Burn's Club of Atlanta, a club composed for the most part of men of Scottish descent.

American Association of University Women, Atlanta Art Museum. Tea and reception. Purpose, viewing Mrs. Ruskin's Cherokee artifacts. Viewing an artist's colored lithograph of Sequoya, part of the Bushnell Collection, from Peabody Museum at Harvard University loaned to the Museum for the occasion. Indian food and gave demonstrations, artifact lecture. Mrs. Ruskin.

Production "The White Man's Magic,". Asheville, North Carolina. Drama Club of Asheville-Biltmore College.

Though not a part of the Bicentennial Observances, a book was published in 1960, entitled, "Sequoyah, Young Cherokee Guide," by Dorothea J. Snow. This book was one in a series called, "Childhood of Famous Americans."

Article on Sequoya in the Atlanta Constitution by staff writer, Marjorie Rutherford.

Planting of Sequoia Gigantea seedling, campus of Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia.

Display of Indian artifacts. Dramatic reading of, "The White Man's Magic," for North Alabama Historical Association. Russell Erskine Hotel, Huntsville, Alabama.

Large development of homes at Doraville, Georgia, named "Sequoya Woods." In this development a million dollar high school was built and the name of Sequoya was transferred from the DeKalb elementary school to the new high school. Presentation of large hand-drawn copy of Cherokee alphabet and talk on Sequoya's niche in history on dedication program. Mrs. Ruskin.

Association on American Indian Affairs, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Established a $1000 educational scholarship in memory of Sequoya. A letter of commendation was written.

Speaker for Optomist Club. Subject, "Sequoya and his Alphabet." Georgian Terrace Hotel. Mrs. Ruskin.

EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN 1961

Planting of Sequoia Gigantea tree, headquarters of Authors and Artists Club, Lookout Mountain, Tennessee.

Planting of Sequoia Gigantea tree, campus of University of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Dramatic reading in costume of, "The White Man's Magic"—Brotherhood Sweetheart Banquet—Beecher Hill Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.

Planting of Sequoia Gigantea tree, University of Alabama, Huntsville Center, Huntsville, Alabama.

Georgia Educational Journal—January, 1961 issue. Wrote article on Sequoya for this publication which also bore picture of Sequoya on cover.

Mrs. Ruskin's appearances on television, speaking in Cherokee costume.

A. Three programs for viewing in Atlanta schools, Atlanta School System, Social Science program, channel 30.

B. With Bernice McCullar, Director of Information, State Department of Education; subject, History, channel 8, for viewing in schools of the state.

C. Two programs with Mrs. Lynda Moore, Music Programs, State Department of Education, channel 8, for viewing in schools over the state.

Planting of Sequoia Gigantea tree, campus of University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Planting of Sequoia Gigantea tree, Cherokee Indian Reservation, Cherokee, North Carolina.

June 22, 1961, Washington, D.C., planting of Sequoia Gigantea tree in Capitol Conservatory, with appropriate ceremony.

Wreath-laying ceremony at Sequoya Statue, Statuary Hall, Washington, D.C.

Reception for Participants by late Senator Robert S. Kerr, Washington, D.C.

EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN 1962

Participation in program for unveiling of Statue of Sequoya on old Courthouse Grounds, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, to be placed later, in Indian Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Dedication of Permanent Historical Shrine in memory of Sequoya, Dover, Arkansas.

(After visiting in Williamsburg, Virginia, and seeing how successfully the old city had been restored, I returned to Georgia and wrote a letter which was published in the Atlanta Constitution (September 17, 1948) suggesting that New Echota, capital-city of the Cherokee Nation, be restored in like manner. It was here that the famous Cherokee Phoenix, first Indian newspaper, was published following Sequoya's invention of the Cherokee syllabary or alphabet. New Echota was restored and it was fitting that the dedication occurred during the Bicentennial Commemoration of Sequoya's Birth.)

May 17, 1962, attended dedication of New Echota, near Calhoun and Rome, Georgia.

National Congress of American Indians met at Cherokee, North Carolina, September 2–7. Dramatic reading of play, "The White Man's Magic," Sequoya's name placed in nomination for Hall of Fame for Great Americans.

FUTURE PLANS FOR HONORING SEQUOYA

As National Chairman of the Sequoya Observances, Mrs. Ruskin worked in the following ways to have a stamp issued commemorating Sequoya on his 200th birthday anniversary.

A. Wrote her request to the Hon. Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General.

B. Following Mr. Summerfield's term in office, submitted request to Postmaster General J. Edward Day.

C. At convention of the National Congress of American Indians at Cherokee, North Carolina, September 6, 1962, Mrs. Ruskin formed a resolution requesting a Sequoya commemorative stamp. It was unanimously passed by the Congress and the executive director of NCAI was named to make the proper contacts and work for stamp. This resolution is still in effect and work is being done for this project of the National Congress of American Indians. The convention of the National Congress of American Indians at Cherokee, ended the official commemoration of Sequoya's birth.

Philadelphia: Redtape Nightmare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the controversy about antigun legislation continues to wax warm. A Senate subcommittee has reported the controversial and restrictive Dodd bill. I think it well to call attention to what has taken place in nearby Philadelphia as a result of the adoption of restrictive ordinances very similar in nature to the proposals of the Dodd bill. The article is from the pen of Mr. Richard Starnes in the May 1966 issue of Field & Stream. It is thought provoking—even frightening. It is entitled "Philadelphia: Redtape Nightmare."

The article is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA: REDTAPE NIGHTMARE

(By Richard Starnes).

PHILADELPHIA.—Recently I spent a day here, and I spent it being fingerprinted, mug-shot, questioned by various tentacles of a burgeoning bureaucracy and, in sum, being subjected to the sort of treatment that would traumatize a thirty-year man in the Cosa Nostra.

Had I been caught transgressing against the good order of the City of Brotherly Love? Was I collared while peeling the lid off a poor box? Pushing pot among Main Line sub-debs? Suborning some blameless Philadelphia lawyer? Not at all. In a spirit of scientific inquiry I was merely enduring the statutory indignities that anyone must undergo in order legally to purchase a firearm in Philadelphia.

With the aid of a long-suffering firearms dealer who has all but been put out of the gun business by the city's year-old gun law, I was going through the motions of trying to buy a shotgun. Not a handgun, mind you, but a straightforward fowling piece. What I discovered was a redtape nightmare that may well cast the shadow of coming nationwide legislation—if the gun prohibitionists get their way.

At Al Zilligan's M & H Sporting Goods store on Market Street I went to an otherwise deserted gun counter and picked out an automatic shotgun. The Philadelphia Department of Licenses (which privately makes no secret of the profound reservations it has about the effectiveness of the law) has done a reasonably efficient job of implementing a statute that is basically unenforceable, unfair, and ineffective. It has issued a directive that attempts to simplify the provisions of the law so that dealers and customers can do business without getting the police on their necks. The directive runs for two closely typed pages, and it is small wonder that many would-be gun purchasers take one look at it and change their minds. Typically they decide (a) to give up the idea entirely or (b) to purchase a gun outside the city.

For the buyer who persists, however, the ritual goes as follows:

When the customer has decided on a gun, a form (the first of many) must be filled out—in quintuplicate. Required is date, name of purchaser, his occupation, his employer, his signature, and the signature of the seller. The purchaser must sign a statement affirming that he has never been convicted of a crime of violence in "the State of Pennsylvania or elsewhere." He must list his place of birth, date and place of naturalization if applicable, sex, age, race, height, weight, and color of hair and eyes. Make, model, caliber, barrel length, and manufacturer's number of the firearm must be noted on the form.

"Up to this point," Al Zilligan remarks ruefully when the form is complete, "the law has accomplished absolutely nothing. What the City Council didn't understand is that from the day we opened our doors in 1932 we have kept complete records of every gun we've ever sold—not just handguns but shotguns and rifles as well. The FBI, the state police, and Philadelphia detectives have always had complete access to our records."

But now that the form is filled out, may I take my new shotgun and admire it while I freeze in some desolate duck blind? Not by half, sonny. The spinners of red tape have only just started to strangle you. You get a receipt for the purchase price of the firearm and one copy of the form. That's all you get, for the shotgun will stay on Al's shelves until the bureaucratic mills finish grinding out your case. The process may take up to a month.

Your next stop is the Municipal Services Building in downtown Philadelphia. If you happen to live in the far reaches of the city, it is just tough luck; you'll have to stake out half a day to make the trip downtown. The people who run the Department of Licenses are uniformly polite and efficient. You take a numbered ticket that is spit at you by a machine, and when your number is called you take a chair at the desk of an interviewer. Another form? Yep, and one that makes you realize the one you filled out at the gun shop was no more than a preliminary inconvenience on the obstacle course that has been laid out for you to follow if you want to become a gun owner.

In addition to the information previously required, the Department of Licenses now wants to know where I've lived for the past five years, my aliases if any, marital status, present business or occupation, any jobs I've held in the previous five years, whether my landlord will permit me to keep a firearm on the premises, my reasons in detail for wanting a gun in the first place, my complete record of arrests if I have any, and once more my signature under a statement declaring that I have given no false information.

There is space for a passport-size photo and, as many applicants do, I have misunderstood that part of the ritual. You must provide your own photos. The Department of Licenses will fingerprint you, but it won't mug you. "There's a place across the square, next to the cafeteria," the helpful young lady who is taking my pedigree tells me.

The place turns out to be a sleazy penny arcade that makes license photos as a sideline to a thriving pinball-machine business. It isn't much, but then I'm not Rock Hudson. I give the proprietor 75 cents, and in a quarter of an hour he hands me two fuzzy shots of a hard case who would make any experienced safe and loft squad sleuth freeze to an instant point.

Back at the Department of Licenses I am passed on to the fingerprint desk. In the course of military service I was fingerprinted several times, just as everyone was. It has happened to me any number of times since, under the auspices of the Secret Service (for White House press credentials), the Department of Defense (so that I could be ordained to cover some shooting war or other), and at the hands of various foreign countries that were trying to find reasons for refusing to let me visit them. It will unquestionably happen to me many times in the future. But I shall never grow accustomed to it. Being fingerprinted is perhaps necessary in some situations, but it never stops being an indignity. It is a calculated humiliation, something society does to an ill-tempered sort who just bashed his old lady with the telly.

Eventually, after I had provided a set of prints for the FBI, the Philadelphia police and the License Bureau, I was permitted to wash my hands. So far I had invested more than two hours in trying to persuade the city to permit me to purchase a shotgun. Was I finished? Not a bit of it. Now I must go to the cashier's counter and give him a dollar, and that finishes me with the Department of Licenses.

Now may I return to Al Zilligan's and claim my shotgun?

Get back in line, buddy; the fun has just begun. The License chaps are through with me, all right, but the Police Department isn't. My fingerprints, mug shots, and pedigree now go to the police. They will spend from ten to thirty days investigating me, searching my fingerprints, seeking any record of criminal behavior, trying to determine whether I am some fire-eating subversive. If I pass their scrutiny, they will mail me my license. Then, and only then, may I return to Al's store and take possession of my shotgun.

But suppose the police decide I'm not the sort of person who ought to own a firearm? Hard lines, mister. Most lawyers think the Philadelphia law leaves no appeal from the decision of the Police Department.

Few people will bother with the redtape, the time wasting, the inconvenience, and the systematic humiliation. Legal gun sales are off from 33 to 90 percent in Philadelphia, and more than a dozen former dealers have closed their gun departments entirely. But agreeing that the law does impose enormous burdens on the gun dealer and the honest citizen, isn't it worth it if firearms are being kept out of the hands of hoodlums and psychopaths?

Well, it might be at that. But Philadelphia is discovering that its gun law, like New York's notorious Sullivan Law, simply doesn't work. Its failure is amply documented. Heed the words of William F. Killeen, who until January of this year was Philadelphia's assistant district attorney in charge of prosecuting homicide cases.

"The ordinance is not having any effect on crime," he says. "There has been no appreciable increase or decrease in the percentage of crimes involving firearms since the ordinance went into effect. There has been an increase in crimes of violence. This ordinance has had no effect on these crimes. The only effect this ordinance has had is an adverse effect on legitimate firearms dealers in the city. It has forced people to buy firearms in the suburbs.

"I know the pattern of homicides and crimes of violence, having been assistant district attorney for two years. This law does not affect that pattern at all."

To Lawyer Killeen there is no mystery about the causes of violent crime. "This is a short-sighted bill and doesn't get at the root of the problem. The root is poverty, ignorance, and socio-economic problems.

"What criminal is going to worry about violating this ordinance when the penalty is $300 and/or ninety days? A criminal is not going to worry about a permit to get a gun when he is thinking of committing crimes that carry ten- to twenty-year sentences. I believe that this ordinance was panic legislation resulting from the assassination of President Kennedy."

The most hostile antigun crank would have trouble in attacking Mr. Killeen's credentials as an expert witness. Another lawyer whose opinion is worth recording is Frederick H. Starling III, president of the Pennsylvania State Fish and Game Protective Association.

"It is to be remembered," he says, "that weapons in themselves do not commit crimes. Neither do decent law-abiding citizens. Therefore any legislation against the weapon or against the law-abiding citizen is a fallacy.

I do not believe that this ordinance is working at all. It is not cutting crime. It is just hurting the honest, law-abiding citizen. To diminish crime you do not attack the ownership of firearms, you attack the social evils that cause crime."

Note well that neither of these men fits the stereotype that has been so assiduously fostered by the noisy antigun lobby. The two men are not paranoid neo-Nazis arming to ward off some imagined leftwing coup. Both are respected lawyers; both spoke after watching the workings of Philadelphia's rigidly prohibitionist gun law for nearly a year. Both know whereof they speak.

We will invoke another expert witness, and one who offers some shrewd insights into how witless laws such as the one at hand come into being. He is City Councilman Gaetano P. Giordano. Councilman Giordano voted for the law when it was adopted in March of 1965, and he is bluntly candid about why he did.

"Politicians get nervous," is how he sums it up.

"There was a crime wave at the time they passed the ordinance. They passed it so they could say they did something about crime. And it's not working. It's just giving people a headache who want to buy a gun.

"I'm definitely against this gun law. You can see that it is not cutting crime in the city. Besides, if you are going to commit a crime, you are not going to get a purchase permit to buy a gun first."

A politician who will own up that he has been wrong is a rare and honest man. "I would like to repeal this law," Councilman Giordano says. It's a joke. Everytime there's a crime the politicians blame the gun. The answer to this crime problem is not to attack the gun; it's to attack the causes of crime." Like attorney Killeen he cites poverty and ignorance as prime causes.

"Start attacking the roots of crime at the home," he continued. "My father's word was law when I was a boy, but it isn't that way in homes today. A firearm is part of the American way of life—a way of life I went to war to protect. I think this gun ordinance is the biggest fiasco in the country."

The melancholy record of crime in Philadelphia bears out the councilman's opinion of the effectiveness of the law. Like most American cities, Philadelphia is faced with a rapid increase in the incidence of violent crime. The gun law has not slowed it. Late last year, after more than eight months of experience with the new law, Police Chief Inspector Harold Fox could offer no evidence that the gun law had done any of the things its eager backers promised it would do.

"Actually," he said, "we already have had more homicides than in all of 1964, and from the top of my head I'd guess that about 40 percent involved guns. But the number of homicides has kept climbing every year and we have no way of knowing whether this year's rate is any lower than it would have been without our effort to keep guns out of the hands of irresponsible persons."

But although it is not possible to show that the gun law has had any dampening effect on crime, it is painfully easy to show that it has hurt a great many reputable businessmen.

From April 15, 1965, until the end of that year the Department of Licenses issued 2,400 purchase permits. In a normal year, Philadelphia dealers estimate, they sold between 35,000 and 40,000 firearms. Irv Joffe, of Joffe's Gun Shop, submitted figures to the City Council showing the ruinous effect the law has had on Philadelphia outfitters.

"By September 1, six months after the ordinance went into effect, fourteen stores out of the city's eighty-two gun dealers discontinued the sale of guns," Mr. Joffe said.

"In 1964—the last full year before the law was adopted—estimated gun sales totaled about $5 million. Estimated sales for 1965 totaled about $2.2 million. That means, among other things, that the city lost an estimated $82,000 in taxes just from the sale of guns. But it is actually worse than that. In my opinion there is about a five to one ratio between the amount a person spends on hunting and shooting accessories and the amount spent on guns. In other words a persons may spend $5 for ammunition, gun cases, shooting clothes, and the like for every $1 he spends on a gun. If this is the case, then the city also lost about $410,000 on taxes on accessories. Total taxes lost to the city in the first partial year of operation of the law could run in the neighborhood of $500,000.

"In my opinion the loss in sales was about 94 percent. From what I can see the only sales in the city are handguns for protection. The sale of rifles and shotguns has all but stopped. But this doesn't mean that Philadelphians have stopped buying firearms; it only means that they are not buying them in the city. They are buying them outside the city."

One of the provisions of the controversial law makes it illegal to purchase a firearm (rifle, shotgun, or handgun) outside the city and then bring it into Philadelphia. Even a hunter going from, say, Camden, New Jersey, to western Pennsylvania would have to obtain a license to transport his firearm through Philadelphia if he observed the letter of the law. But obviously neither the letter nor the spirit of the law is being observed, nor is there any serious attempt to enforce its more far-flung provisions.

"A black market in firearms has been created by this ordinance," dealer Joffe said. "People are simply buying their guns outside the city and bringing them in."

"Under the old system," Al Zilligan points out, "the authorities had a good line on every gun that was sold. They don't now, however, because most of the guns are being bought outside the city. The legislation is utterly self-defeating as a policing measure.

James Colosimo, one of the city's biggest retailers, makes a point that illustrates the side effects of the hastily conceived gun law. Mr. Colosimo, who estimates that his sales of sporting firearms are 70 percent off, also has experienced a tremendous drop in the sale of hunting licenses. "I sold 500 hunting licenses during 1964," he says, "and in 1965 I sold only 200."

The objective reporter cannot escape the conclusion that Philadelphia's gun law is a failure. So far as anyone can learn it has not prevented one crime. It has plainly created the same atmosphere of contempt for law that all bad legislation creates. Like Prohibition, it has dried up only legitimate commerce. The hoodlum will continue to obtain his weapons from underworld sources or by stealing them. The law-abiding hunter or target shooter is given the choice of knuckling under to a grossly inequitable law, at great inconvenience to himself, or becoming a lawbreaker by circumventing it. Reputable dealers, as we have seen, are being deprived of their right to earn a livelihood.

Does this documented and unchallenged record of failure mean that Philadelphia's misbegotten gun law is fated for quick repeal? Unfortunately for the city's outdoorsmen, dealers, and licensing authorities, it means nothing of the sort. Bad laws have a species of immortality. In spite of an appalling record of gangsterism and official corruption, it took fourteen years to repeal the grisly nonsense that Americans remember as Prohibition. The same non-think and the same craven ward politics that brought Philadelphia's gun law into being will doubtless keep it alive for a long time. There are probably few members of the City Council who will not concede that it is a thoroughly bad law, but there are even fewer with the courage of Councilman Giordano to stand up and admit that they have made a mistake. Except for a handful of minor amendments, the City Council is not likely to make any changes in the law within the near future. Like the Sullivan Law in New York, it seems destined to haunt whole generations of shooters and gun collectors.

There is one more sad note, and if it sounds like weeping over spilled milk, it should. Philadelphia sportsmen did a notably poor job of defending themselves against the law when it was being debated a year ago. Most of them remained indifferent until it was too late, and of the few who joined the battle there were some who did more harm than good. Several City Councilmen reported at the time that they had been subjected to abusive and threatening telephone calls in the middle of the night from self-styled sportsmen and gun hobbyists. All that was accomplished by these tactics was to confirm the libelous image that the antigun cranks and do-gooders were so busy spreading.

The Philadelphia story proved again that the time to prevent bad legislation is before it is passed. It is a lesson that outdoorsmen had better take to heart while the Congress is debating the myriad of proposed gun laws that is before it now.

Fair Labor Standards Amendment of 1966

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H.R. 13712 to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to announce my support for H.R. 13712, the minimum wage bill, which is before us today. In some ways, I consider it inadequate. I like the more extended coverage and the higher minimums offered in the bill proposed by our former colleague, Representative James Roosevelt. But I recognize that the compromises made to draft the bill now under consideration are not the consequence of expedience alone.

We are in a period when inflation threatens. We all know it and President Johnson knows it. But neither I nor the President feels that those at the bottom of the wage scale must be called upon for the greatest sacrifices. It is very easy for those not affected by an increase in the minimum wage to decry its inflationary impact. I say that the burden for combating inflation must be put upon those who can best afford it, not upon those who can afford it least. That is why H.R. 13712 is a good bill. It is a compromise drawn up by leaders from labor, Congress, and the administration with the good of the public as well as the workingman in mind. I do not believe we can delay enactment of this measure any longer. The inequities to which it points call out for correction. I support it wholeheartedly.

I am particularly pleased that this bill brings under the umbrella of the minimum wage law some 6,600,000 workers who were never covered before. Many who toil for their living in my own district will feel the impact of this law when it begins to take effect next February. It will, as have its predecessors in the minimum wage field, elevate standards of living generally. I do not regard $1.60 an hour as much of a wage, frankly. It is barely at the subsistence level. But many know wages far lower than that and, for them, it will mean a substantial improvement in the quality of life. This bill is testimony that our society knows how to offer more to its least rewarded members. I urge all my colleagues to support it.

What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 9, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, each year the youth of Nebraska compete in a very worthwhile essay contest sponsored by the Nebraska Rural Electric Association. These young people are asked to write essays on "What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community." The winners of this contest take part in a Nebraska Youth Tour to Washington to see our representative form of government in operation.

It is a real honor to be able to include four of these prize-winning essays in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I hope my distinguished colleagues will find them as interesting and informative as I did:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION AND HOW IT EFFECTS OUR LIVES

(Information.—My name, Gary Haussermann; age, 15; grade, sophomore; school, Stamford High School; name of father, Paul Haussermann, Stamford, Nebr.

(Contestant sponsored by the Twin Valleys Public Power District, Cambridge, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

It is not amazing how much rural life has changed since 1935, when Congress passed the Rural Electrification Administration Act. In 1935, only ten per cent of the farms in the United States were wired with electricity. Today, over ninety-eight per cent of the farms are supplied with electrical power. In every part of life, from the electric tooth brush to the highly complex dairy installations electric power is utilized. We are using and enjoying electricity in ways that not long ago were mere whims of our imagination.

In 1940, twenty-three states were receiving help from R.E.A. The McCook Public Power District was formed in 1941. This was the first attempt of organization of a rural electrification association in my area. The War came and the organization was disbanded. In 1944, Twin Valleys formed the Twin Valleys Electric Membership Association by request of the late Senator Butler. The Twin Valleys Electric Membership Association was later changed to Twin Valleys Public Power District because of Nebraska's laws unfavorable to cooperatives regarding taxes.

During the last twenty-five years, while living costs have doubled, the average price of residential electricity has been cut more than forty per cent. The average cost of electricity on farms in Nebraska is $16.40 monthly. This proves that electricity is a cheaper, more economical fuel. The cost of running and maintaining R.E.A. at an all-time low, demonstrates the usefulness of this organization to the Nebraska farmer.

This versatile helper which is silent, invisible, incredibly fast and powerful; is usually taken for granted. Electricity is not given credit for what it is worth. As the use of electricity has increased, the service of the Twin Valleys has greatly improved. The services have increased until today very few main electrical problems occur. These problems are always taken care of in a short time by a constantly available crew of expert electricians.

Electricity is truly an invisible work-horse in our lives. This never ending energy is always bringing us heat, light, and power. It is there in the morning, all through the day, and remains overnight every day of the year.

Farmers would have to work much harder to make a living. Electricity runs our milking machines and irrigation pumps. It lights our farmsteads both inside and out. New mercury vapor yard lights provide the necessary illumination when the farmer's day extends beyond the setting of the sun. Electric power operates farrowing houses and cattle feeding systems. Our tank heaters, welders, and augers are also run by electricity. The home also shares in the advantages of rural electric power. Electric ranges, refrigerators, washers, dryers, and televisions are but a few of the numerous articles operated by electricity.

The effect of rural electrification on our lives is so great that it can hardly be measured. Electricity gets to the job, whatever it might be, quickly and quietly. It eliminates laborious jobs and provides us with necessities and comforts.

The progress of the Rural Electrification program, the contributions of electricity and the opportunities it has provided are best summed up in the theme of this year's National Electric Week: "Electricity Makes a World of Difference."

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

(Information—My name, Janis Geu; age, 15; grade, sophomore; school, Sidney High School; name of father, Earl Geu, R. R. No. 1, Box 75, Sidney, Nebr.

(Contestant sponsored by the Wheatbelt Public Power District, Sidney, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Rural Electrification—this is a term which would have brought puzzled looks to the faces of most Americans before 1935.

Up to that time, the rural life of America had remained relatively unchanged for generations. Grandma and Grandpa, just like their ancestors, still got up at the crack of dawn, hurried out into the dark barnyard, milked the cows on a three-legged stool, fed the livestock with pail and pitchfork, and six months out of the year, broke the ice in the tank with pick or axe. Then Grandpa carried the milk up to the house, and set it in the pantry to be separated and cooled. Meanwhile, Grandma started breakfast on the big, wood-burning stove in the kitchen. Then she carried water from the windmill to be heated for the week's washing—a back-breaking job which was an all-day process. Grandpa farmed on a small scale, with only the rain to depend upon for adequate moisture for his crops.

But in one act of Congress, all this was changed. This way of life, just like the horse and buggy, became a part of the past. In 1935, President Roosevelt established the REA, Rural Electrification Administration, an agency which proved to be the beginning of a revolution in American farm life.

When the REA began operation, only 10.9 per cent of the farms in America had electricity. By 1963, 98 per cent of the farms were furnished with the "luxury of the city"—electricity!

What had this twenty-eight year old revolution brought about? Simply a brand new way of rural life! No longer do the folks arise with the dawn. If they do, it's with the soft sound of music on the automatically timed clock-radio. Dad does the chores in a well-lighted and temperature-controlled barn, milking the cows with machines, and feeding the livestock with the use of conveyor belts from feed-grinding machines. The water never freezes over now, because of heat-controlled tanks, and the separating is done with an electric separator. Extensive irrigation systems provide ample water supplies for crops today.

Mom fixes breakfast in a modern kitchen which includes an electric stove,' dishwasher, refrigerator, and countless electrical appliances. She needn't worry about plenty of hot water, because the water is both pumped and heated electrically; and she can do the washing in an hour or two, since she has an electric washer and dryer.

Rural electrification was not only for the home, however, but also for the community. With the coming of electricity, small industry blossomed, providing greater production, increased job opportunities, and the development of the community as a whole. Consider the output of The Egging Company, the Stramit Plant, the Chicken House, and the Chappell Cheese Factory in our own area. Industry thrives, from farming to National Defense.

You might put it this way:

Rural America + Electricity = Economy + Efficiency + Comfort + Convenience + Industry + Top Production.

Yes, times have changed, and rural electrification has done it!

The Value of Rural Electrification

(Information.—My name, Van Lessig; age, 17; grade, junior; school, Gurley High School; name of father, Earl Lessig, Gurley, Nebr.

(Contestant sponsored by the Wheatbelt Public Power District, Sidney, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Can you imagine living on a farm without electricity? In our age of modernization, we find this rather hard to visualize, but the fact is that as late as 1935, 93% of the farms in Nebraska were not receiving electric power. In that year, the Rural Electrification Administration was created, and electricity to farms was so increased that within thirty years all but 2½% were electrified. This remarkable transformation from darkness into the modern age of electricity was indeed a prime example of cooperation and ingenuity at its finest. The Rural Electrification Administration granted loans to cooperatives to set up rural electrification locally, and with this financial help and technical assistance from the administration the task was accomplished in a relatively short period of time. Transmission lines sprung up all over the country as electricity was carried to the consumer in our rural areas.

What would life be like on a farm or in a rural community without this precious gift of electricity? Things would be very different, for electricity has brought on so many advances as to change our whole way of life. Root cellars and spring houses as means of keeping food fresh are a thing of the past, for electric refrigerators and freezers now handle this job easily and economically. Electrical household appliances by the hundreds have lightened immeasurably the work of the modern housewife, which gives her more time for other activities. Electric milking machines send milk right into the cooler, thus saving the farmer time and energy, and when it is delivered to a local store it is kept cool and fresh by the use of electricity. Farmers also can feed and water more cattle and hogs through the use of electric feeding machines, and more chickens can be hatched and cared for through the use of electric heat lamps and egg incubators. Electric pumps and irrigation systems often mean the difference between good crops or bad ones, success or failure. Thanks to electricity, a farmer no longer needs to get up and go to bed with the sun. Electric lights installed in barns and shops allow him to work far into the night on jobs previously restricted to daylight hours. Entertainment in the form of radios and televisions have also been brought into a solitary farm home through electricity.

But rural electrification does not benefit farmers alone. As farm production and efficiency is increased, the whole nation is affected and the prosperity is felt by all. The more our nation grows, the more people become dependent on our rural areas to provide them with food and fibers for clothing; therefore, as the farmer prospers, the nation prospers.

Of the many forces which have had an influence on the progress of our rural areas, and therefore our nation, one truly stands above all of the rest. That force is rural electrification.

What Rural Electrification Means To Me and My Community

(Information.—My name, Lene Jean Chvatal; age, 17; grade, junior; school, Bishop Neumann Catholic High School; name of father, Bernard Chvatal, Malmo, Nebr.

(Contestant sponsored by the Butler County Rural Public Power District, David City, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

The well-spaced poles and the three draping lines that grace the roadside in our community and throughout our state remind us of all the comfort and conveniences we are enjoying today. Many years have passed since the invention of electricity and it is very easy to see the great advances which have been made.

If the late Senator George W. Norris were to tour our rural communities, he would be amazed as to the beauty of his state, due to electricity, not only by day but also by night. Electricity has made much progress and now not only adds comfort and conveniences to the home from within, but also has added conveniences and beauty to the out of doors. At night lights glow on the beautiful lawns and flowers which surround our farm yards in summer. Although this is beautiful, there is nothing more beautiful on a cold winter's night, when all things seem to be at a standstill, to look out into the well-lighted yard and see the dancing snowflakes fall gracefully and creating a scene that no artist has painted to such perfection.

With this being thirty-one years of rural electrification in Nebraska and our centennial year coming up, we are reminded of the many hardships and inconveniences our ancestors had to contend with. We are grateful to the pioneers, who strived to make all the modern conveniences possible for us. Likewise we are aiming to advance and provide new achievements for the future generations.

We are very proud of our rural electrification in our community. REA has made us an equal to our city dwellers in the higher standards of living.

What would it be like if we didn't have electricity? Can you imagine having to do your homework by candlelight or keeping warm in front of a fireplace or having no television or radio to listen to or watch? We should often remind ourselves that people in other countries are not as fortunate as we are and do not have rural electrification.

The United States is urging all rural electric systems to help with the development of rural electrification in other countries. The late President John F. Kennedy once said: "Thirty years ago only one out of ten of our farmers had electricity . . . what we can do in this country can be done in other countries." I hope "we can transfer the experiences we have had to other countries, particularly the newly emerging ones."

In our community we depend on this great power to turn the wheels of the future to better living. Our progress in rural areas tends to create better food and living for our city neighbors. When Mother Nature fails to provide us with sufficient moisture, the electric driven power pumps supply us with many gallons of water to irrigate the land to produce the most bountiful crops. When a helping hand is needed, many an electric motor has been a time and labor saving convenience.

We need electricity today as we need the sunlight and clean fresh air we breathe here in Nebraska. This is one of the reasons Nebraska is such a wonderful state to live in. Rural electrification is a part of our daily living. The three lines which drape from the tall poles, are lines of comfort, convenience and luxury. These lines lead to the wonderful place I call home.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H.R. 13712 to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, I doubt very much that there is even one Member of this House who would seriously argue against the policy set forth in the original Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; namely, "to correct and, as rapidly as practicable, to eliminate labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."

There are, however, some Members here who sincerely differ about the ways and means through which this accepted basic policy can be justly and wisely extended at this time.

It is, then, our legislative duty here today, to work together, in patience and with tolerance, toward majority agreement on a measure that will rightfully expand the fundamental policy involved and reasonably advance the general welfare of workers in the present economy, while conscientiously endeavoring to insure that the overall impact, upon industries and individuals, is as equitable as we can legislatively make it.

In determining our final action today on this imperatively important measure, to raise the minimum wage and extend its coverage, I believe our attention should be concentrated upon the accepted revelations of authoritative surveys and studies, including those conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Practically all of these studies disclose agreement upon the following several fundamental factors:

Since the last amendments to this act, in 1961, employment has dramatically risen; profits have gone far above any previously recorded levels and, proportionate to these developments, prices have been reasonably stable.

More than 17 million American workers are currently outside the Federal minimum wage protection and these millions include a very high percentage of our lowest paid workers.

About two-thirds of all white workers come within the present minimum wage coverage provisions of the act but less than half of nonwhite workers are covered.

Similarly, two-thirds of all men employed in nonsupervisory jobs are covered by the act but only about half of the women in such jobs are so covered.

The present statutory minimum wage level—$1.25—produces annual earnings—$2,600—substantially less for full-time work than the recognized $3,000 poverty level.

Over 6 million children in the United States are today members of families in which the father or mother is working full time but earning a poverty wage.

The present operation of the Fair Labor Standards Act is not adequately responsive to currently accepted principles of economic equity.

Mr. Chairman, all of the other authoritative evidence that has been presented here this afternoon clearly shows that, contrary to what was so greatly feared by some people, the 1961 amendments to the act have not resulted in any demonstrable restriction of economic expansion, decrease in employment, dangerous contribution to inflation or depressive lowering of profits.

As a matter of fact, it convincingly appears, from all our past experience, that there probably could be no better time than this present period of unprecedented business prosperity to judiciously expand the act coverage and reasonably increase, by projected stages, the minimum wage to an anticipated level that will provide a more realistic living wage.

Any declared war on poverty in this country will be of highly questionable effect if we neglect our legislative and civilized obligations to those who work hard but must still exist below the minimum level of well-being because of insufficient earnings.

Most families receiving it today do not want charity, or public assistance or help from the welfare worker. What they want and what they need is a living, decent wage for the family head.

Mr. Chairman, I do not think that any of us here today need to be forcefully reminded that we have consistently and abundantly, for many years, with men and with money, fulfilled all of our pledges to our foreign allies and that we are still engaged in such commitments. Now we have an opportune moment and measure to manifest our primary concern for a great many of our own American citizens and families who have been economically suffering too much, for too long, from too little. Let us, in the best interest of all Americans, seize the opportunity.

A Question of Wages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Brinkley, Ark., Citizen of recent date had a real good editorial with regard to the effect of the Fair Labor Standards Act amendments which would increase the minimum wage rates. The editorial deals with the effect of increasing wages without at the same time upping the productivity per man-hour of work. The editorial points up the issue of the ability to pay the increased benefits that would be provided by the legislation.

We are living in a war economy in which a greatly increased money supply is competing for goods that will become scarcer and scarcer. Under a situation of that kind the dollar buys less goods and services. The pinch is upon the wage earner, more particularly the small wage earner. The impetus is felt greatly by the white-collar worker and people who must live upon fixed income. These include the schoolteachers and other salaried employees and the many millions of retirees who live upon their annuities or pensions. During the time that our Nation is engaged in fighting a war in southeast Asia with the finest of our young manhood and those of our allies, it is illogical, unrealistic, and ill-timed for the Congress to consider legislation such as the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act by increasing wages and adding new employees to the act's coverage which would fan the fires of inflation.

I recommend heartily the splendid editorial, "A Question of Wages" from the Brinkley Citizen which follows:

A QUESTION OF WAGES

This year an effort will be made to further increase the federal minimum wage.

A good many people favor an increase on purely humanitarian grounds. They want to see the lower-income groups in our society helped. This is a tribute to their hearts—but not their heads. And there are several reasons why this is true.

For one thing, an arbitrary boost in wages that is not accompanied by gains in productivity must produce one certain result—higher prices, more inflation. And the burdens of inflation fall heaviest on people of small means. It obviously does no one any good if we put a little more money in one of the worker's pockets—and then take it or a greater amount out of another pocket in the form of increased living costs.

For another things, wage increases which are not accompanied by higher worker productivity compel employers to reduce their labor force to the limit. There are businesses which have room for beginners, the unskilled, the marginal and part-time workers. Most stores, however, simply cannot absorb wage increases without raising prices. Price increases, to compound the trouble, may gravely injure their competitive strength. So, as the wage and hour laws are used to force wages higher and higher, the retailer has no choice save to employ as few of the unskilled and little-skilled as possible. Then, these people are denied the opportunity to gain experience which would qualify them for more responsible and better paying jobs.

The law can be used to fix wages at any level. But it cannot create the jobs that go with the higher pay.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Chairman, it is with great pleasure that I rise to speak in support of H.R. 13712.

With this bill we again advance in the effort to build for America an economic structure in which all who work will receive wages enabling them to share in the benefits of our affluent, expanding economy.

Twenty-eight year ago we first took action toward achievement of this objective. The original act fulfilled its intention, and since then we have amended and improved the law from time to time as the need arose. It is now, again, woefully inadequate and it is imperative that we act to bring it up to date. It must be geared to today's economic conditions, and to the economic and social climate we anticipate in the immediate future.

Our Nation's democratic labor organizations have assured millions of Americans of fair wages, excellent working conditions, and many other important benefits, both for their working years and for their time of retirement. Unfortunately, however, millions of working men and women—those who have been called, most aptly, the "invisible Americans"—exist among us at a bare subsistence level.

It is particularly for these unseen citizens, those for whom we wage the war on poverty, that this bill is important.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 13712 will extend coverage to 7.2 million wage earners who do not now come under the act. It will cover many workers in retail and service industries who have been exempt from the act's protection. And for the first time in history, we will make a start toward coverage of workers in the agricultural segment of our economy.

We all recognize that an increase in the minimum wage and an expansion of the law's coverage will create adjustment problems, particularly for small business. And for this reason it is important to emphasize that the changes provided in the bill will take place gradually. The subcommittee, under the leadership of our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT], has done an outstanding job in developing this workable but progressive legislation.

For too long, Mr. Chairman, millions of our citizens have been kept out of the mainstream of American life because of substandard wages. We must not delay further the passage of this measure so vital to the workers affected, and so essential to the health and growth of our society.

Malaysia Jolted by U.S. Rubber Stockpile Sales

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the recent administration decision to sell stockpiled U.S. rubber has thoroughly unnerved Malaysia. I recommend to my colleagues that they read the excellent report written by Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, retired, on the subject and include his able views as an extension of my remarks:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union, Apr. 29, 1966]

REDS TAKE ADVANTAGE—MALAYSIA JOLTED BY U.S. RUBBER STOCKPILE SALES

(By Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC, Ret., Director of National Security and Foreign Affairs, Veterans of Foreign Wars)

WASHINGTON.—We are getting another lesson on how economic decision at home can trigger a crisis abroad.

This time it involves our government's stockpile of natural rubber.

What in the beginning looked like an astute decision to convert more stockpiled rubber into cash has ballooned into a major international crisis that is severely straining our relations with Malaysia and other rubber-producing countries.

The situation is getting more complicated with both Red China and the Soviet Union trying to stick pins in the balloon. The only reason the crisis has not blown up in our face so far, informed sources said, is that Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman has kept it under control.

STRICT ORDERS

Recognized as one of our most stalwart friends throughout Asia, Rahman is reported to have issued strict orders against inflammatory anti-U.S. statements by Malaysian officials. He is said to be hoping that a reversal of U.S. policy can be obtained through diplomatic channels.

Here, informed Washington sources said, is what happened:

Recently, administration economists decided to increase our sales of natural rubber from the government's stockpile. The world natural rubber market, which has been kept in a relatively balanced position, could not stand the prospect of heavy additional supplies.

The result has been a drop of 4 Malaysian cents (one cent U.S.) per pound in about a month.

SHOCKING IMPACT

The international economists said it may not look like much of a price change to readers of financial pages in the United States but it has hit Malaysia with a shocking impact.

For instance, if the reduced quotation continues for a year, it would mean an income loss of 82 million Malayisan dollars. This is said to be the equivalent of pay for about 40,000 job-holders in Malaysia.

Although Rahman's government is making good headway in diversifying farm production, rubber is still the top money crop. Malaysia, furthermore, needs every cent her rubber crop will bring.

The country is in the midst of building an economic system designed to raise the living standards of the Malaysian people. Vast forest areas are being cleared and the new farmlands sold to former sharecroppers at long-term low rates. Widespread ownership of farms by those who work them, in Rahman's opinion, will be a powerful bulwark against Communist enticements.

HEAVY INVESTMENT

This requires heavy governmental investment, and less income from rubber means less funds for economic development.

However, the impact of increased sales of U.S. stockpile rubber is not limited to Malaysia. Most of Southeast Asia, including South Viet Nam, produces natural rubber. It is estimated that 90 percent of the world's supply comes from that area.

Continued reduced income due to lower rubber prices, informed observers said, will have to be made up through increased U.S. aid.

TAKING ADVANTAGE

In the meantime the Communists are taking double advantage of the situation. Red China and the Soviet Union have stepped-up rubber buying on the Singapore international market. Thus, Communists get rubber at lower prices. Also, their propaganda is claiming credit for their increased purchases preventing a price plunge.

All of which must make the staunchly pro-U.S. Malaysian prime minister shake his head in utter bafflement that Washington would pick this critical time to upset the rubber market, and in so doing threaten the hard-won stability of anti-Communist Malaysia.

An Investment in Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the reading of my colleagues a letter from a constituent of mine, Mr. Robert W. Stevens, of Manhasset, N.Y., which appeared in the April 30 issue of the Washington Post. I believe Mr. Stevens' proposal deserves careful consideration in planning for the future of Vietnam:

EMIGRE PROGRAM ASKED

The United States should reconsider the political realities of our position in South Vietnam. We have promised to accept the results of genuinely free elections there, which now seem likely to be held, but no one knows what the outcome of these elections may be. Whoever wins them, tensions in Vietnam are very high and elections might be followed by a terrible bloodletting directed by whoever wins against whoever loses. We must take responsibility for the fate of our staunch anti-Communist allies there and, in any event, the United States is certain to be held mainly responsible in the eyes of the rest of the world for whatever may happen.

Thus, we should look ahead now and as soon as feasible we should call upon the United Nations to introduce and operate a program for the voluntary transfer out of Vietnam of any people who may wish to leave when a new government comes to power. U.N. member countries should be encouraged to find homes for such people as part of an "investment in peace" which—however difficult it may be to carry out—would be far less costly and risky than a continuation of the war. Facilities to assist people to emigrate could be set up to coincide with the phased withdrawal of American troops. No one knows how many would wish to leave, but it is doubtful if the number would seriously tax the capacity of U.N. members.

This could help to establish orderly civilian rule in Vietnam while also protecting the future good name of the United States. It could set a valuable precedent for de-escalating dangerous military confrontations elsewhere in the world just as, almost a decade ago, the U.N.'s Middle-East Peace Force set a precedent for peace-keeping by the use of military force. If we ask the U.N. to help find new homes for people who will have been displaced by the Vietnam war and its aftermath, we would be calling upon it to respond in a way that it easily can—in the finest traditions of international pacification.

ROBERT W. STEVENS.

MANHASSET, N.Y.

Fannie Mae's Earnings for Quarter Up Sharply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the arguments made by the minority against the Participation Sales Act of 1966 during the debate on the House floor last week was extremely revealing and somewhat enlightening.

It plainly revealed that those arguing against this measure had little apparent comprehension of the organizational structure of FNMA nor of its manner of operation. Not once was it clearly emphasized that the financing of this agency is made up of funds from the private sector of our financial fraternity. Not once was it clearly emphasized that FNMA has operated successfully since its inception. Not once was it pointed out emphatically that this agency operates at a profit. Not once was anything said about the marked increase of its net income now at a point where it has the capability of contributing almost $4¾ million additional funds to the U.S. Treasury balance from it operations for the 12 months ending March 31.

So that all of my colleagues will know of this highly successful operation, I insert into the RECORD a most informative article on the record of FNMA, which appeared in the Des Moines Register on May 16, 1966:

FANNIE MAE'S EARNINGS FOR QUARTER UP SHARPLY

The Federal National Mortgage Association's quarterly report for the three months ended Mar. 31, issued last week, shows net income total $4,705,810, up 28.9 per cent from the preceding quarter and 46.2 per cent higher than a year ago.

The association, known as F. N. M. A., or Fannie Mae, is capitalized by $102 million of preferred stock that is held by the U. S. Treasury, and $101.31 million of common stock (about 1 million shares) much of which is in the hands of the public.

After allowing for earnings of $3.11 a share on preferred stock, net was equal to $2.47 a share on common, up 13.3 per cent from the $2.18 in the last quarter of last year and 25.3 per cent above the $1.97 in the first quarter of 1965.

As reported 10 days ago, Fannie Mae's activity in the secondary mortgage market was at a new high in the first quarter, with the agency paying $797.8 million for 61,739 mortgages.

In the last quarter of 1965 Fannie Mae paid $405.4 million for mortgages purchased and in the first quarter of last year $94.78 million.

Fannie Mae's function is to provide a secondary market for mortgages, where lending institutions may obtain funds for new mortgage lending by liquidating part of their portfolio.

At the end of the last quarter the institution held $2.42 billion of FHA-insured mortgages and $766 million of VA-guaranteed mortgages.

In addition to its equity capitalization, and retained earnings of $80.9 million, the association has $1.78 billion in debentures in the hands of the public, $867.9 million of outstanding short-term notes, and $237.7 million of notes held by the U. S. Treasury.

The common stockholders' equity in the $80.9 million of undistributed earnings amounts to $32.64 million, or 40.35 per cent of the total, with the Secretary of the Treasury holding the balance of the equity on preferred shares.

Fannie Mae's stock, traded in the over-the-counter market, was bid recently at $75, where the yield on the 32-cent monthly dividend rate—$3.84 a year—is 5.1 per cent.

Amending District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

The House had under consideration the bill H.R. 10744, to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to raise my voice at this time in support of the pending amendment.

As has already been indicated, I introduced a bill to accomplish that purpose along with many other Members of this House. As a matter of fact, mine was among the first bills to be introduced to accomplish a change of the drinking age from 18 to 21 years in the District of Columbia.

I believe there is only one other place in the country besides the Washington area where the same situation prevails and that is the metropolitan area of New York. It is unfortunate that my home State has not seen fit to change the law as we are doing here today. There too, as here, we have an influx of boys and girls under 21 years of age who cannot drink in their home States, crossing the State line into places where they can drink and unfortunately drinking to excess, causing many accidents on the highways, which result in horrible maiming and deaths.

I do not pretend to know whether 19, 20, or 21 is the proper age at which a youngster should be permitted to drink but whatever that age is that is fixed by statute, it should be the same in every area and there should not be an incentive to youngsters to cross from one area into another in order to be able to get a drink. Such practice promotes disrespect for law and order and whets the appetite of the youngster to seek things that he otherwise would not be interested in.

The difference in the age limits also creates intemperance because the youngster who must travel for the drink he cannot get at home will imbibe to excess while temporarily out of his home State.

I also appreciate that there may be some economic disadvantages created to some merchants as a result of the enactment of this law but like in so many instances, the economics of the situation must give way to what is best for the overall benefit of the entire community.

This is a good amendment and should prevail.

National Maritime Day Marks Decline in America's Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, Monday, May 23, was the 34th anniversary of National Maritime Day. This week is designated as World Trade Week. And we are asked to celebrate the fact that 90 percent of our international commerce is carried on ships of foreign registry; that we have slipped to a very low place as a shipbuilding nation; that over 70 percent of our merchant fleet is over 20 years old; that we cannot deliver enough ammunition and supplies to our fighting men in Vietnam because we do not have enough good ships; and that the Maritime Administration has shown no positive leadership in keeping our merchant fleet afloat. One account of how National Maritime Day was commemorated in Galveston, Tex., from the Galveston News of May 20, 1966, will be of interest to Members of Congress. Under unanimous consent, I insert it in the RECORD:

TODD CHIEF SAYS U.S. LOSING SHIP POSITION

(By Joel Kirkpatrick)

Many of the ills of the American Merchant Marine can be attributed to an "* * * indifferent public and an inattentive government * * *," John T. Gilbride, of New York, president of Todd Shipyards Corp. told 292 persons at the annual Maritime Day Banquet at Hotel Galvez Thursday night.

Gilbride's speech was devoted to diagnosing the ills of the merchant marine in relation to the government, outlining the competition from the Soviet Union, and calling for the expenditure of more federal money on shipping and shipping programs.

His speech was delivered a week to the day before the first class graduates from the Texas Maritime Academy in Galveston.

Gilbride also mentioned, in passing, that Todd Shipyards in Galveston is considering expansion of its small vessel repair service.

After the banquet had been adjourned, he declined to comment further on this, saying he had further discussions lined up with Ralph Anselmi, general manager of the Galveston Division of Todd Shipyards Corp., and that an announcement would be made soon.

But the speech delivered by Gilbride was a major address in the maritime industry, given by a man who speaks with authority.

Gilbride said the American Merchant Marine is in a serious plight today which threatens its ability to serve the nation in either peace or war.

"We find ourselves," he said, "possessors of a merchant marine largely composed of old ships which sail rudderlessly along in a sea of indecision and neglect: a fleet scandalously inadequate for the greatest country in the world."

In the federal budget, he said, billions are earmarked for defense, billions for space adventures, billions on social projects, but only a fraction of one per cent for maritime purposes.

"Does it not strike you as more than a little incomprehensible when a nation puts forth a budget allocating a paltry $7 million for maritime research and development—while at the same time appropriating $86 million for 'open space land and urban beautification' and another $91 million for 'landscaping and scenic enhancement, control of outdoor advertising and junkyards?' "

He said "a beautiful America is of course important, but I suggest that a worthwhile merchant marine is more important."

The United States, he said, has grown far too dependent on entrusting its commerce to foreign ships, "Many a nation has grown prosperous on the movement of U.S. cargo."

At the end of World War II, the United States found itself in possession of a merchant fleet of more than 40 million tons, more than 61 per cent of the world total at that time.

Many of these ships still are with us, he added, but they are old and inept, stored in numerous mothball fleets where, with each passing day, they move into ever deeper stages of obsolescence.

So, while other nations have been frantically engaged in expanding and replacing their maritime fleets—our merchant marine has been held fast in a pillory of inaction.

"There is no way to escape the conclusion that the United States is close to becoming a second-rate maritime power.

"A recent evaluation of this situation shows that we are now below the pre-World War II level in merchant shipping. Since 1951, our fleet has declined by about 25 per cent—at the same time our waterborne trade has increased by 61 per cent . . .

"Our country has become the world's foremost trader—the number one exporter and importer." But, he added, less than one-tenth of the commerce moves in American flag ships.

In 1936, Congress enacted a law which is still on the books, the Merchant Marine Act, he said, which was dedicated to building a well-balanced fleet of merchant ships to promote commerce and defense.

But this act is being largely ignored today.

Gilbride took a slap at the Maritime administrator, Nicholas Johnson, saying: "Our present Maritime administrator, who is charged with the furtherance and development of our merchant marine, seems to be more intent on presiding at its requiem. The Maritime adminstrator proclaimed in public last week—'We may very well end up sinking our fleet in the name of preserving our shipyards' (and) my answer to this is—we may very well sink our nation if we heed this philosophy."

The Russian merchant fleet by 1980, if it continues to grow at the present rate, will be three times the size of ours, he said.

The U.S. budget for 1966 calls for building of 13 new vessels, and it is understood that Russia has more than 420 ships on order at this very moment, he said.

Gilbride said the Soviet Union has set out to become a great shipping power and has realized that ambition.

He said Russia apparently will settle for nothing less than trade domination of world seas, and with them, he said, building their merchant fleet is second only to their endeavors in space.

There is only one possible solution to this awful dilemma, he said.

"We, as a nation must first realize that our shipping programs have been ridiculously inadequate in the past and at present—and secondly, we must begin at once on a careful and consistent plan to reconstruct our merchant fleet by systematically replacing our older vessels with modern ships built in U.S. shipyards.

"Our military strength is undeniable—our ventures into space and towards the moon are the remarkable feats of a nation accustomed to greatness. I cannot for a moment believe that such a nation would ever consider surrendering the seas of this world to anyone else."

He received a standing ovation.

Servicemen Left Stranded While on Leave

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee has appointed a special committee to study the availability of commercial air transportation for military service personnel who attempt to fly to and from their homes while on authorized leave.

We all have witnessed the familiar scene in airports across the Nation of service personnel left stranded either because they cannot obtain reservations or because as "standby" passengers, flights have been filled by regular paying passengers. And in many of these cases servicemen must forfeit part of their leave in order to return to their bases before their leave expires.

I endorse our distinguished colleague's action on behalf of our servicemen. And I think it is time that Congress looks into this matter. If the airlines will not or cannot alleviate the conjestion in heavily traveled areas by providing additional flights, then it falls upon Congress to seek a solution and make provisions accordingly.

If these men and women give of their time, and in many cases their lives, to defend our Nation and the freedom of other peoples, I certainly think they deserve greater consideration when they are on leave.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to rise in support of this minimum wage bill. Frankly, I was starting to think that this Congress was not going to consider any labor legislation at all during this session. Of course, even this legislation represents a retreat from the bill reported by the Education and Labor Committee last year. I support this "compromise" bill, but I regret that it had to be watered down.

Speaking of things that have been compromised, I think the most "compromised" thing of all is the integrity of the Democratic Party. For many, many years the Democratic Party has fooled organized labor by saying "Help us, and when we get a big enough majority, we will give you everything you want." In 1964, the Democratic Party finally got that majority—and in many races it was labor that put the Democrats over the top. What did labor get for this—for years of loyalty and hard-hitting precinct work? I will tell you what labor got—the horselaugh and the back of the hand from the Democratic Party.

The reason is simple. The Democratic Party moved out into the countryside and suburbs in 1964. The Democratic Party has joined the cocktail party circuit. The Democratic Party is embarrassed to have to associate with its oldtime labor friends. Of course, the Democrats still want to use their old friends. When election time comes, the Democrats want their old labor friends to get out the vote in the labor precincts and raise money for Democratic candidates. Now labor might be willing to go along with this if they got the legislation they want, but they are not getting it.

They are not getting it because the Democrats do not want to have to go back to their cocktail parties and admit that they associate with so-called labor bosses and labor union. Apparently, the Democrats are ashamed of their old allies. The Democrats want labor to do the dirty work, but they snub labor the rest of the time. I do not think they are going to get away with this very long.

When the 89th Congress first met a year and a half ago, labor had four key bills and great hopes for their passage. These included repeal of section 14(b), situs picketing, unemployment compensation amendments, and minimum wage extension. What has happened to these bills? Everybody knows. The Democrats are afraid to support them because of what their new friends back home would say.

Repeal of section 14(b) passed this House but was buried by the Senate thanks to lack of administration efforts. Situs picketing has been sabotaged. The unemployment compensation bill appears to be dead or dying. Why? Why has not the administration put the pressure behind labor legislation that we all know was behind the shoddy socialism of rent supplements?

Today we have before us the fourth of the key labor bills the unions have asked of their Democratic "friends." Will this bill pass today? And if it does, will the Senate pass it, or will the Senate leave it hanging in the air so that Democratic Members who voted for it will be needlessly jeopardized in the eyes of the folks back home?

I am forced to conclude that the administration and administration supporters here and in the Senate are playing games with the American labor movement. They plead at election time and sabotage during the legislative session. They want the best of both worlds.

Back in 1946, the American people went to the polls and elected a Congress that passed a lot of legislation, but somehow it got tagged the "do-nothing Congress." I think the American labor movement has a new nomination to make for that title. Or maybe they will call this the "Benedict Arnold" Congress because it is the Congress that betrayed them.

For my part I do not think labor should blame the Congress so much as it should blame the Johnson adminiistration. Everyone here knows that if the President cares about a bill, he will twist arms. How many arms have been twisted to get votes for labor's bills? I think we all know the answer.

This administration is bored with organized labor. Labor is not pioneering in social revolution. The legislation labor wants does not push Federal power to new horizons. If the legislation labor wants gave the Federal Government vast new power over American social patterns, then labor could be sure the Johnson administration would be behind it. But this administration is not interested in legislation that just helps people. This administration wants power. In some cases the power the Federal Government wants is the power to coerce the American labor movement.

The coercive power being sought today is not legislation which would allow the Federal Government to postpone strikes that would be against the national interest—a case can be made for well drawn legislation of this sort. The power the Federal Government wants is union-busting power for its own sake.

Let me give you an example. As a member of the Housing Subcommittee. I have been reviewing and considering the "Demonstration cities" bill the administration proposed earlier this year. That legislation does not include a Davis-Bacon Act section calling for only union labor to be used on construction projects. Quite the contrary. The "Demonstration cities" bill has a "scab" labor clause which states that precedence is to be given to local labor in the urban rebuilding program. At first I did not know what this meant until I read a newspaper article—in the Wall Street Journal—saying that this provision was aimed at enabling the use of nonunion local labor. The same article said that a main reason for this "scab" clause was a desire to coerce the building trades unions and bring them under the Federal heel. If this is not union-busting, I do not know what is. The administration wants to get a whip hand over American labor so that it can dictate labor hiring and membership policies. The administration wants a whole string of captive "company" unions.

I want to bring the hypocrisy and undercover union-busting of this administration into the spotlight. The Democratic Party has betrayed the American labor movement. Even today's legislation has been watered down to an extreme degree, and it is the only labor legislation that has a chance of passage during the 89th Congress.

If labor is to have any influence with the Congress in the future, they are going to have to exert bipartisan leverage. There are many Republicans who are friends of labor and many more who at least put their differences on the table. The Republican Party is not the party of hypocrisy and ingratitude. Until the American labor movement effectively embraces bipartisan politics, the Democratic Party is going to continue to sabotage and betray labor legislation. It is as simple as that.

I urge this House to pass this bill so that labor has at least one watered down legislative victory this year instead of unbroken and unmitigated betrayal at the hands of the Democrats.

Conservation and the Grand Canyon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 28, 1966

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I have been receiving a number of letters from people who are deeply alarmed by proposals to build two dams on the Colorado River in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon.

I am particularly impressed by one describing the wildlife studies of a group of schoolchildren. The writer is a sixth-grader who is concerned with the conservation and protection of all our natural resources. By the time she is an adult, the Grand Canyon she admires may be changed beyond recall unless we oppose these dams now.

I would like to bring this young girl's earnest letter to the attention of my colleagues:

> MONROE, WIS.
>
> DEAR MR. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER: Our sixth grade went to a farm last year for our school picnic, and we also made blue bird houses to put on the farm fence. Then we took a ride on a tractor and saw many wild flowers and trees. One day a man cut down a tree and found two baby raccoons that were too weak to go with the stronger baby raccoons. The mother left them behind, and our class got to take care of them. One raccoon died, and now our teacher has the other one. The raccoon is very big now and on its own at the farm.
>
> We did try to hatch some pheasants, but only one grew for us.
>
> We have learned about our beautiful rivers and streams, not to pollute them and to keep them natural. Our sixth grade class wishes for you not to build the dam on the Colorado River.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> BEVERLY CLARK.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge passage of H.R. 13712, the minimum wage bill of 1966.

It is time to raise the standard of living for the American worker, and it is time to give him the resources with which to participate in our national affluence. We are all aware of recent price increases, particularly in the area of consumer items. In fact, however, costs of most essential items and services have been rising steadily for several years. Without an increased minimum wage, the American worker is in jeopardy of becoming a dropout from American prosperity. The benefits of our unparalleled national productivity must be equitably distributed if this free economy is to be a fair economy.

This is most certainly what the war on poverty is all about. And it is that spirit, too, which should characterize a decision to extend our minimum wage coverage. There are many of our citizens fortunate enough to be employed, but with the inability to participate in the full opportunities of this incredibly wealthy Nation. The central fact in their lives is frustration. For while they have the good luck to be employed, the rewards of that employment are increasingly inadequate. For those presently covered by existing minimum wage provisions, there is the constant daily pressure of such inadequacy. And for those who do not qualify for minimum wage coverage at all, life takes on all the features of poverty which we are now beginning to understand and appreciate.

Something must be done, and I believe the legislation before us today gives us a chance to act responsibly and with foresight. By qualifying more than 7.2 million new wage earners for coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, we are serving the highest purposes of social welfare. To ignore such men and women any longer would be to indict ourselves and to dramatize legislative negligence. Yet I am convinced this Congress will move quickly to bring to these workers the coverage and benefits they deserve. Equally important, I believe, is the provision to qualify certain agricultural workers for coverage. They are no less needy participants in the American economy than are industrial workers. And their exclusion from minimum wage coverage up to now has been disgraceful.

The legislation before us today, then is historic, and should be passed with all due haste. I wish to point out, however, that there can be room for grave misgivings regarding the adequacy of a $1.60 minimum wage. A simple computation shows that a worker employed for 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, with a wage of $1.60, will be earning a little less than $3,500 yearly. The Office of Economic Opportunity, with the Department of Labor, has argued that any salary below $4,000 a year is insufficient for a family of four. Can it not be asked, therefore, whether or not a $1.60 minimum wage is truly proportionate to the needs of our poor? As my colleague, the able gentleman from New York [Mr. Ryan], pointed out yesterday, for many people in this country, this is not a minimum wage but a poverty wage.

Indeed, the Welfare Department of New York City has maintained that most of the 9,000 families presently receiving supplemental income, will still require such aid with a $1.60 minimum wage operation. A situation where wage earners qualifying for minimum wage coverage must still receive supplemental income to remain above the poverty line is not a situation which this country should tolerate.

I believe, in short, that this country can afford to think about something more than $1.60 an hour when it is thinking about minimum wage. I believe we can afford to think about a guaranteed annual income which assures every citizen a life above the poverty line. I believe we can afford to think about a living wage, rather than a minimum wage bordering on a poverty wage. And, Mr. Chairman, I believe we can begin to think this way right now. The Council of Economic Advisers has pointed out that wages at the bottom of the economy's wage scales should be exempt from the general guidelines governing prices. That exemption should be treated as an instruction. Our step today to increase minimum wage represents a small step in the right direction. To provide justice for all our citizens, and to do justice to our own responsibilities, we must begin to move toward a guaranteed income which will not permit loopholes of coverage, but will promise a steady and adequate income for every American worker.

Congress Set To Rip Secrecy Veil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, there appears to be genuine hope that this 2d session of the 89th Congress will see the passage of a freedom-of-information bill.

Both in 1964 and 1965, the Senate approved a bill to give the public and the press greater access to Government information. But both times the bill died in the House. This year, however, under the leadership of the gentleman from California, John E. Moss, and the gentleman from Illinois, Donald Rumsfeld, the bill has been approved in subcommittee and committee in the House. I am hopeful that the chances for passage of S. 1160 by the full House of Representatives are good.

I include in the Record an analysis of the progress of the bill providing for a Federal public records law which was written by Paul Hope and published in the Evening Star, of Washington, D.C., on May 16, 1966:

Congress Set To Rip Secrecy Veil

(By Paul Hope)

Federal bureaucrats no doubt already are at work trying to figure out ways to get around a new piece of legislation aimed at opening more government records to public inspection.

What they're concerned about is a "freedom of information" bill that has been 10 years in the making and is a long time overdue.

The legislation, passed by the Senate and approved last week by the House Committee on Government Operations, would make all government records available to the public, except those which fall in national security and several other sensitive categories.

When hearings were being held on the bill, federal officials marched up to Capitol Hill with long tales of woe about how their offices will be invaded by crackpots and others who want to rummage through their files.

It's the story they have been telling congressional committees for years. But what it really boils down to is a belief by bureaucrats that the people's right to know what's going on in their government extends only to what the bureaucrats want to tell them.

They complained about having to operate in a "fishbowl." In these days of credibility gaps, planted questions at presidental press conferences, and checks on who in the White House is talking to whom outside, maybe a little bit of fishbowl operation is in order.

The "freedom of information" bill is not going to prevent officials from misleading the public. It won't close the credibility gap. It won't change the nature of presidential press conferences.

Nor will it stop the Defense Department's public relations chief from requiring Pentagon employees to give him a list of reporters they talk to.

But it would establish incontrovertibly the principle that government records are indeed public records and should be available for public inspection unless there is a valid and overriding reason to the contrary.

Among the categories exempted are records required to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy; trade secrets and commercial or financial information about private companies given to the government on a confidential basis; personnel and medical files whose disclosure would constitute a clear invasion of privacy, and investigatory files such as those of the FBI.

Nor would the bill upset secrecy requirements written into laws. For instance, laws governing income taxes require that tax returns not be made available to the public. The "freedom of information" bill would not change that.

For years "freedom of information" bills have been dying in committees. Last year it was reported that White House opposition was responsible for the Senate-passed bill being stymied in the House.

But when the bill was called up for a committee vote last week it sailed through and is now waiting clearance by the Rules Committee for a vote on the floor.

Committee sources say they expect it to pass the House easily. And they predict that despite President Johnson's apparent dislike of the measure he will sign it.

Much of the credit must go to Rep. John E. Moss, D-Calif., who has been fighting the battle for free access to public records for 11-years since he became chairman of the freedom of information subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations.

A share of the credit must go also to a young Illinois Republican, Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, who made the bill a special project. He calls it "one of the most critical measures to be considered by the Congress in the past 20 years."

In the congressional hearings, the only ones who opposed the bill were representatives of federal agencies.

It was pointed out frequently by supporters of the bill that self preservation was one of the reasons for resistance from the agencies.

"No government employe at any level believes that the 'public interest' would be served by disclosure of his failures or wrongdoings . . .," said the committee in reporting out the bill.

The battle for passage is not quite won. And not all the problems of governmental secrecy will be solved when it is passed. But it will be another step in the fight for the right of the people to be informed.

Sen. Russell Long, D-La., in introducing the bill in the Senate, quoted the words of James Madison, who was chairman of the committee which drafted the first amendment to the Constitution:

"Knowledge will forever govern ignorance, and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with power knowledge gives. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both."

Claremont Eagle Praises Tree Farm System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, tree farming is one of the major components of our country's conservation efforts.

As a dedicated conservationist who operates a tree farm of my own in New Hampshire, I am always glad to give this program a salute whenever I can.

One of the best features of the program is that it is conducted at private expense—at no cost to the public—and, indeed, is a source of tax revenue.

The following editorial appeared in the Claremont Daily Eagle on May 6, written by Kenneth D. Whipple. This outstanding newspaper has a fine record of supporting conservationist measures and I am pleased to second this fine tribute to the American tree farm system.

THANKS TO TREE FARMING

Both New Hampshire and Vermont may well be proud of the part they have played in the growth of the American Tree Farm system, begun 25 years ago with a lone "farm" of 120,000 acres in Washington State. Today, a quarter century later, there are nearly 30,000 Tree Farms in 48 states with an acreage of nearly 67,000,000.

In 1941 the nation was using its trees faster than it was growing them. Forest fire damage, insects, disease and harvests took a greater toll than either natural forest regeneration or the slim efforts of man could replace.

Out of this crisis grew the American Tree Farm System, a plan of scientific forest management that has contributed much toward reversing the balance. We now record 1.6 times the growing stock, 1.1 times the saw timber we remove or lose to fires and disease each year.

The "system" is, in essence, multiple use management: Growing repeated crops of trees on privately-owned land while assuring the added benefits of soil and water conservation, wildlife habitat, forage, public outdoor recreational opportunities, and the preservation of natural scenic beauty.

Inspection of forest land to assure provision for protection from fire, and planned harvests that assure forest regeneration, are pre-requisites to Tree Farm certification. The movement has attracted the young and the old, the large and the small, the individual and the industrial forest firm.

All these comprise the tree farmers of America. Thanks to them—thanks to tree farming—we are now growing the wood we need.—K.D.W.

Jet Aircraft Use of Washington National Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I feel compelled to speak up for jet aircraft use of Washington National Airport.

Mr. Speaker, I have high regard for my colleagues, both from Virginia and Maryland; but the convenience of the traveling public should not be subservient to or dependent upon the air-travel economy of just two States.

In my many travels to and from my district and State, I have used all three airports. Washington National is the only one which provides me with convenience and reasonable time usage to accomplish my objective. Yet, not even my own convenience nor the time involved for me to often commute to and from my district is the important factor. The important factor is the time and convenience involved for millions of Americans who desire to visit or who must do business in the Nation's Capital.

Therefore may I say that from the standpoint of cost, time, and efficiency, there is no justification for not using National as a jet field.

That, Mr. Speaker, leaves but one argument—noise. My family and I live in an area that is considered to have not one, but two traffic lanes. We live in an area where both Washington National and Andrews Air Force Base traffic passes overhead.

Let me state without reservation that the noise and vibration from propeller-driven aircraft is far more objectionable to us than that of jet craft. First, jet craft moves overhead at nearly twice the speed. Therefore, every propeller-driven aircraft gives us twice the time abuse. Secondly, propeller-driven craft. especially on takeoff, sets up varying and irritating vibrations. The jet aircraft does not do this in my experience.

That then, Mr. Speaker, eliminates all of the arguments. I congratulate the FAA and those involved who are responsible for the use of jet craft at Washington National Airport. Truly, they have ruled in the best interests of all the people. As I see, that is their responsibility and I commend them for it.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its provisions to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, ever since I came to the House of Representatives in 1947, I have supported, worked for, and voted for every minimum wage bill that has come before the Congress.

During all that time I have also supported and voted for every piece of legislation that sought to improve the condition of the working men and women of our country.

I am very proud of the fact that it was my bill that was reported out of my Subcommittee of the District of Columbia to this House and passed this House unanimously which for the first time brought men as well as women and children under the provisions of the minimum wage law for the District of Columbia.

I am happy indeed to be able to once again rise in support of a good minimum wage bill and at the same time to indicate that I will oppose any and all crippling amendments.

This bill will raise the minimum wage for 17½ million employees presently covered by the minimum wage law to $1.40 an hour in February 1967 and to $1.60 an hour in February 1968.

It also will extend the Fair Labor Standards Act, the legal name for the minimum wage law, to more than 6½ million workers who are not presently covered.

As for them, however, it provides for a bare minimum of $1 an hour in February 1966 with additional increases of 15 cents each year until they reach $1.60 an hour in February 1971.

This is only a modest start but at least it is a start.

It will also extend overtime protection to many workers who are not presently covered by overtime provisions.

As to those workers, they will get time-and-a-half pay after 44 hours in any work week after February 1, 1967, and time-and-a-half after 42 hours in any work week after February 1, 1968, and time-and-a-half after 40 hours in any work week after February 1, 1969.

This is good, progressive, forward-looking legislation that will be of tremendous help not only to the workers of our country but to the general economy.

I urge the enactment of this bill without any crippling amendments.

The Purpose of the Cape Cod National Seashore Is Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the legislation establishing the Cape Cod National Seashore specifies that the seashore's primary purpose is conservation of the unique natural, historical, and scientific features of the area. The congressional sponsors of the legislation intended recreational uses of the seashore to be secondary and restricted to those specifically permitted in the act.

The Secretary of the Interior has placed the seashore, for administrative purposes, in the category of recreational areas. Although we are confident that it is the Secretary's intention to administer the seashore according to the provisions of the legislation, we fear that in future years this categorizing of the seashore could make conservation secondary. In the light of the fact that last year the number of visitors to the seashore increased by nearly 500,000 over the previous year, the problem cannot be ignored.

To prevent perversion of the purpose of the legislation the Senate committee in its report on appropriations for the Department of the Interior, H.R. 14215, included the following statement:

> The committee believes that even though the Secretary of the Interior has included all national seashores in a recreational category, the purpose of the Cape Cod National Seashore should continue to be one of con-

servation as set forth in the legislation authorizing its establishment.

I applaud the reaffirmation of the original intention of Congress and trust that in future years the seashore will be administered in accordance with our purposes.

The following editorial from the Cape Cod Standard Times expresses my feeling in this matter very well:

Guideline Offered

Three cheers for the Senate Appropriations Committee!

In a statement after acting on funds for acquisition of more land for Cape Cod National Seashore the committee noted that it was the understanding of Congress and others involved with the Cape Seashore that it was established to conserve the dunes and beaches of the Lower Cape.

It was not, the committee statement said, to be used for recreational purposes.

The committee said that while all the National Seashores were listed by Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall as recreation areas, this was just for classification sake and did not mean they were to be used for recreation purposes primarily.

Thus the senators have put the Interior Department and the National Park Service and those lawmakers and others who are so anxious to develop the Cape Cod Seashore as a recreational area on notice that this is not to be done, this is not what was planned.

For many Cape Codders who have been saying this for so long, and who appeared to be doing nothing but talk into the wind, the senators have provided a big boost.

The idea of preserving the Lower Cape areas is favored by most, but the idea of developing these sites to be recreational areas for the millions who live in the Northeast is not favored by many Cape Codders.

That these beautiful natural areas will be saved for posterity is fine.

Let us hope that the recreation forces won't disregard this warning from the Senate Appropriations Committee and try to make the Lower Cape a giant recreational area open to one and all at the expense of the resort business that supports a growing Cape.

Russian Fishing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, on a recent trip to the Soviet Union for the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee it became obvious to me that the Soviets have every intention of stepping up their already intensive exploitation of the seas. They have plans to move farther and farther south with the large oceangoing fishing vessels now in their fleet and under construction for future years. Their modern gear and techniques can practically sweep the ocean's bottom clean, with its adverse effects on conservation practices.

One approach to this problem will have to be through more international agreements. For this reason I am supporting a move to upgrade the office of special assistant for fisheries in the State Department. If this office carries more prestige and personnel, it will be better equipped to make the international agreements which can be of great value to our fishing industry in the future.

An article appeared recently in the Boston Herald which points up dramatically the problems Soviet fishing creates for us. I place this article in its entirety in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Boston Herald, May 21, 1966]

United States To Seek an End to Red Overfishing

(By Paul Giguere)

A determined effort to stop Russia's destructive "over-fishing" off New England and other coastal waters of the United States will be made at a meeting of the International Fisheries Commission in Madrid later this month, it was reported today.

Members of the New England congressional delegation were lining up solidly behind the attempt that may decide the health of the region's multimillion dollar fishing industry for years to come.

FOURTEEN MEMBERS

John B. Skerry, chief resources manager of the Northeast Region, U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, with headquarters in Gloucester, said that he will leave on May 28 to attend the annual conference as a member of the U.S. delegation. Soviet Russia is among 13 other members of the Commission, which seeks to adjudicate and regulate fisheries problems.

In need of protein for her large population, Russia fishes the international waters voraciously.

Other federal fisheries experts, as well as industry representatives and two officials of the U.S. State Department, will participate in the sessions.

Skerry said he believed that one approach by the United States will be a discussion of the possibility of establishing fishing quotas for various nations in off-shore international waters.

While there are many problems in quota system—such as how big a catch should be assigned to a nation, and whether on a monthly, quarterly or annual basis—the United States and Canada have already cooperated successfully in a halibut quota arrangement, he noted.

Time schedules would be important with a quota system, since one nation might appear early, for example, "to cream" the cyclical appearance of various species of fish during the year.

There was optimism in some quarters that the United States—which has the strong backing of several other members of the Commission—might be able to prevail upon Russia at least to modify her intensive operations in foreign fishing grounds.

"The plain truth," said one U.S. expert, "is that if the big, scientific Russian fishing fleets keep at it for another four or five years we'll all be in trouble. This rate of depletion can't keep up forever.

"The supply of many species will be exhausted from a commercial standpoint. Even, our own vessels have to work harder all the time to catch less. And some popular species of fish are showing signs of becoming less numerous."

It was reported that Russia is still going forward in building the world's largest scientific fishing fleet, constructing trawlers not only in her own shipyards but on order also from Japan, East and West Germany, Denmark, Poland, Sweden and Finland.

In the view of many U.S. officials: What good will all this equipment be later if the catching of fish becomes uneconomic.

"POURING SALT"

"It would be much like a farmer pouring salt on his land," commented one U.S. official. "Russia, the United States, all of the world's sea-faring nations, have a natural interest in keeping the seas fertile."

Charles L. Philbrook—the "flying fisheries" expert of the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries in the Northeast, who leaves Gloucester every few days to look as the Russian fishing fleet from a Coast Guard Albatross plane—has been something new this year.

For the first time since the Russians began fishing off New England six years ago, they have started large scale operations about a month earlier than usual.

Already, they have some 150 vessels at work, including modern stern trawlers which sweep up tons of fish at a time in huge "net bags."

Photographic evidence indicates that they are hauling in—for quick processing and freezing on their "factory" ships—large quantities of red hake.

Doubtless, they are doing this for reasons other than the red color of fish, which has no commercial market—at least not for the table—in most countries.

Is the vast Soviet fishing fleet finding that it has been too hungry?

In Defense of the Colorado River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 2, 1966

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the Colorado River project is intended to develop the water resources of the West, for the benefit of mankind. There are many sincere people who for reasons they consider to be good and sufficient are opposed to the project. However, in their zeal, many usually accurate individuals and newspapers have made rather seriously inaccurate statements. As an illustration, I ask permission to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times of May 18, 1966, together with a letter to the editor of the Times signed by the Honorable MORRIS K. UDALL, and by me.

THE HIGH COST OF ARIZONA

With its magnificent scenery and attractive climate, Arizona has a fast-growing population and a worsening water shortage. But there is something that outreaches its need for water. That is the state's breathtaking political audacity in trying to seize hold of national resources to put them to its own use.

Not content with proposing dams on the Colorado River that would invade the Grand Canyon, Arizona would also like to tap the Columbia River and other water resources of the Northwest. Title Two of the bill to authorize the Central Arizona project would open the door to this use of Northwestern water.

Not very surprisingly, Senator HENRY JACKSON of Washington, the chairman of the Interior Committee, and other senators from the Northwest are upset about Title Two. Because of Senator JACKSON's pivotal position on the committee, the Columbia River is probably safe for the moment from Arizona's imperial appetite.

But the Colorado is not so fortunate. Arizona and the neighboring states in the Colorado Basin have reached a political understanding to push for a $1.7 billion plan that involves building two dams, one above Grand Canyon National Park and one below it. It is true, as advocates always point out, that the view that most tourists see from the south rim of the Canyon would not be altered. But the Colorado River, as one of nature's master workmen flowing freely, moving thousands of tons of silt every day, and cutting canyons, would do its work no more. It would cease to be a free-flowing river; its ecology would be subverted; its side canyons would silt up.

The tragedy in all this is that these dams are not essential to divert water to central Arizona; they are merely intended to generate hydroelectric power which will be sold at a profit. It is this revenue that would be used to pay, in part, for the water diversion.

Arizona has to have water and its legitimate needs can and should be met. But Congress has the duty to study the state's needs in terms of national priorities. The first consideration must be that the violation of the Grand Canyon is too high a price to pay.

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., May 20, 1966.

The Editor,
The New York Times,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir: Your editorial dated May 18, 1966, and entitled "The High Cost of Arizona" has been read with great interest by those of us who are working on the pending bill before Congress to alleviate the water problems of the Southwest. Because the editorial criticizes Arizona's "breathtaking political audacity in trying to seize hold of national resources to put them to its own use," it indicates your editor is not aware of the nature of the problem or the purpose of the bill. We from Arizona would like to provide you with this information.

The revised bill to which you refer is not a bill sponsored by Arizona alone. Indeed, it was co-sponsored by thirty-four of California's thirty-eight representatives, and it has the support of all the five other states of the Colorado River Basin: Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming.

Its purposes are these: to construct the works to bring a portion of Arizona's Colorado River entitlement to central Arizona (Phoenix-Tucson) where it is desperately needed; to establish criteria for the operation of the river to protect the interests of the states of the Upper Basin (Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming) and permit them to develop their needed projects; to provide for the water to furnish to Mexico as required by the treaty between the U.S. and Mexico; and to investigate and report on a plan or plans to import water to the Colorado to provide for shortages which are already upon the basin and will grow progressively worse. The bill is also designed to provide recreation facilities for the public and to improve conditions for fish and wildlife.

No particular river or river basin is mentioned in the bill as a source of water export but the Columbia River Basin and Northern California are likely to be studied as possible sources of importation. The bill provides only for a study of water importation. Any actual diversion of water could come only after authorization by Congress in a subsequent act.

Water, if and when imported to the Colorado River, is not to serve Arizona alone. The first import, if authorized, would provide water to serve the Mexican Treaty. The next stage of imported water would be for use in Arizona, California, and Nevada, and the next water would be for the states of the Upper Colorado Basin. Imported water would also be provided to assist states which can use it in course of transit, such as Nevada and Eastern Oregon.

The use of water as a national resource is a vital part of the present program of our government. It is expressed in the Water Resources Planning Act passed by Congress in 1965 providing for water planning on a national scale with regional and river basin studies. It is expressed in the bill to control pollution. The fair and efficient utilization of this nation's water is as important to New York as it is to Arizona and the Southwest.

We submit that this bill is not an attempt by Arizona to seize national resources "for its own use" but the initiation of a part of the national program for broad regional water planning in which the resources of the whole region will be put to work for the benefit of more than 25 million people. The plain fact is that every region of this country is threatened with a future water crisis. We of the Pacific Southwest are facing ours first because we are (a) the most arid, and (b) the fastest growing. This bill is a highly significant pioneering attempt to see whether a region can resolve local differences and take the painful, broad and expensive steps required to meet long-range water needs before they become critical.

Nor does Arizona desire or intend to ruin the Grand Canyon by its water planning. The Grand Canyon of the Colorado is the natural wonder for which Arizona is best known, and it is its first pride.

Contrary to the series of distorted charges which are being made, the Colorado River Basin Project Act does not bring ruin to the Grand Canyon. The river would still flow unhampered for 104 miles through the Canyon, past the famous Bright Angel trail, the famous temple formations, and the other beloved landmarks visible from the South Rim. In fact, no dam, or its effects, will be seen from that part of the Canyon so familiar to so many Americans.

The State of Arizona counts among its friends the people of all of the other forty-nine states. We hope we can obtain the unedrstanding and cooperation of all of these states without harm to any.

Respectfully,

Morris K. Udall,
Member of Congress.
John J. Rhodes,
Member of Congress.

International Cooperation in Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

International Cooperation in Health

(Speech by Congressman John E. Fogarty, presented before health panel, White House Conference on International Cooperation, Tuesday, November 30, 1965, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.)

It is a very special pleasure for me to participate in this White House Conference on International Cooperation. I am pleased to be here this morning with such distinguished and expert leaders in the field of international health, and pleased to see so many old friends and acquaintances again. As all of you know, I have long had a great interest in international health affairs, and I am honored by this opportunity to speak to you.

I have read the fine report that the Committee on Health has prepared. I hope this report will become the basis for a far-reaching examination of our international health policies. I believe it will serve as a guide for the establishment of more effective policy in this area.

I caught in this document a sense of impatience with what is now going on in international health. It is a plea for boldness and imagination in approaching the tremendous problems that face the peoples of the world, as millions of them continue to bear the burdens of disease and disability. And I believe this impatience is justified. This Nation, with all its resources and all its wealth, can and should be doing more to help lift these burdens.

This report on international cooperation in health includes a number of recommendations that are worth reflection. They are a fine mixture of the practical and visionary. They are a call to action as well as a statement of principles. I think each of them demands discussion and considered response. We cannot, surely, afford to ignore the issues they raise.

A number of these recommendations deal with problems that have long been on my mind. One, which we all recognize as being of utmost urgency, calls on the United States to support fully the global disease eradication efforts of the World Health Organization. There is no question about our responsibility or our commitment. The President has time and again emphasized our national obligations and I have supported those pledges of aid.

The recommendation also urges us to "take steps toward the creation of a U.S. Disease Eradication Authority."

I am convinced that there is a great need to coordinate the activities of the Federal government and other public and private agencies in the field of disease eradication. We need to bring better order to this effort. We need to consolidate the scattered appropriations in this area.

And we must set our goals high: we must think of eradication, and not simply control. I was pleased to see that one of the first public appearances of the new Surgeon General, Dr. Stewart, was at the Pan American Health Organization's recent seminar on venereal diseases—he's interested in international health, too, you see. Dr. Stewart talked about eradication of disease, and he said: "Disease control, as an intermediate step, is a necessary target. But as a goal it is unacceptable. It implies tolerance of illness and death which are within our power to prevent. It permits satisfaction with partial accomplishment."

Well, partial accomplishment cannot be our goal when we are considering diseases that cripple and kill.

At the White House Conference on Health earlier this month, there was quite a bit of discussion about our need for greater effort in disease eradication. President Johnson, in his message to the Health Conference, also spoke about the need for eradicating disease, increasing life expectancy, and decreasing infant mortality. Although he was talking first of all about domestic needs, his statement has much meaning when considered in an international context. And, as a matter of fact, he did add: "Ours is a great opportunity to advance ideas which will contribute not only to a healthier America, but to a better world."

This recommendation for a Disease Eradication Authority is one of those ideas which will make this not only a healthier America, but a better world. All of us benefit whenever a disease is conquered.

The recommendation calling for a Disease Eradication Authority in the United States has direct bearing on one of the other recommendations in this report—the second, which asks for "an expanded, more activist role in international health affairs" for the Public Health Service. The report envisions the Public Health Service as the supporting agency for the proposed Disease Eradication

Authority, and in this way these two recommendations mesh together smoothly.

Sometimes I feel that our system of foreign quarantine, although it has a long and respected record of keeping this Nation safe from imported diseases, is something like the Maginot Line. We're hiding behind it, instead of attacking. We cannot simply defend ourselves from diseases likely to be brought in, we have got to attack them wherever they are.

A Disease Eradication Authority, supported by a strong corps of experienced public health workers, could become an attacking outfit— attacking diseases in this country such as syphilis, tuberculosis, and yellow fever, and providing the coordinated forces needed to attack other diseases abroad.

Recommendation Number Two, calling for an expanded Public Health Service role in international health, also has much bearing on Recommendation Number Three, which asks the United States to enlarge its commitment to increasing the supply medical manpower and facilities in the world.

I know that my friends in the Public Health Service have more experience and knowledge about disease and medical organization and medical education and community action in health than is found anywhere else in this country, or in very few other countries. I recognize that there are many remaining health problems within the United States, and the Pubic Health Service is being asked to accept increasing domestic responsibilities. I have had some hand in giving them some of these responsibilities, you may remember. Now I want to give them some more. There is much that can be done in international health by this Federal agency. It could be, for example, that the Communicable Disease Center in Atlanta, and the Foreign Quarantine Division, might get together in a joint program to train young American physicians and other health workers to fight the quarantinable diseases where they are to be found.

Training in the control of these diseases is largely text-book and laboratory training now. If American health personnel were acquainted with diseases that have long been kept out of the country they could do a better job of fighting them were they to appear here. We have had a number of scares in recent years, and each time we were forced suddenly to realize that we are very vulnerable. With increasing world travel for business and pleasure, perhaps our chances for escaping the importation of a strange disease are only random and statistical.

I am not an alarmist. But I do believe there is a great need for more American physicians to enroll in the school of experience. My medical friends have often said to me that their greatest teachers have been patients—sick human beings have taught them more than the most elaborate colored plates in the most expensive textbooks.

For us to take part effectively in the eradication of disease from the world, and in protecting ourselves from disease, we cannot rely any longer on *traded* knowledge. Our physicians and other health professionals must be able to *share* knowledge through sharing experience. The benefits of this kind of educational emphasis are many: better teaching, better research, better health protection for all.

There is one last recommendation in this report that I want to talk about today—you notice I haven't talked about them all, but have selected certain ones that particularly interest me. I am doing this because I don't want to take up all your time, and because I want to leave something for the rest of you to discuss. I want to hear what you have to say.

The last recommendation of the seven contained in this report has to do with nongovernmental and private organizations in health and their role in international health activities. The recommendation asks that the United States support and encourage the participation of these agencies in such efforts. I think this is an important recommendation; my only wish is that it were put much more strongly than it is, especially in respect to the role of voluntary agencies. It is essential that the efforts we make in international health be coordinated with the voluntary and non-profit health and welfare agencies. It is essential that they be included in our plans for action in this area. It is essential that we take full advantage of their expertise, their humanitarian spirit, their unique place in American society.

For the voluntary agencies are a unique characteristic of our Nation. This form of civic activity goes back to the earliest beginnings of this country. They are a part of the American way of life. Alexis de Tocqueville, writing in the early 19th century; said: "In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used, or more unsparingly applied to a multitude of different objects than in America . . . Wherever, at the head of some undertaking, you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association."

A century later George Santayana called this spirit of free cooperation, "the essence of Americanism."

We all know the history of the voluntary movement in this country, how it has grown and prospered, how it has pioneered in areas where government has been too slow or too timid to take action. I believe that in the field of international cooperation in health this powerful force must be used to fullest advantage.

The voluntary agencies can help us to decide what needs to be done; they can help us get public understanding for what needs to be done. They can again lead the government in what needs to be done.

To function most effectively as an elected representative of the people I must know what the people need and want. The voluntary agencies can help me to know.

I hope that this report will be read by all the voluntary agencies in this country. I hope that they will study it and make sure the people of the United States know about it.

I realize that I am violating one of the first rules for a Congressman. I'm posting an open invitation to do some "lobbying"—frankly, I don't get enough of this kind of lobbying and too much of the other kind. I know there are many warm-hearted generous Americans who are concerned about the world and want to do something to help the less fortunate. I want to hear from them and get their ideas.

There is another way to look at this seventh recommendation. Not only can the voluntary agencies interpret the wishes of the people, they can act as trail-blazers for government action in this field of international health—they can do much themselves.

The concept of the voluntary association is an exportable commodity. It is a concept that is little understood and less-used by many other countries. The concept itself needs interpretation and explanation around the world. Here, too, the voluntary associations have a role.

Some voluntary agencies already operate international programs. Some have overseas branches or affiliates. I believe more must be done to expand and broaden these relationships with foreign associations, that a powerful source of citizen participation in the affairs of their countries can be created through such affiliations. And I believe our government can do much to bring about such cooperation, by helping our homegrown voluntaries forge stronger ties with their overseas counterparts.

International cooperation in health is one of the most important tasks which face us today. It is a task that is affected by such world problems as poverty and rising population rates, to be sure; and it is a task that in turn affects these other problems. But much can be done now, and must be done now, with the tools we have—research knowledge, technical expertise, perfected and tested supplies and materials, trained manpower, and public administration experience.

The mood and spirt of our times makes me feel that now is the time we can begin this great task. We are at last aware that without cooperation between nations we shall never achieve our highest ideals—a free world, free from strife, free from hunger, poverty, and misery and free from disease.

The Great Society: Tuxedoes for Dropouts, but No Shoes for Soldiers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, today I have written the President to ask him why it is that the Great Society can furnish war on poverty teenagers with tuxedoes for a junior prom and a free dinner for them and their dates, and at the same time fail to provide shoes and socks for our fighting men in Vietnam.

Much to the shame of this Great Society administration a soldier from my district had to write to a local shoestore in Saugus, Calif., to buy shoes and socks so he could fight the war in Vietnam. The North Oaks Footwear store sent the shoes without charge by airmail. So at least one of our soldiers has shoes over there.

But at the same time, Mr. Speaker, the Great Society was handing out tuxedoes and free dinners to 16 war on poverty teenagers so that they could go the junior prom at the Dos Palos, Calif., Union High School. Think of it, tuxedoes at taxpayers expense for high school dropouts. But no shoes for our soldiers in Vietnam. I am appalled that the so-called Great Society could come to this. And I would like an explanation.

I include in the Record the news accounts of this ridiculous situation:

[From the Newhall (Calif.) Signal, May 22, 1966]

Request From Vietnam: Please Send Me Shoes—Air Mail

George Washington's troops fought for the independence of the United States in bare feet numbed by freezing cold. The American soldier of today may be fighting in bare feet reddened by sunburn in Vietnam.

Leonard Lancaster, of 17936 Sierra Highway, is in Vietnam with the armed forces of the United States. He recently sent an airmail request to North Oaks Footwear in Saugus asking for shoes and socks because he could not obtain any in Vietnam.

Lancaster sent a $20 check with an order to the store asking for six pairs of white socks, size 10½ and two pair of white laced work shoes. He asked that the shoes be rubber-like, as "the climate eats the hell out of shoes over here."

"I need them very bad," Lancaster added requesting in a post script that they be sent "air mail."

Dick Shacknies, of the shoe store, returned the check to the young man's parents and sent the requested footwear free of charge to Camranh Bay, where Lancaster is stationed.

An official publication of the shoe manufacturing industry has also mentioned the lack of footwear for American servicemen in Vietnam, Shacknies said.

Now, at least one American serviceman will not have to worry about shoes.

[From the North Hollywood (Calif.) Valley Times, May 20, 1966]

16 POVERTY WAR STUDENTS FITTED OUT IN TUXEDOES

DOS PALOS, CALIF.—The government's War on Poverty Program will outfit 16 boys in tuxedoes for the Dos Palos Union High School junior prom next week—and treat them and their dates to dinner.

School Supterintendent Jack E. Mulkey, who made the announcement Thursday, said going to the junior prom is "an experience of cultural development."

"In the Peace Corps: It's Called Flexibility," an Article by Christina Hughes Paniagua, a Peace Corps Volunteer From Culver, Ind., in the Culver Alumnus, Spring, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a most interesting article by a young Peace Corps volunteer from my own congressional district, Mrs. Christina Hughes Paniagua, of Culver, Ind.

Mrs. Paniagua is about to return to the United States after service in the Peace Corps in the rural areas of Bolivia.

I believe her article gives an excellent picture of the contributions which the Peace Corps can make in other countries and I am pleased to call Mrs. Paniagua's article to the attention of my colleagues.

The article appears in the spring 1966, issue of the Culver Alumnus.

The article follows:

IN THE PEACE CORPS: IT'S CALLED FLEXIBILITY

(By Christina Hughes Paniagua)

Flexibility! Flexibility! Flexibility!

This was the word that was drummed into us during our Peace Corps training at Washington University and then at Puerto Rico where I took my training more than two years ago.

"You will have experiences working with people that no one can now anticipate. You'll find you will have to adapt, sometimes in a hurry." This was the message that ran through much of our three months preparation.

After more than two years in Bolivia as a nurse, all I can say is Amen to that. And as I come to the end of my tour and get ready to return to the United States I can say emphatically it has indeed been a worthwhile experience.

Frustration? Ah, yes, we have had them, sometimes to the point that I wish the word flexibility had never been invented. But let's start with the frustrations before I brag about one or two accomplishments.

Some of them were "little" things. For example, here in the Altiplano, where I was stationed in a small hospital for several months, we have no running water except in the hospital itself. I wash all my clothes in the nearby river, hang them up . . . and the lines constantly fall down. We have lived mostly on potatoes, rice, some other vegetables but little or no meat and only an occasional egg.

So I decided to start my own flock of chickens imported from Potosi. They got scrawnier and scrawnier. Only one laid an egg. We killed them and had stew! I planted vegetables and just about the time they were developing, we had to leave for a long eight-day trip through the mountains to vaccinate more than 1,500 campesinos against smallpox. It rained hard all the time we were gone; we repaired washed out roads, slept in the jeep, and walked where the jeep couldn't go. When we got back, the garden had washed away. We had rice and potatoes again.

We helped build latrines in areas where there had never been such luxuries, but when they were completed the people admired them but refused to use them. Instead they went right on using fields and roads whenever there were any.

Earlier I had tried to get a therapy program going in a women's mental hospital near Sucre, where I was stationed for over a year. But hospital politics, resistant to any kind of change, resulted in my daily resolution to return to the States where life is easy and people benefit from new ideas rather than reject them.

Then I remembered the key word—flexibility. So instead of a new occupational therapy program, I started a nursery in the local market where children of working mothers could be cared for instead of being taken along with the mother to work. This was successful. I started with five children and finally reached 25, the maximum we could handle. We managed to have milk sent to us by CARITAS, a state-side Roman Catholic charity organization. It was put to good use and the babies thrived.

I also worked near Sucre organizing community work groups for building bridges, improving sanitary facilities, starting vaccination programs. To round off the day, I volunteered my services to a free evening Roman Catholic clinic for patients who could not afford medical care. There I was frequently left in charge, and as a result I began to discover that a well-trained nurse can do just about anything that a general practitioner can do—including delivering babies, stitching minor wounds, and setting minor fractures!

Then the ministry of health asked me if I would accept appointment to be the first "gringo" here at a new rural hospital high in the Andes Mountains, 40 miles from Potosi. I visited it and jumped at the chance. After more than a year here, I have really learned what it means to be "flexible."

I have become a member of a massive Indian family, which at first regarded me as a foreign curiosity but by now has taught me far more than I have taught them.

What's it been like here so far from the comforts of Culver? Well, my husband and I (I was married this past year to a Bolivian doctor who is director of the Health Center here) and our dog live in a two-room apartment attached to the Center. We have no electricity, no running water, and no latrine—you just can't know how latrine-conscious an American becomes on an assignment like mine.

We wash our clothes every Sunday in a nearby river. When we tire of potatoes, rice, avocado, we have someone go to Potosi to pick us up a treat: a package of Knorr's powdered soup for 55 cents. When that happens, I really feel civilized again. I suppose such living is hardship; but more of a hardship I sometimes think will be trying to readjust to life in the United States.

To these "hardships" I have managed to adjust. The other "hardship" that has really demanded flexibility, however, hasn't been so easy. Let me illustrate and maybe then you will see that I have learned as much if not more than I have given.

Our rural hospital is in the middle of nowhere but also in the midst of 15,000 Indians, who are in our care. For the first seven months we were here we went out to the people because they refused to come to us. They had never before heard of a doctor or a nurse. They couldn't figure out why I was so pale. These people knew witch doctors, and they knew that "if lightning strikes" nearby, someone in the family is destined to be a witch doctor. Our cures and methods were just as strange to them as theirs were to us.

If we were ever going to be of service it was soon obvious that we would first have to go to them rather than wait for them to come to us. I walked for miles up dirt roads seeking out any witch doctor I could find. It was not as difficult as I thought it would be, and when I found them they were gracious and courteous. They also knew a great deal.

With my Bolivian boy guide—I needed a translator since I was not proficient in Quechua, the language of the Indians who also speak Spanish—I was invited out in the backyard to witness delivery of a breech baby. The woman had been in labor for more than two days. I examined her, and I watched as she was tossed in a blanket, certain she and the baby would be killed. She wasn't. In some mysterious way that I do not understand, the baby was straightened around; delivery was successful. Eventually, I learned a great deal from this one man about local cures, herbs, medicines. He even agreed to try some of my antibiotics and vaccinations.

I've learned what can be accomplished with poultices of dead bees mixed with dirt. I've learned much about the importance of faith for the cure of a patient, much about what we call psychosomatic medicine.

But I have also seen the terrible results that occur from plain ignorance. So frequently we have had patients well on the road to recovery only to have them undo everything by becoming impatient and returning to a witch doctor, who had been responsible for the condition in the first place.

Recently we were visited by an old man living far up from the base, as nearly as we could tell, about 20 miles. He had managed to walk—sometimes catch a ride—to see us about a bad infection. He had paid 20 sheep to be cured. When we examined the wound on his leg we found it filled with infection. We explained to him the "tiny animals" that could be seen in the microscope. We explained about our injections that would help. He gave us a chance. He has been coming back every day since, and most important he has been carrying the good word about us wherever he has gone. Now all of us here—two doctors and two nurses—(I'm still the only "pale, chubby gringo")—feel like Dr. Schweitzer.

There was another example where a witch doctor wasn't so successful with a breech delivery. One night my Bolivian counterpart and I had been left in full charge while both doctors were away in Potosi. They had gone for medical supplies. At 8:30 there came a knock at my door. I was alone at the time setting my hair in curlers and getting ready to go to bed. There were no lights and it is almost impossible to read by candle light. I hurried to the door and there stood an old man shaking from the cold wind. He wore only an Indian poncho and an old torn shirt.

He tried explaining to me what had happened, and I could understand only a very little of what he was talking in Quechua. I grabbed my candle and hurried to the hospital where there were about 20 people standing outside with their animals. The man's wife was rolled up in a blanket and crying with pain. I asked the driver what had happened and he began to explain:

"She has been in labor for over 14 hours and the baby had presented at five o'clock this morning. The husband took her to the witch doctor to have the baby delivered and he felt that the best thing to do was to cut the arm off and then the baby could be easily delivered. Her husband didn't want to have his first child armless so he asked to have her brought here."

I called to the aide to send for the other nurse and we took her into the delivery room. The Bolivian nurse gave the anesthesia and I did the manual extraction. I had to do a complete rotation of the baby, and it took me almost an hour and a half. The baby was dead upon arrival but at least I was able to have the mother's life. The next day I was asked by the father if the baby could be named after me. I agreed and accompanied the parents to the cemetery—an experience I will never forget.

Peace Corps Volunteers are not all successes and not all failures. We entered the PC for several reasons, and each one of us has been given the opportunity to do that job that we have set out to do or to waste the two years away without doing anything. No one has ever so much as said: accomplish so many things in the two years you are a PCV. We volunteered to try and promote world peace and friendship, to help those countries that need and ask for our assistance, and to promote an actual knowledge of the U.S. and at the same time learn of their countries.

I feel that one thing that makes a Peace Corps Volunteer successful is that he is doing something that he believes in.

Now that I am about to return home to my country, family and friends, I must look back over the two years and ask myself: was the whole experience really worth it?

To me, a small town girl who lived in her own little world with truly everything I've ever needed, I could not feel the need of the world surrounding me. I could have cared less where foreign aid money went, what the Alliance for Peace Program was doing, if President Johnson sent forces to Viet Nam or intervened in the Dominican Republic.

I was, I thought, happy in my little world where food was never lacking. I never worried if the farmers had rain for their crops or their chickens were dying from some disease. But I could never have had the true happiness that I now have.

I have seen hunger, death, hardships, crops wiped out by bad storms, and rains washing away small one-room adobe huts. To the average American, what does it matter if a man in some far off country has lost everything he has by a hail storm? There is always that next dollar that will buy another T.V.

Here, a small Indian woman, who has not a red cent to her name, can smile and say: "there's more good years to come. I will only have to pray that all goes well." There is no sadness in these people. The mere cultural exchange with the Bolivian people has made me more aware of the needs of the needy.

For the self-centered little girl I used to be, I have now learned to love those who need loving—a small boy whose father has died and who has no one to talk to; or in an emergency delivery where I smile and say everything will be all right.

These have been my worthwhile experiences that have made up for all the frustrations. I have showed them that my country wants to help. By my mere presence, a daily hello, a smile or shake of the hand, I have brought to these people what a true American felt was needed: an understanding and a will to help.

The investment my country has made by sending me here was worth every cent the taxpayer pays. I, and others, have served my people well. My only hope is that others like us will want to sacrifice two years to continue what the Peace Corps has begun.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Chairman, the United States today is experiencing one of the greatest periods of prosperity and affluence in our history as a country. Yet amidst this plenty exist striking pockets of poverty.

It would be too simple and easy to blame all of these poverty pockets on the fact that the Fair Labor Standards Act covers less than one-half of our wage and salary workers today. But the record shows that of the 15 million children living in poverty-stricken families, fully one-third are in families headed by a breadwinner that works year around, but at less than the minimum wage. The problem here, clearly, is not unemployment, but employment with inadequate pay.

The Fair Labor Standards Act was first passed in 1938 because too many people were being denied this Nation's prosperity. That fact continues to exist today, and this bill must be passed without weakening or crippling amendments to redress that injustice.

There are those who argue against this legislation, calling an increase in the minimum wage "excessive and dangerous." But this is not the case at all.

Fully 31 percent of the workers who would be extended minimum-wage protection by this bill now receive less than $1.25 an hour. And just what does $1.25 an hour amount to? Nothing more than a poverty standard. Even figuring 40 hours of work a week for 52 weeks a year this only amounts to $2,600, and the most commonly accepted poverty standard is $400 higher.

And the wages of workers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act generally do not rise with increases in the cost of living, so in reality they suffer a continuing decline in terms of real earnings.

Mr. Chairman, a man or woman employed 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, at $1.60 an hour, would make the grand sum of $3,328. This is hardly an "excessive or a dangerous" rate of pay. It is hardly too much for our country to guarantee those workers who are covered under the basic wage and hour law of this land.

But what about the extension of coverage to 7.2 million additional workers? On this point I would like to dwell solely on a group being brought under the protection of minimum wage legislation for the very first time—America's farmworkers.

Critics of providing a minimum wage to those who toil in the field for a living have cited this provision as neither "fair nor equitable."

Well, I would agree, but for completely opposite reasons.

This bill, as originally reported by the committee, would have covered 1.3 million agricultural employees, or about 50 percent of the hired farm labor force. This in itself was too small a figure.

But the bill before us today would cover only 485,000 farmworkers, or 39 percent of the farm labor force. What is "fair" or "equitable" about excluding those who toil on smaller farms from this minimal coverage? There is clearly no justification, except that of expediency, and that is no justification at all.

Mr. Chairman, the plight of America's farmworkers, and particularly migrant farm laborers, portrays a great American paradox. The productivity of this country's agriculture is unexcelled. It is the envy of the world.

Yet the affluence which characterizes so many of our Nation's big growers contrasts sharply with the poverty, deprivation, and hardship which typifies the life of most who labor in the field.

A report prepared by the Department of Labor in February made very clear that hired farmworkers are at the bottom of the wage scale. Their average earnings of $1 an hour in May of last year were only 27 percent of earnings in contract construction, one-third of those in mining, 40 percent of those in manfacturing and wholesaling, and about half of those in the retail trades.

Over the years migrant farmworkers have commonly earned less than the average unskilled worker is likely to pay each year in taxes alone. It is obviously an inadequate wage and an indefensible standard.

Perhaps even more inadequate and indefensible is the proposal to establish a different minimum wage for agricultural workers. Those employees who are already covered under the Fair Labor Standards Act and certain Federal employees, will have their minimum wage rise to $1.60 an hour on February 1, 1968. Newly covered nonfarm workers will reach the same coverage in 1971. But farmworker coverage stops at $1.30 an hour.

Are farmworkers less deserving? Is their work easier? Or do they require less?

The answer to each of these questions, clearly, is a resounding "No." And when we consider that most farmworkers are fortunate to be employed for as much as 40 weeks a year, and that their annual income, even at $1.30 an hour for this period, is only slightly in excess of $2,000, then we see how patently ridiculous and inadequate this coverage is.

In the last 2 years we have taken major steps to remove the badge of second-class citizenship from minority-group members in this country and from those who immigrate to our shores from other lands. But clearly we still have a task at hand to remove the second-class label from those who do an honest day's work in our fields.

Mr. Chairman, I will support this minimum-wage legislation because it is essential, and because in the case of farm labor, it is at least a step in the right direction.

But we can do better. We must do better if poverty is not to continue as a way of life, and I urge this committee and this Congress to move soon to redress the inequities that this bill leaves untended.

Distorting the Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 19, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a self-styled safety critic and author, recently appeared before our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. In his testimony he attacked the automobile industry and the insurance industry. As a former professional safety manager, I do not believe sensationalism and distortion of the facts will result in improved traffic safety. In regard to this man's testimony about the insurance industry, I think it is only fair to present both sides of the issue. Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a recent article from the Journal of Commerce in which James S. Kemper, Jr., an executive of one of this Nation's largest insurance companies, challenged statements made by the publicity seeking author:

[From the Journal of Commerce, May 11, 1966]

AUTOMOBILE SAFETY CRITIC CHARGED WITH DISTORTING INSURANCE FACTS

An executive of one of the nation's largest automobile insurance companies has charged that self-styled safety expert Ralph Nader was guilty of "distortions and errors of fact" in his attack on the insurance industry.

James S. Kemper, Jr., president of the companies of the Kemper Insurance Group of Chicago, issued a statement in New York in which point by point he challenged Mr. Nader's testimony last week before the House commerce committee.

Mr. Kemper disputed the Nader statement that no insurance company nor trade association representative had appeared before a Congressional committee studying auto safety.

INSTITUTE IS ACTIVE

Mr. Kemper said that as early as March 3, 1965, the industry-sponsored Insurance Institute for Highway Safety wrote Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF of Connecticut, chairman of a Senate subcommittee planning hearings on highway safety. The institute informed Mr. RIBICOFF that it was vitally interested in the study and asked whether he contemplated asking insurance people to testify. A month later, on April 5, 1965, Mr. Kemper offered the Ribicoff Subcommittee services of experts and witnesses from his companies.

Then, Russell I. Brown, president of the institute, appeared just last week before the very committee before which Nader made his attack. The institute's testimony and an exhaustive brief filed with the committee supported the administration bill on highway safety.

Mr. Kemper dismissed Mr. Nader's statement concerning rate increases obtained by the automobile insurance business as "hardly a success story."

AUTO LOSSES CITED

"The fact is," he said, "that in the last 10 years the insurance industry has lost one and one quarter billion dollars on automobile insurance. The fact is that we have consistently been unable to obtain rate increases adequate to keep pace with the rising accident rate and the sharp upward trend in claim costs."

As for the industry's practice of rating drivers instead of automobiles for liability insurance, Mr. Kemper recalled that a version of the latter system of liability rating was tried more than 30 years ago. The industry abandoned it because underwriters found no meaningful correlation between this method of rating and actual experience. He also pointed to earlier testimony before the same House committee that 90 per cent of accidents are caused by improper driving. "You can be sure," he said, "that any time we find a more accurate method of rating automobile liability insurance, we will be eager to adopt it."

PROUD OF ROLE

Mr. Nader referred, according to published reports, to investment by insurance companies in auto industry securities and to customer relationships between the two industries. Mr. Kemper said that as a matter of fact insurance companies invest "in everybody's good stocks—steel, food, chemicals, etc.—and everybody is our customer."

Mr. Kemper declared emphatically—"I am proud of the role the insurance industry has played in trying to promote increased traffic safety.

"The insurance companies, far from abdicating a role in this vital field, have provided leadership, inspiration, brains and money for nearly 50 years in an all-out effort to reduce the terrible toll on our streets and highways."

Labor-Report of Smaller Business Association of New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, It is my honor to present the second in a series of four legislative area proposals by the Smaller Business Association of New England, the first part of which appeared in the RECORD of May 24. The proposals printed below on the question of "labor" legislation were presented by Mr. Charles Bollard, president, Ellis Paperboard Products, Portland, Maine, as part of the association's 1966 recommendations for congressional action:

LABOR

1. Establish labor courts for critical disputes.
2. Enjoin unions from violating no-strike clauses.
3. Require secret ballot for union recognition.
4. Oppose federalization of unemployment compensation program.
5. Retain section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley Act.

1. *Establish Labor Courts to Resolve Critical Labor Disputes*: The increase of crippling strikes against the public welfare is evidence that the existing procedures for prohibiting such strikes are inadequate.

Our association supports President Johnson's call for appropriate remedial legislation. SBANE recommends that the Congress establish Federal Labor Courts (Figure 12) to resolve controversies and prevent strikes in areas vital to the public welfare. The Labor Courts should be staffed by tenure judges who would be granted extensive remedial powers under the enabling legislation.

2. *Enjoin Union From Violating No-Strike Clauses*: Our Association believes that there is an unfair disparity between the rights of employers and unions in the sphere of legal remedies available to the parties in the event of breaches of collective bargaining agreements.

The U.S. Supreme Court declares that existing Law prohibits the Federal Courts from enjoining a union from striking in violation of its contract. The Supreme Court has ruled, however, that the Federal Courts do possess power to enforce an employer's agreement to arbitrate a union dispute by an injunction order. At present, the only recourse an employer has in the event the Union violates a no-strike clause is to seek damages in court. Because of expensive court costs and procedural delays, this remedy is not only expensive, but often disastrous, especially for smaller businessmen with limited financial resources. Our members believe that injunctions against breaches of no-strike clauses are the only way to prevent irreparable injuries to small businesses.

We strongly recommend that the Norris LaGuardia Act be amended to authorize the Federal Courts to grant injunctions against Unions (Figure 13) who have breached the no-strike clauses in their collective bargaining agreements.

3. *Require Secret Ballot For Union Recognition:* Our Association is concerned because the NLRB has increased the kinds of cases in which employers are required to recognize and bargain with Unions based only on a check of employee signatures on Union authorization cards, and without benefit of a secret ballot election. This represents a complete reversal of the intent of Congress in placing the secret ballot device in the original statute. Under present conditions, signatures for union authorization cards may be procured by a variety of illegal means such as fraud, coercion or forgery.

DEFEAT H.R. 8282

1. Increased costs to employers.
2. Would aggravate critical labor shortage.

4. *Defeat of H.R. 8282:* We strongly urge defeat of H.R. 8282, which would federalize the entire unemployment compensation program. Over the years, small business has accepted and worked for the improvement of the present unemployment compensation program, but we are opposed to any Bill that would encourage unemployment such as H.R. 8282.

The two main points (Figure 14) of our opposition are the greatly increased costs to all employers, and the belief that this Bill will encourage unemployment. A survey of our membership shows that passage of this Bill would raise unemployment compensation payments by an average of over $5,000 a year per member.

This bill, if passed, would provide 52 weeks of unemployment compensation for 20 weeks of employment to an employee out of work for any cause. During the past year, many of our members have expressed increased alarm over the labor shortage for both skilled and unskilled workers in the New England area. In fact, many believe this labor shortage has almost reached a period of national crisis.

The present state unemployment compensation laws encourage stable employment through the "experience rating procedure", under which employers' costs vary according to the degree of lay-offs or terminations of his employees. We believe stable employment should be a matter of national concern, and that the provisions of H.R. 8282 abolishing this experience rating would destroy employer incentive and be a direct detriment to employees.

SBANE can see no reason why an employee who quits without cause, is fired for willful misconduct, or refuses to take suitable work while drawing UC benefits, should be eligible for such benefits as provided in this Bill.

RETAIN 14(b)

Quoting from: Samuel Gompers, Louis D. Brandeis, Donald R. Richberg, Arthur Goldberg.

5. *Retain Section 14(b) Of The Taft Hartley Act:* The Association is opposed to any attempts to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act.

Nothing has changed our previously expressed conviction that, in the prolonged debate on right-to-work versus union security, no adequate justification has been advanced for requiring any employee to join a union against his will, in order to obtain or keep a job. (Figure 15)

Samuel Gompers, first President of the American Federation of Labor, in discussing union shop in his farewell speech to the American Federation of Labor stated, "no lasting gain can come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible."

Justice Louis D. Brandeis was quoted, in the recent Supreme Court case upholding right-to-work laws, as stating "The union attains success when it reaches the ideal condition and the ideal condition for a union, is to be strong and stable, and yet to have in the trade, outside its own ranks, an appreciable number of men who are nonunionists. Such a nucleus of unorganized labor will check aggression by the union, as the union checks oppression by the employer."

Donald R. Richberg, well known as the father of railway labor, stated, "It is hard to understand how labor unions, which have developed as voluntary organizations of self-help to free labor from any oppressions of employer power, can justify their present program of using the employer's control of jobs to force men into unions to which they do not wish to belong."

Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg is officially on notice as having stated that union shops are inappropriate for Federal Government employees. We know of no distinctions that would be applicable between employees in private industry and employees of the Federal Government.

Representative Mailliard Cites Bankruptcy in Federal Maritime Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, Representative WILLIAM MAILLIARD, of California, with whom I am pleased to serve on the House Merchant Marine Committee, addressed the Propeller Club of Washington, D.C., on Monday, May 23, in commemoration of National Maritime Day. His voice was joined with those of many other concerned citizens across the country in citing the bankruptcy in Federal maritime leadership. Our merchant marine fleet is sailing without the clear leadership of the Maritime Administration. It appears that the Administration is lost in the gray fog of indecision. I fear that the fleet will sink in this rough sea of incompetency, unless the Administration set a clear course for this Nation's merchant marine.

For the information of Members of Congress, I insert the account of Representative MAILLIARD's address from the Journal of Commerce of May 24, 1966, in the RECORD:

[From the Journal of Commerce, May 24, 1966]

FLEET DECAY CHIEF TOPIC OF SPEECHES: CALIFORNIA LEGISLATOR ISSUES STRONG ATTACK ON MARITIME DAY

(By Alan F. Schoedel)

America is playing a dangerous game in letting its merchant marine and its shipbuilding capacity sink into decay and obsolescence at a time when one foreign crisis after another threatens the national security, Maritime Day speakers warned yesterday.

A note of genuine alarm is being sounded by spokesmen in both Government and industry because of the maritime situation revealed by the Viet Nam emergency.

This note prevailed in key speeches given over the weekend; it continued to prevail yesterday, with the most severe attack coming from the ranking Republican member of the House Merchant Marine Committee, Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California.

LBJ HOLDS KEY

Assailing the contradictory statements made by leading maritime officials in Government, Congressman MAILLIARD told the Propeller Club of Washington, D.C., last night that only one man—President Lyndon B. Johnson—could remedy the situation.

The California Congressman, who in 1961 oposed placing the Maritime Administration in the Department of Commerce, said that today his "worst fears" had been realized.

"In a word, we are bankrupt—bankrupt in Federal maritime leadership, and because of it we find ourselves in this deplorable state of affairs."

CONTRASTING OPINIONS

He pointed out that Maritime Administrator Nicholas Johnson had declared that for the most part the U.S.-flag merchant fleet is physically obsolete, but a deputy administrator said he failed to see any disastrous situation; the Secretary of Defense holds that the American merchant marine is "adequate" while high-ranking naval officers state it is not.

"We must get on with a realistic ship construction program," said Congressman MAILLIARD. "We must put to sea a competitive fleet of bulk carriers, and we must set out to this now."

He recommended that this be done by using Title VII of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, constructing ships for the Government's account, placing them in operation under charter and eventually selling them by competitive bids to American-flag operators. This would follow a precedent set by President Truman, he noted.

Congressman MAILLIARD put forward a series of five proposals aimed at "ending the current impasse." In addition to a Government ship construction program under Title VII of the Merchant Marine Act, he advocated a new tax deferment system to "overcome our alarming deficiency in bulk carriers," and doubling of the present ship replacement program "to head off impending block obsolscence in the liner fleet."

He also called for a Government approach that would restore confidence in the industry, and upgrading of the National Defense Reserve Fleet.

To meet the problems created by labor difficulties, he urged establishment of "a more favorable climate in maritime labor relations, setting the stage for technological advances in ship design and providing career incentives to American maritime personnel."

In Baltimore yesterday, another attack was levelled at the Maritime Administrator's suggestions that subsidized operators be allowed to build ships aboard for American-flag service.

Daniel D. Strohmeier, vice president of Bethlehem Steel Corp. in charge of shipbuilding, told a World Trade Week luncheon that the United States cannot have a merchant marine to carry out national objectives if it does not also have a corresponding shipbuilding capacity.

"The issue as I see it is whether we can have adequate sea power with a large and aging fleet in being but without proper replacement capability, or with a balance between fleet in being and capability to expand rapidly," Mr. Strohmeier said. "Put this way, the question answers itself."

A COMPUTER BLUNDER

Despite all the talk of air transport, 98 per cent of the Viet Nam lift is by ship, he pointed out. "Washington's computers concluded we had enough ships," he added, but it has been necessary to break out 108 overage Victory ships from the mothball fleet and now "we are scraping the bottom of the shipping barrel in an undeclared war that involves no enemy action at sea."

Predicting that if the U.S. is involved in another war it will be a long war of attrition, Mr. Strohmeier said:

"No nation has ever won a long war with the hardware on hand at the start. This includes ships. In World War II, Allied merchant vessels lost to enemy action totaled 4,786.

"Early losses averaged nearly 100 per month, and this in spite of the fact that Germany began the war with only 47 submarines. Russia today has approximately 500.

"The probabilities are strong that our existing merchant fleet would be decimated by the end of the first year. Where would the replacements come from?

In Memoriam Senator Elisha T. (June) Barrett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, in all of the history of the State of New York, there has been no more dedicated a legislator than State Senator Elisha T. Barrett who was called to his eternal reward on May 8. Senator Barrett served with distinction for nearly 30 years in the State legislature; he was first elected to the assembly in 1936 and then to the senate in 1956. He was the successful candidate in 18 consecutive elections, in itself a tribute.

Senator Barrett's influence has been felt for these 30 years in the State capitol at Albany; his influence will endure and surpass the test of time. His integrity, wisdom of judgment, and farsighted marked him as outstanding in a group of outstanding legislators.

His political party saw fit to give him high recognition when in 1957 he was named permanent chairman of the New York State Republican convention.

It was my privilege, before becoming a Member of the Congress, to serve in the New York State Legislature as an assemblyman. I was fortunate to be among those to receive the wise counsel of Senator Barrett. The many eulogies given in a memorial session of the State senate, held on May 9, testify that I was not alone in being so privileged as to have received the advice of this truly great man. Legislation was his business and he was never too busy to discuss it with a freshman legislator, or with anyone else who sought information. He justifiably earned the title of "Full Time Legislator," for Senator Barrett never allowed anything to interfere with his work as a lawmaker. During session, he hardly ever left Albany to return to his home in Brightwaters, Long Island; rather, he remained to do his "homework" on the numerous pieces of legislation in which he was interested, and on the many problems confronting the legislature. His devotion to his work enabled him to become most effective.

Prior to the 1965 redistricting of the New York State Legislature, Senator Barrett represented all of Suffolk County. It was then the second largest State senatorial district in all of the United States, Los Angeles being the largest. Yet, despite its huge size and the almost constant demands of his constituents, Senator Barrett was able to keep up with the demands, and the changing times.

His eulogy, as one high-placed New York State official remarked, is contained in the laws of the State of New York from the year 1936, when he was first elected, to 1966.

Senator Barrett has left a legacy for the people of his county, the people of his State, and all of the people of the United States of America. He was chairman, for about 15 years, of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation, and as its chairman gained national prominence in the cause of federalism among the States. Many bills, which originated with Senator Barrett have been adopted in all 50 States and U.S. territories. His ability toward this end received the recognition of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who selected Senator Barrett for membership on the Advisory Committee on Inter-Governmental Cooperation.

Senator Barrett held numerous positions outside the realm of the State of New York. He was a charter member of the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Council, and held the post of vice chairman of the Council of State Governments for the Northeastern States.

His knowledge of the laws of the State and of the compacts between the States was befittingly eulogized also when he was termed a great "nonlawyer lawyer."

I have lost a dear friend; New York State and our great country have lost an elder statesman.

Review of the Current Farm Labor Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently I received from Mr. Matt Triggs, assistant legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, an outstanding report on the current farm labor situation. The date of the report is May 9, 1966, and it is entitled "Review of the Current Farm Labor Situation." Mr. Triggs and his associates have put together quite a lot of facts and informational data in this article.

With the consideration of the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act which would bring farm labor under the minimum wage for the first time, the views of the American Farm Bureau are most appropriate. I set forth below as a part of my remarks this illuminating and provocative résumé of the labor situation on American farms:

MAY 9, 1966.

REVIEW OF THE CURRENT FARM LABOR SITUATION

This is a partial report of a Farm Bureau Farm Labor Committee appointed by President Charles B. Shuman as a result of an action by the AFBF Board of Directors.

Conditions in the various states and counties vary so substantially that no particular comment or recommendation may be uniformly applicable.

Subject to this recognition, the Committee summarizes its views with respect to the current farm labor situation and measures which may be taken to alleviate the situation as follows:

GENERAL

At no other time or place have a people been as well fed by so few as in the United States. A critical factor in this productive activity—and one often inadequately understood by non-farm people—is that agricultural production and employment are necessarily geared to the seasons. The employment of large numbers of seasonal workers for short periods is the crucial factor in vegetable, fruit, sugar cane and tobacco harvest and to a declining degree in sugar beet and cotton harvest.

In no other major industry does hired labor employment in a particular establishment increase from virtually nothing to scores or even hundreds temporarily employed for a short period.

Between January and July the employment of farm workers must be more than tripled—from about 700,000 to about 2,300,000. An additional 1,600,000 farm workers must be recruited from some source.

The 1966 season appears to be particularly critical—more critical than at any time in recent decades—with respect to the availability of potential farm workers. The economic boom has pulled into commercial employment and provided permanent jobs for a substantial portion of the work force that would otherwise be available for seasonal employment by farmers.

THE UNEMPLOYED AS A SOURCE OF FARM LABOR

The latest estimate (April of the number of unemployed people in the United States is 2,802,000.

Unfortunately any expectation that a substantial number of these unemployed people will be available for employment by farmers is unrealistic.

72 percent of the persons reported as unemployed are temporarily unemployed. These workers have been unemployed from 1 to 14 weeks. These are workers "between jobs." Most of them are receiving unemployment compensation. Most of them are not likely—nor in most cases would it be in their best interest—to accept temporary jobs in agriculture for a few weeks, at most a few months, and thereby reduce their chances of finding permanent jobs in their usual occupation.

The remaining 28 percent who have been unemployed for more than 14 weeks, about 779,000 workers, includes large numbers of:

1. Unemployed working wives whose husbands are employed.
2. Unemployed people who are far distant geographically from the areas in which seasonal farm workers are needed at a particular time.
3. Unemployed young women living with their parents.
4. Unemployed people who are virtually unemployables. Most of those who have been unemployed for this length of time, who have not been able to get jobs in these times, do not currently have qualifications attractive to prospective employers.

Thus, the unemployed work force is not likely to supply any significant portion of the 1.6 million seasonal farm workers needed this summer.

Nevertheless, it is important that farmers, both individually and cooperatively, do whatever is feasible in their circumstances to seek out and employ such unemployed workers as can be attracted to farm employment.

RETIRED PEOPLE AS A SOURCE OF SEASONAL FARM LABOR

Reports indicate that in several areas farmers have successfully recruited and employed retired people for seasonal farm work—in some instances from substantial distances.

This is a supplemental source of seasonal workers that warrants consideration and advance planning by State and County Farm Bureaus and individual farmers.

Special attention to the provision of adequate housing and sanitary facilities is necessary in any program to expand on a continuing basis the employment of retired workers for seasonal harvest operations.

STUDENTS AS A SOURCE OF SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

In June the work force will be expanded by many million high school and college students. Most of these will be looking for jobs.

Historically farmers have employed large numbers of school students during summer vacations. In some areas students represent the major portion of the summer work force.

We believe it is necessary and desirable under current conditions that farmers do whatever may be feasible, individually and cooperatively, to increase employment of school youth.

Many farmers have had frustrating experiences in the employment of young people in agriculture. Students are, nevertheless, the major available source of prospective farm workers during summer months, and many farmers have had successful and rewarding experience with youth employment.

The employment of student youth involves special considerations, including at least the following:

1. Advance planning ahead of the season of employment. This will often necessitate discussion with local school officials and local employment service offices, as well as individual contacts.
2. Careful selection of prospective student employees, so as to obtain those who are really interested in working.
3. Detailed training and supervision of students is usually essential if they are to be satisfactory workers.
4. Adequate provision for housing and sanitary arrangements, facilities, meals, etc., is necessary.
5. Attention to, and some supervision of, off-hours recreation and activity is needed.

We do not intend to underestimate the problems associated with student employment. The problems are there and must be dealt with. Nevertheless, we regard student employment as the best answer in sight to meet farm labor needs in many areas for commodities for which the harvest season falls during the summer months.

FOREIGN LABOR EMPLOYMENT

The outstanding feature of the 1965 farm labor situation was the drastic reduction in the number of foreign farm workers permitted to enter the United States for temporary employment in agriculture.

Substantial crop losses due to a shortage of labor were experienced in 1965 by growers of strawberries, tomatoes, asparagus, cantaloupes, Brussels sprouts, cucumbers, tangerines and others. A report summarizing an investigation of the 1965 farm labor situation by staff of the House Appropriations Committee estimated the value of the unharvested crops at $17 million.

This does not include losses sustained by reason of deterioration of the quality of the produce harvested. Nor does it include economic losses to growers from less efficient workers, high recruitment costs and excessive turnover, resulting in increased harvest costs.

1965 losses would have been much larger except for (1) the expansion in the acreage of tomatoes harvested by machines (2) the admission of foreign farm workers in very much reduced numbers to meet some of the more critical labor shortage situations and (3) substantial reductions in acres planted by growers because of concern about the farm labor situation. Acreages of cantaloupes, asparagus, tomatoes, cucumbers, strawberries, an a few other high labor requirement crops, were substantially reduced in 1965.

The reduction in the employment of foreign workers has occurred during a period in which the number of prospective and available domestic seasonal farm workers is also declining.

No matter how effective farmers' efforts to recruit domestic workers may be, and in view of the increased acreages of many vegetable crops planted by growers for harvest in 1966, it seems inevitable that the farm labor situation in 1966 will be critically tight, and that a number of emergency situations may develop in which excessive losses will be suffered unless prompt and adequate consideration is given to providing a supplementary work force from other countries.

We therefore call on the Administration and the Secetary of Labor to establish procedures whereby such emergency situations may be quickly identified and such supplemental labor as necessary to prevent losses be expeditiously admitted.

On the other side of the problem in such situations is the necessity for farmers to be so organized as to effectively present their case and to be able to transport, house, and allocate workers in an efficient and acceptable manner.

WAGE RATES

Under the tight labor situation in prospect for 1966 and during the next few years, a general advance in farm wages in inevitable. In April 1966, average farm wage rates were ten percent higher than in April 1965.

The increased labor costs necessitate that farmers re-examine their operations for future years in the light of the tight farm labor picture and the resulting higher costs.

Unless individual farm operators have a labor supply in prospect of adequate size to meet their requirements and can see an opportunity for profits despite the higher costs, they would be wise to consider a reduction in acreage of high labor requirement crops (at least those planted annually) so as to reduce market supplies and obtain the higher prices necessary to pay such higher costs.

Marketing will have to play a more prominent part in farmers' plans to offset increased costs.

USDA FARM WAGE REPORTS

The composite wage data published by the Department of Agriculture grossly understate average farm wages for two principal reasons:

1. The composite wage rates include cash wages only—and make no allowance for housing, meals, utilities, transportation, and other facilities commonly furnished farm workers by farmers without charge.
2. No data are collected with respect to earnings of piece rate workers. In computing the composite wage, such piece rate workers are weighted in at the wage for workers paid on an hourly wage basis. Most piece rate workers make substantially more per hour than workers paid on an hourly basis, often two or three times as much. But these higher earnings are not reflected in the composite wage data as computed by the Department of Agriculture.

This wage data has been reported in this fashion for several decades. Such data is widely referred to in discussions of the farm labor situation. Because farm labor earnings are substantially understated, the publication of the composite wage estimates does a disservice to agriculture.

We therefore call on the Secretary of Agriculture to revise the procedures used in determining the composite wage so as to accurately reflect the above indicated factors. If this cannot be done we recommend that the composite wage estimate not be published.

HOUSING FOR MIGRATORY WORKERS

Farmers are the only major group of employers who are expected to provide housing for their employees.

The annual costs of providing and maintaining housing for temporary workers employed for a few weeks or months is not generally recognized by non-farm people.

Substantial expenditures have been made by farmers in recent years, despite difficulty in financing such construction, in improving farm labor housing.

Nevertheless, a few examples of inadequate, or unsanitary housing can do the public relations of farmers more harm than any good result on such relations of hundreds of examples of good housing.

It it also recognized that housing is a critical factor in recruiting and keeping farm workers. Farmers with good housing are usually able to attract the better farm workers. Good housing is particularly important in recruiting high school students for summer employment. What was generally considered as acceptable housing in the past is often not acceptable under current conditions.

We therefore believe that an upgrading of farm labor housing in many cases is necessary and desirable.

Farm Bureau has supported the policy, as stated in our current resolutions: "We recommend that State Farm Bureaus support the enactment of state laws relating to housing standards for migratory workers."

We therefore urge that farmers give individual and community attention to this problem. The situation varies as between areas. We would suggest consideration of the following possibilities, among others:

1. In many situations, particularly in communities where there are a series of short-season crops involving considerable movement of workers from farm to farm, consideration should be given to moving housing off the farm. Loans and grants are available for this purpose.
2. The use of mobile housing which can be moved from community to community to fit the seasonal labor pattern.
3. Housing once used by farm workers which is no longer used for this purpose but is occupied by itinerant squatters, should be torn down.

One of the problems associated wtih a planned investment in farm labor housing is that technology in agriculture is changing so rapidly that farmers are often unable to project housing needs for more than a few years. We therefore favor the enactment of legislation providing accelerated amortization for tax purposes of investment in farm labor housing.

IMPROVED TECHNOLOGY

Seldom if ever has any segment of our economy adjusted more rapidly to a new situation than the adjustment now going on in agriculture.

In 1964 farmers reduced farm labor employment 10 percent below 1963.

In 1965 farmers reduced farm labor employment 9 percent below 1964 (and produced a new high record crop).

1966 preliminary estimates indicate a substantial reduction below 1965. (However, if preliminary estimates of acreages of vegetables planted for 1966 are correct, total needs for harvest labor in 1966 may be higher than in 1965.)

Further reduction in farm labor employment in future years are in prospect.

We believe this is a desirable adjustment and should be encouraged. As hand labor is replaced by machine operations, a higher caliber of labor is needed. Many potential workers who will not do hand labor can be interested in jobs involving machine operations. As the labor need in a community is reduced, a larger portion of the job can be done by local residents—thus eliminating or reducing the need of the community for migrant workers. The risk of crop losses is lessened. The costs of recruitment, placement, transportation, supervision, housing and servicing farm labor (often representing hidden costs much larger than many farmers suppose) are reduced. Social problems inevitably associated with migrancy are lessened.

In order to expedite technological improvement, we recommend:

1. That State Farm Bureaus in states with a substantial farm labor requirement create (if they have not done so) a State Labor Committee to consult on a continuing basis with research agencies on engineering, genetics, and management practices to reduce farm labor needs, particularly during harvest periods. State Farm Bureaus should be prepared to adequately service such Committees.
2. That individual farmers expeditiously analyze new developments as they come along to determine if and when they can be effectively used by him. We must couple this with a cautionary word that over-invest-

ment in machinery or premature judgment is, of course, an ever present danger.

3. In many instances, it is unfortunately true that the best alternative to a tight labor situation is a complete reorganization of the farming operation. For example, can a grower of fresh tomatoes in an area bordering Mexico continue to grow tomatoes in competition with Mexican producers with a plentiful farm labor supply available at much lower wage rates?

MANAGEMENT AND EMPLOYEE RELATIONS

Most successful farmers are good managers, including the management of labor relations. But most farmers can improve their labor management practices.

Good labor management includes many things—how to recruit and select workers, how to give them such training as they need to do a satisfactory job, how to establish personal and friendly relations with them, how to keep them on the job, how to help them find additional employment, how to get good workers back the next year.

Good labor management practices pay dividends to farmers, both in terms of successful operations and in terms of personal satisfaction.

In a number of states, the State Land Grant College and State Extension Service have pioneered, with farmers' support and backing, a statewide program to train farmers in good labor relations practices. Reported results and farmers' reactions to this effort indicates it is successful and should be expanded.

We commend the state agencies that have engaged in this program.

We recommend that State Farm Bureaus of states in which this has not been done initiate and help to carry forward in their respective states a similar effort.

TRAINING FARM WORKERS

In a number of states, training programs for farm workers have been instituted under the Manpower Training and Development Act. Reports indicate this has been generally successful. This program is best adapted to permanent workers; for example, those who will be employed on dairy farms or in the operation and maintenance of machines. We recommend consideration of such programs where it appears a need exists.

It is also true, however, that most of the burden of training farm workers must be on farmers themselves. One of the essentials for successful operation in many kinds of farming is the capacity to train workers. This is a major purpose of the management program outlined in the preceding section.

UNIONIZATION OF FARM WORKERS

Farmers are far more vulnerable to work stoppages than any other segment of employers.

Farmers must commonly harvest a crop in a few weeks time. If they are unable to do so, they lose not only their year's income but also a substantial capital investment in bringing the crop to harvest stage.

This is in striking contrast to industrial employers who, in most instances, can sit out a strike without seriously affecting their income for the year and with no capital losses.

We believe it is desirable for farmers to consult with and work closely with their employees and to deal effectively with valid complaints brought to their attention.

But, in view of the vulnerability of farmers to work stoppage, we strongly urge resistance to compulsory collective bargaining for farm workers.

Any proposal to negotiate pre-employment contracts which would be applicable to seasonal employees subsequently employed would deny any freedom of choice to workers.

The Struggle Against Pornography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. SWEENEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of the House today to the growing national crisis concerning the struggle against pornography and obscene matter. In my humble opinion, pornography is the Hydra of our present-day American civilization. Like the mythological monster which had nine heads, any of which when cut off, was succeeded by two others unless the wound was cauterized, so pornography suppressed in one area finds the purveyor of pornography going to another area to dispose of his product.

In December 1963, Ralph Ginzburg was sentenced to 5 years in jail and fined $28,000 because of three of his publications. He began an appeal from his conviction, wrote a protest against the judge's decision and then went right back to his same office and began the publication of another not too dissimilar magazine. Edward Mishkin was found guilty of violating a New York law by hiring others to prepare and publish obscene books and by possessing obscene books with intent to sell them. He, too, appealed his conviction and went right back to his Times Square shop where six new retail outlets have opened in the last 6 months joining the dozen already there—New York Times, March 27, 1966, page E–8.

The propagation of pornography is indeed a multifarious evil having many sources which will not be overcome by a single effort anywhere but only by a nationwide effort by a commission appointed to study and suggest more effective means to combat the dissemination of noxious and obscene matters and materials, a commission like that recommended in my bill H.R. 14090.

Although almost everyone disapproves of the amount of pornography now being sold in this country, few people realize the full extent of the business being conducted. A study made in 1958 indicated that the traffic in mail order pornography was doubling every 5 years. It was also estimated at that time that dealing in pornographic products and books was a $500 million business. During the 1965 hearings before the Select Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor on H.R. 7465 to establish a similar commission, one witness testified:

> A $2 billion business in raw and rampant pornography is poisoning our youth and * * * that almost 2 million teenagers are solicited annually through the mails with lewd and obscene literature. (Hearings before the Select Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor on H.R. 7465, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 1965, p. 59.)

In Time magazine, in December 1965, there was an article on "The Obscenity Chore" of the Supreme Court, in which it was said that the Court was caught between the extremes of declaring that the first amendment protected all writings and an immediate restoration of all obscenity cases to local courts. The first position "might open the Court to criticism for seeming to encourage pornography" and the second "might encourage local censorship of legitimate literature." Time concluded:

> The Court needs an honorable compromise—but what is it? (Time, Dec. 17, 1965, p. 39.)

The Court found its compromise in the decisions in March 1966, when it affirmed the convictions of Ginzburg and Mishkin. It also continued to spell out additional tests to determine the definition of obscenity.

A study of the history of obscenity reveals that it is one of the newer crimes. It was first made punishable under English common law in 1727, and Federal legislation to control the flow of obscene material through the mails was first enacted in this country in 1873. This first Federal legislation was introduced by Anthony Comstock, of New York, who was, at that time, the secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. Attempts to control obscenity are often referred to as experiments in "comstockery."

Obscenity is an international as well as a national problem. More than 40 years ago the League of Nations held international conventions for the suppression of the circulation of and traffic in obscene publications. The United Nations has continued these conferences. In fact at a recent United Nations conference attended by 85 nations the United States was "pretty much alone on the issue of mass media. It seems that the portrayal of crime, violence, brutality, and sadism has a bad effect on youth and is directly conducive to crime. The mention of lack of scientific proof by the U.S. delegation was met, by and large, with incredulity—perhaps one should say utter amazement, and a certain amount of hostility"—hearings, supra, page 65.

This attitude on the part of other nations coincides with the opinion of J. Edgar Hoover:

> The circulation of periodicals containing salacious materials plays an important part in the development of crime among the youth of our country. (Hearings, *supra*, p. 64.)

A commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials, as proposed, by my bill is needed to bring together in one coordinated effort all National, State, and local agencies to combat the traffic in obsecene materials and to join with the Citizens for Decent Literature and other private groups who are dedicated to ending this traffic. It was James Kilpatrick in his 1960 book, "The Smut Peddlers," who stated that the Citizens for Decent Literature conceive of "their war upon obscenity as a duty they owe society and as a responsibility they hold as parents and good citizens."

The battle against obscenity should rightly be called a war because of the size of the conflict—it spreads across the entire country—and because of the intensity of the bombardment from the dealers in pornography. It is a war also which we may well lose unless we take action on it very soon, and it is in the House of Representatives where action must be taken. Senator MUNDT, in his testimony before the House Committee, supra, mentioned that the Senate had passed the bill several times but that it "never came up for vote on the floor of the House"—hearings, supra, page 9. Senator MUNDT also commented on the critics of this legislation who claim "that the people buying these books aren't affected by them, that it does not have any result in connection with their social attitudes, that censorship is the only way in which you can deal with it, and that censorship is bad."

It was during the House hearings also that Assistant Attorney General Fred N. Vinson, Jr., announced that the Department of Justice in connection with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was considering "a proposal for conducting a scientific study on the effects of obscenity" on the human mind—hearings, supra, page 110.

One of the witnesses before the House committee summarized the need for a Commission as follows. He said:

> Bearing in mind that these channels of social decay are now nation-wide, there is definite need for a commission to be formed on a national level to study fully the problems that are facing our Nation due to the ever-increasing flood of pornography and smut in every field of social and business association today. * * *
>
> Easy money, to be sure, has played a decisive role in the explosion of muck and pornography; but its growth has largely capitalized on the decreasing moral tone of our society. (Hearings, *supra*, p. 61.)

Whatever the causes of our present plight with regard to pornography, the time has come to take steps to correct it and the first step is certainly the creation of a Commission to coordinate efforts for an all-out war on it. The Supreme Court has recently given a small particle of hope in this regard in affirming the convictions of Ginzburg and Mishkin and in setting forth a new and a more easily enforced facet in its definition of obscenity. The Mishkin decision, according to the New York Times, "gave ammunition to the antipornography groups and to efforts to clean up the Times Square area." The chief inspector of that area reported:

> * * * [A]rrests for the sale or distribution of sex literature have increased 300 percent since the Court's ruling. (New York Times, March 27, 1966, p. 4E.)

The Supreme Court found that Mishkin's activity was "not innocent but calculated purveyance of filth." (*Mishkin* v. *New York*, U.S. Supreme Court No. 49, Mar. 21, 1966.) It also found that Ginzburg's publications in addition to meeting the earlier tests of obscenity laid down by the Court in *Roth* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 476 (1957), and *Jacobellis* v. *Ohio*, 378 U.S. 184 (1964), were sold as "commercial exploitation of erotica solely for the sake of their prurient appeal." (*Ginzburg* v. *United States*, U.S. Supreme Court No. 42, Mar. 21, 1966.)

The same day, however, found the Supreme Court refusing to find the notorious "Fanny Hill" obscene and sending the case against it back to the Massachusetts Supreme Court. This decision caused Mr. Justice Clark to write:

> It is with regret that I write this dissenting opinion. However, the public should know of the continuous flow of pornographic material reaching this Court and the increasing problem States have in controlling it. (*A Book Named "John Cleland's Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure," et al.* v. *Massachusetts*, U.S. Supreme Court, No. 368, March 21, 1966.)

Justice Clark's words, "the public should know of the continuous flow of pornographic material," and "the increasing problem in controlling it," provide the greatest single argument for the passage of H.R. 14090. The establishment of a Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials will let the public know and will coordinate all efforts in the public's war on pornography. Just as the Hydra was slain finally by Hercules so perhaps the passage of H.R. 14090 and a herculean effort on the part of all law enforcement officials and citizens may overcome the pernicious traffic in obscenity now existent in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I am honored to be part of the national effort to curb filth and the corrosive effect it has upon our youth. Like the vast majority of those who are engaged in this national effort, I seek not to limit directly or indirectly any American's constitutional entitlements, but I wish to register serious concern regarding the ever mounting volume of pornography and obscenity filtering through our society. I believe sincerely that a Presidential Commission through its report will shed great light upon the issues involved and will proceed by their summary recommendations to mount a national effort to curb the production of filth and other obscene materials.

The University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article entitled, "The University," by the distinguished columnist and author, Walter Lippmann, published in the May 28, 1966, issue of the New Republic.

Mr. Lippmann's article is from an address he delivered on "The University and the Human Condition" earlier this month at a conference in California sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Mr. Lippmann's article follows:

THE UNIVERSITY

(By Walter Lippmann)

(NOTE.—Walter Lippmann, noted columnist and author, was a founding editor of The New Republic. This article is from an address on "The University and the Human Condition" given by him earlier this month at a California convocation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.)

I am free of the obligation to offer solutions of the problems which occupy so much of the time of the governing authorities in the academic world: how to raise money, how to appease the alumni, how to get around the trustees, the state legislatures, the foundations and the Pentagon, how to ingratiate themselves with the chamber of commerce, the board of trade, and the clergy, how to tranquilize the egos of the faculty, how to deal with the students in their academic lives, their ideological lives, and their sexual lives, how to be cheerful and good fellows with the excessively inquiring reporters. About all of these preoccupations I shall have nothing to say. This leaves open to me the broad, unrestricted field of the human condition and what the universities ought to be doing for it and about it.

The proposition with which I am starting is that as men become modern men, they are emancipated and thus deprived of the guidance and support of traditional and customary authority. Because of this, there has fallen to the universities a unique, indispensable and capital function in the intellectual and spiritual life of modern society. I do not say that the universities today are prepared to perform this spiritual and intellectual function. What I do say is that a way will have to be found to perform these functions if the pursuit of the good life, to which this country is committed, is to continue and to be successful.

For modern men are living today amidst the consequences of emancipation from established authority. The dream of Franklin and Jefferson, as Mr. James A. Perkins describes it in his recent Stafford Little Lecture, was of "an open society, free of both ecclesiastical and civil control, with little to fear from the uninhibited search for truth and for experiments in the application of truth." The preponderant majority of our people in America today have arrived at such an open society. They have found, I submit, that as they are emancipated from established authority they are not successfully equipped to deal with the problems of American society and of their private lives. They are left with the feeling that there is a vacuum within them, a vacuum where there were the signs and guide posts of an ancestral order, where there used to be ecclesiastical and civil authority, where there was certainty, custom, usage and social status, and a fixed way of life. One of the great phenomena of the human condition in the modern age is the dissolution of the ancestral order, the erosion of established authority; and, having lost the light and the leading, the guidance and the support, the discipline that the ancestral order provided, modern men are haunted by a feeling of being lost and adrift, without purpose and meaning in the conduct of their lives. The thesis which I am putting to you is that the modern void, which results from the vast and intricate process of emancipation and rationalization, must be filled, and that the universities must fill the void because they alone can fill it.

It is a high destiny. But it must be accepted and it must be realized.

Before we can proceed, we must ask ourselves why, in the quest of a good life in a good society, we now turn to the universities rather than, let us say, to the churches or the government. We do that because the behavior of man depends ultimately on what he believes to be true, to be true about the nature of man and the universe in which he lives, to be true about man's destiny in historical time, to be true about the nature of good and evil and how to know the difference, to be true about the way to ascertain and to recognize the truth and to distinguish it from error.

In other times and in other places, the possessors and guardians of true knowledge have been held to be the appointed spokesmen of a universal and indisputable tradition and of divine revelation. In the Western society to which we belong the traditional guardians and spokesmen of true knowledge have in varying degrees lost or renounced their titles to speak with complete authority. The hierarchy of priests, the dynasties of rulers, the courtiers, the civil servants and the commissars have to give way . . . and there is left as the court of last resort when the truth is at issue, "the ancient and universal company of scholars."

Having said this, I have not forgotten how often the professors have been proved to be wrong, how often the academic judgment has been confounded by some solitary thinker or artist, how often original and innovating men have been rejected by the universities, only to be accepted and celebrated after they are dead. The universal company of scholars is not an infallible court of last resort. Not in the least. On the contrary, it is an axiom of modern thought that the very process of thinking evolves. In human affairs nothing is infallible, absolute and everlasting. There are no courts which can anticipate fully the course of events. There are none which can take account of the unpredictability of genius. Nevertheless, in the modern world there exists no court which is less fallible than the company of scholars, when we are in the field of truth and error.

This court, this universal company of scholars, comprises all who study and teach in all the universities and institutions of the world. The colleagues of each scholar are his peers, those who have qualified themselves in mastering and obeying the criteria by which, in a field of knowledge, truth and error are judged.

The company of scholars is all over the globe, and its members are duty-bound to hear one another.

Insofar as the communication among them is adequate, so that a physicist in California is aware of the experiments and criticisms of a physicist in Peking, there exists the best possible insurance available to mortal men against the parochialism, the stuffiness and the dogmatism which are the chronic diseases of academies.

"THERE IS NO OTHER COURT"

I have said enough, I hope, to reassure anyone who might think that I am glorifying the professors and attributing to them more power and authority than they are entitled to have. I do not mean to do that. I have had my share of controversies with a good many professors. What I do say is that the community of professors is, in the modern world, the best available source of guidance and authority in the field of knowledge. There is no other court to which men can turn and find what they once found in tradition and in custom, in ecclesiastical and civil authority. Because modern man in his search for truth has turned away from kings, priests, commissars and bureaucrats, he is left, for better or worse, with the professors.

And while we must treat the verdicts of the professors with a vigilant skepticism, they do have a certain authority. It comes from the fact that they have vowed to accept the discipline of scholarship and to seek the truth by using the best intellectual methods at the time known to contemporary men.

To make sure that I am not overstating my thesis, let me repeat. The community of scholars is the court of last resort in those fields of inquiry and knowledge about which scholars, as scholars, are concerned. Thus, if a professor is charged with the murder of his colleague, the court of last resort is not the faculty of his university or the faculties of all the universities. It is the judiciary of the state in which he lives. For the scholar is a scholar only part of the time and in part of his activity. In the role of murderer he is outside the field of scholarship.

But if a professor is alleged to have murdered his colleague a hundred years ago, as in the case of Professor Webster at Harvard, the court of last resort *today* about his guilt or innocence a century ago is not the judiciary of Massachusetts. It is the historians who have studied the evidence now available and have been confronted with the findings of all the historians who have read the history of the case. After a hundred years, no one is more qualified than are the historians to judge the case.

Reflecting on this we come close, I think, to the essential principle of academic freedom. In his relations with the laws of the land, a professor is as subject as any other man to the laws against murder, robbery, cheating on the income tax, driving his automobile recklessly. The laws for him, as for all other men, are what the law-enforcing authorities say they are. The professor has no special privileges and no special immunity.

But in the field of truth and error about the nature of things, and of the history and future of the universe and of man, the state and its officials have no jurisdiction. When the scholar finds that two and two make four, no policeman, no judge, no governor, no legislator, no trustee, no rich alumnus, has any right to ordain that two and two make five. Only other scholars who have gone through a mathematical training equivalent to his, and are in one way or another qualified as his peers, can challenge his findings that two and two make four. Here, it is the community of scholars who are the court of last resort.

It follows that they are the court of last resort in determining the qualifications of admission to the community of scholars—that is to say, the criteria of appointment and the license to teach. No criterion can be recognized which starts somewhere else than in the canons of scholarship and scientific research. No criterion is valid here because it emanates from the chamber of commerce, or the trade union council, or the American Legion, or the clergy, or the newspapers, or the Americans for Democratic Action, or the John Birch Society or any political party. The selection and the tenure of the members of the community of scholars is subject to the criterion that scholars shall be free of any control except a stern duty to bear faithful allegiance to the truth they are appointed to seek.

A judgment as to whether a scholar has been faithful is one that only his peers can render. The supreme sin of a scholar, *qua* scholar, is to lie, not about where he spent the previous weekend, but about whether two and two make four.

TRUTH FOR ITS OWN SAKE

If we say that the vocation of the scholar is to seek the truth, it follows, I submit, that he must seek the truth for the simple purpose of knowing the truth. The search for truth proceeds best if it is inspired by wonder and curiosity, if, that is to say, it is disinterested—if the scholar disregards all secondary considerations of how his knowledge may be applied, how it can be sold, whether it is useful, whether it is good or bad, respectable, fashionable, moral, popular and patriotic, whether it will work or whether it will make men happier or unhappier, whether it is agreeable or disagreeable, whether it is likely to win him a promotion or a prize or a decoration, whether it will get a good vote in the Gallup poll. Genius is most likely to expand the limits of our knowledge, on which all the applied sciences depend, when it works in a condition of total unconcern with the consequences of its own findings.

Believing this, I hold that the university must have at its core a sanctuary for excellence, where the climate is favorable to the pursuit of truth for its own sake. In our conglomerate and swarming society, the last best hopes of mankind lie in what is done, and in what example is set, in these sanctuaries.

I do not think of them as monastic establishments shut off from the struggles and strains of the human condition. I think of them as societies of fellows within the great corporate institutions that our universities have become, as societies where the relatively few who can pursue truth disinterestedly will find the support and sustaining fellowship of their peers.

Since man's whole knowledge of things is not inherited and must be acquired anew by every generation, there is in every human society a culture, a tradition of the true and the false, the right and the wrong, of the good which is desirable and the bad which is to be avoided. This culture is rooted in the accepted version of the nature of things and of man's destiny. The accepted version evolves and the encyclodepdias become outdated and have to be revised.

Since the prevailing tradition rests on the prevailing science, it follows that modern men must look to the company of scholars in the universities to guard and to preserve, to refine and enrich the tradition of civility. They have to revise the curricula of studies and the encyclopedias of knowledge.

This does not mean, of course, that the scientists and the scholars are to be regarded, much less are to regard themselves, as a mysterious elite of the initiated who can lay down the law of right and wrong, of good and evil, in human affairs. It does mean that insofar as religion, government, art and personal living assume or imply that this or that is true or false, they are subject to the criticism and judgment of the company of scholars. The prevailing and accepted science of the time is the root from which grow the creations of poets and artists, of saints and prophets and heros. The science of an age is the material with which inspiration and genius create.

I am more than a little concerned as I proceed, that you will think that I am erecting a very high tower on a very small base, that I am nominating the professors to carry too great a responsibility. All I can say is that the human condition in the modern age brings us to what I have been talking about. The dissolution of the ancestral order and the dethronement of usage and authority in modern society have left us dependent upon man's ability to understand and govern his own fate. Necessarily, therefore, we are in a high degree dependent upon the men whose lives are committed to the pursuit of truth.

The responsibility may be too great for the professors to carry. But somehow—since the responsibility must be met—we shall have to learn to find men who will tell us how to find the professors who can carry the responsibility. And if we are ever to find them, we must begin by realizing the need to find them. If they cannot be found, modern man is indeed adrift on a trackless sea.

So, I venture to proceed. There is still something more, still another great function which the universities and their scholars cannot neglect, indeed cannot escape.

For there is more to the task of learning than to discover more and more truths than have ever been known before. That something more, which may mark the difference between mediocrity and excellence, is the practice of a kind of alchemy, the creative function of transmuting knowledge into wisdom.

Wisdom, says the Oxford English Dictionary, is "the capacity of judging rightly in matters relating to life and conduct." It is "soundness of judgment in choice of means and ends." The development of the capacity of judging rightly is something different from, and in some ways much more than, the capacity to know the truth in any particular field of knowledge, or to have mastered the art of applying this knowledge to some desired end. The capacity to judge rightly in a choice of both means and ends cuts across the specialties and the technologies, and it is, I dare to say, the hallmark of a liberal, as distinguished from a utilitarian or vocational, education.

We may say, I think, that knowledge is made into wisdom when what is true about the nature of things is reshaped to the human scale and oriented to the human understanding, to human need and to human hope. As this is done, the findings of scientists and scholars are transformed into the humanities, and the materials for a liberal education begin to appear.

The universities, therefore, are not only the depositories of wisdom. They are also laboratories where alchemists work, whose function it is to transmute knowledge into human wisdom. If the scholars do this, insofar as they do this, they transcend the sterile controversies about the two cultures, the scientific and the humanistic, and they learn to transcend the intellectual puzzle about specialism and generalism. For knowledge transmuted into wisdom places the sciences and the humanities within one universe of discourse.

USABLE KNOWLEDGE

Can it be done? There is no need to doubt that it can be done. The most revolutionary of all the intellectual achievements of the modern age has been man's increasing mastery of the art of discovery and invention. The reshaping and reorientation of knowledge, so that it is humanly accessible and viable, is the task of philosophers, of the master-minds in the special fields of learning, of the advanced students in the field of education, and of the great teachers themselves. It would be a feeble kind of defeatism to think that man, who is penetrating the secrets of matter and of life itself, is unable to make usable the knowledge he is able to acquire.

A liberal education is concerned with what Plato calls the "royal science," the science that needs to be possessed by the rulers of the state. The education of a prince who is destined to be the king has from time immemorial been the primary function of education. Now that we live in a time when, as Huey Long truly said, every man is a king, it is still the prime function of education to instruct and to train the future rulers of the state.

It cannot be said that there exists as yet an adequate royal science. It is the task of the scholars to invent and compile the royal science of the modern age, a science which can in some measure be absorbed by all who vote, and can educate the comparatively few who will actually govern.

The heart of this science will be a presentation of the history and the practice of judging rightly in a choice of means and ends. Such a body of wisdom must be composed and compiled and made communicable, if the supreme teaching function of the institutions of learning is to be successful. This is their necessary business if they are to be more than laboratories of research, institutes of technology and vocational centers for careers.

For they cannot neglect the highest function of education which is the education of the rulers of the state. Quite evidently, it is not easy to discover what should be taught to the future rulers of a modern state, how they are to be made to acquire that capacity of judging rightly, which is the essence of wisdom. We are only at the frontier of modern, democratic education, within sight of the promised land. Those who come after us will have to make, out of the accumulating knowledge of the specialists, a body of available and usable wisdom. The political scientists and educators of the coming times will have to explore what is as yet a largely unknown continent—this royal science for our age. They will have to extract from the infinite complexity of knowledge what it is that the rulers of the state need to know.

Quite evidently, the ruler of a state, the President of the United States for example, cannot master all the branches of knowledge which bear on the decisions he must make. Yet he must have enough knowledge of a kind which will enable him to judge rightly whose judgment among the specialists he should decide to accept. He must learn the art, which is not described in the textbooks as yet, of listening to experts and seeing through them and around them. The educators of the future will have to extract from the whole body of nuclear science, for example, what it is that the President and the Congress and the leaders of public opinion need to know about nuclear science and the behavior of great powers when they are confronted, let us say, with a treaty prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons. Out of these extracts from the body of knowledge, the educators must design the curriculum of our own royal science.

I have been meditating out loud about one central theme: that in the modern age, as the ancestral order of usage and authority dissolves, there exists a spiritual and intellectual vacuum of discipline and guidance which, in the last analysis, can be filled only by the universal company of scholars, supported and protected and encouraged by their universities.

American Forgettory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, in his recent column, "Matter of Fact," Joseph Alsop recalls several milestones in American foreign policy, pointing to past successes of determined, bold U.S. leadership in meeting the challenges to world peace. Mr. Alsop pleads with us not to forget these past experiences lest we open the door to international dangers that may require more difficult decisions and even greater resolve on our part.

Mr. Speaker, the article, "American Forgettory," follows:

MATTER OF FACT—THE AMERICAN FORGETTORY

(By Joseph Alsop)

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA.—The dreary airport waiting room, like all the others on the West Coast nowadays, is crowded with young Americans in uniform. They look hard and fit and carefree. Most of them are on their way to serve in the war in Vietnam in one duty or another.

It brings back the old days, when their uncles or even perhaps their fathers, suddenly called back to service after the first son was born, were going off to the Korean War. Our Army now is vastly tougher, vastly more professional than the half-trained occupation army that had to take the first shock in the Korean War. But otherwise the atmosphere is much the same.

But although the atmosphere in this airport waiting room recalls 1950, the same cannot be said of the atmosphere of present day Washington, where everyone solemnly discusses Sen. FULBRIGHT's pseudo-erudite pronouncements on the "arrogance of power." There has been a strange change, not least in Sen. FULBRIGHT himself?

Only think of the record of the last 20 years of American achievement. The postwar drama opened in deadly earnest with a remote crisis in Azerbaijan, where the Soviets were most reluctant to withdraw their troops. Then came Greek-Turkish aid and the American role in the Greek civil war.

One wonders whether those who talked about that war in almost the exact terms they now use about Vietnam, are still convinced we should have made no effort to help the Greeks save themselves from the Communists!

The Marshall Plan, the Berlin airlift, the birth of NATO, all followed in swift succession. But in 1949 President Truman attempted a Hardingesque return to "normalcy"; and the Truman-Louis Johnson disarmament program invited the aggression in Korea.

Being a very brave man, Mr. Truman met the challenge without flinching, and so we rounded that corner, albeit at great cost.

The Eisenhower years then saw the Lebanon landing, the stern, brief test of wills in the Formosa Strait, and the abrupt renewal of the Soviet threat to Berlin.

Out of the renewed threat, in turn, grew the central episodes of President Kennedy's great service.

At Vienna, in 1961, the young President heard a direct ultimatum from Nikita Khrushchev, who swore he would take Berlin by force before another year had passed. Mr. Kennedy replied bleakly that if Khrushchev meant what he said, it looked like being a pretty cold winter. And he went home to call up the Reserves—whereupon it turned out that Khrushchev did not quite mean what he said.

Nonetheless, Khrushchev still meant to get Berlin if he could. So the secret effort began to turn the American position, by placing Soviet missiles in Cuba. And when this was discovered, the result was the brief, terrible, breathless confrontation, big with a genuine danger of thermonuclear war, which ended so well that every world relationship was profoundly and fortunately altered.

Looking back on this long, proud American record, surveying the airport waiting room, remembering Senator FULBRIGHT on the same topic, one cannot help but wonder what the devil has come over us.

Do the Senator and his admirers think, for instance, that President Kennedy succumbed to the "arrogance of power" when he knowingly risked a thermonuclear exchange to meet the Cuban challenge? And if not, where is the "arrogance" in President Johnson's doing in Vietnam approximately the same thing that President Truman did in Korea?

These are worrisome questions, indeed, for they suggest we may be in for another round or spasm of the American forgettory. A man or nation with a good forgettory is able to forget, ignore, overlook, or otherwise purge his mind of all displeasing facts and uncomfortable past experiences. The last great spasm of the American forgettory was in the 1930s.

The worst of that time was not the party-lining foolishness of a small minority. The worst of that time, rather, was the loss of any sense of world-political reality by almost the whole American intellectual community.

In the mid-30s, for instance, with Adolf Hitler ruling Germany already, almost the whole intellectual community held that opposition to the Nye Neutrality Act was a proof of wicked war-loving views. And only four years later, all the same people were more accurately bellowing that opposition to repeal of the same Neutrality Act was a proof of love of Hitler.

Must we now go through the same experience again? God help not! For where the follies of the older, weaker America were no great danger, another spasm of forgettory in the new, giant power America will surely have consequences too awful to contemplate.

Many Challenges Facing Nation in the Health Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN JOHN E. FOGARTY AT THE DENTAL DEALERS OF AMERICA LUNCHEON, DECEMBER 4, 1965, NEW YORK CITY

It is a real pleasure for me to be here with you at this luncheon and to discuss with you briefly some of the challenges this nation faces in the health field in the coming months and years. There is something of a tendency, I think, when we talk about what needs to be done in the health field to underemphasize the great contribution your segment of the business community makes in bringing the finest quality health care to our fellow citizens. I want you to know that I and most members of Congress aren't guilty of that. We are keenly aware of how much strength you give to our pursuit of an ever higher standard of health in this nation and I am glad to have this opportunity to pay tribute to you for what you are doing.

The topic to which you have asked me to address myself this afternoon is "The Impact of Research on Dental Education." If I were an Irish tenor instead of an Irish Congressman, I would be tempted to set the tone for my remarks by singing you a few choruses of that old Jerome Kern song, "Look For The Silver Lining." Fortunately, it's a little early in the day for me to sing. I would have chosen that particular song for this reason: if the nation faces, as I believe it does, some very serious challenges in moving to meet the health needs of the future, one of the obvious consequences of the actions we take will be a steadily and perhaps even explosively increasing demand for dental equipment and instruments. To put it bluntly: if your business is good now, it ought to be better and better in the years ahead.

I am fully aware, of course, that your interest in the health of the nation is not limited to your concerns as businessmen, legitimate as those concerns are. If your interest was solely in business matters, you probably wouldn't have asked me to talk to you and you certainly wouldn't have assigned me the subject you did.

Thick, heavy books could be—and have been—written on the subject of the impact of research on health education, be it dental or medical. Clearly, in fifteen minutes or so, I can do no more than sketch the barest sort of outline of what it has meant. Certainly, in my view, three plain statements of fact can be made on the subject. First, the impact of research on dental education has been wholly beneficial. Second, the impact of research on dental education is proving to be revolutionary. Third, the impact of research on dental education is just beginning to be felt and will intensify substantially in the years ahead. I want to expand on all three of those statements, but before doing so, I want to talk a little bit about this great nation of ours in order to put our subject into proper perspective.

The United States is a nation of some 195 million people with an annual Gross National Product of some $650 billion and a total labor force of some 75 million men and women. Though we enjoy a median family income of nearly $7,000, other available statistics tell us that one out of every five families is impoverished; that is, has an annual family income of less than $3,000. Incidentally, of the children in such families, nearly 55 per cent have never in their lives been to a dentist.

As a nation, we have, in the past five years, become acutely conscious of the extent to which poverty, hunger and disease dwell among us and of what they cost not only in terms of productive capacity but, more important, in terms of human anguish and misery. As a nation, we are generally agreed that our health goal is threefold: to prevent as much disease as possible; to control and cure that which we can't prevent and, third, to have a supply of highly qualified health personnel adequate enough that services are accessible to everyone in need.

Finally, we live in a society that agrees that good health is not just a precious heritage or a pragmatic goal, but a basic human right. And we acknowledge that both the public and the private sectors of our nation have a role to play in establishing that right, though there are differences among us as to the nature of each sector's role.

In pursuing this threefold goal, we spent in 1964 about $35 billion on health services, which amounts to 6 per cent of the Gross National Product. Nearly 3 million people, or 4 per cent of the total labor force, were engaged either in providing these health services or supporting the provision of them.

Most of that $35 billion represents payment from a member of the health professions in exchange for personal health services within the private practice system. About 5 per cent of it, or some $2 billion, was spent on health related research. In the past fifteen years, health related research has risen from being one-tenth of one per cent of the Gross National Product to being one-quarter of one per cent.

Of the roughly $2 billion spent in 1965 for health related research, 25 percent came from private industry, fifteen per cent came from private philanthropy, voluntary health agencies such as the American Dental Association and miscellaneous sources. The remaining 60 per cent came from the Federal government. As you know, most of the Federal share is funneled through the National Institutes of Health.

Now, I've thrown a lot of facts at you in a short space of time, I know. It's something like a history professor I heard about who went so fast that one student dropped his pencil during the Boston Tea party and by the time he picked it up, Lee was surrendering to Grant and they say the boy never did find out that these were two separate wars.

But all I really want you to do is to keep those facts in the back of your mind while we go on to ask one or two questions that must be asked, I think, before we can talk directly about research and dental education.

The first question is this: Are we, as a nation, spending too much in health research and education? By way of beginning my answer to this, let me bring just one of those statistics back to the front of your mind: Of our Gross National product, about one-quarter of one per cent is spent on health related research, about one-quarter of one per cent is all that we spend to search out the causes of disease and find ways to overcome it.

I don't think that is too much, and in saying this I think I am making one of the understatements of the century. Indeed, a much more appropriate question, it seems to me, is whether it is enough. I am personally inclined to think that we can do more and that we should be doing more. When I say that we could reasonably be spending four times as much as we are, you might think me extreme. But let me put that exact statement in a different way: it would not be inappropriate for this nation to devote 1 per cent of its Gross National Product to health related research. Put in this fashion, I don't think that statement extreme in the least.

A second question must then be asked, I believe, preliminary to our basic discussion. It is this: As I have said, the Federal government supplies about 60 per cent of the funds available for health related research. Is this disproportionate? Does it raise dangers?

In answering this question, the first thing to be done is to counter the current tendency many people have to talk of the American people as "we" and the Federal government as "them," as if the Federal government were something entirely apart from and alien to the nation. This is, flatly, nonsense. The legislative branch of the Federal government is headed by men and women who must, every two years, present themselves to the electorate to be re-hired or fired. Much the same is true of the Executive branch. The President must every four years come before the people personally to have his mandate extended or ended. Every two years he goes before the people in a very real if not personal sense when the Congressional elections are held. The Federal government, then, is as much a part of the nation as, say, the business community and has as sure a finger on the public pulse as does, say, the television industry.

This may sound to you like I am belaboring the obvious. Frankly, I hope it does because that would mean you agree with me that the Federal government springs from the people and is part of the people. Its resources are the people's resources and it is nonsense not to take them into account when we are talking about solving problems that afflict the people. To favor Federal action in some area or other is nothing more than saying it is sometimes necessary for all our people to act together at one time and with one purpose.

There can be no clearer application of this than in heatlh-related research. I have never seen a study claiming that the people of Georgia are immune from oral cancer or that the people of New Hampshire have no arthritis or that heart attacks are unknown in Kansas.

All of this argues toward the conclusion, inescapable in my opinion, that the Federal government has a strong and positive role to play in health related research. I have never been backward about saying so frequently and clearly.

This does not mean, of course, that the role of the Federal government in health research and education is without rules or boundaries. There are stringent rules and whatever abstract worries there may be about the government abiding by them, I have not yet heard of concrete incidents in health that would lead me to believe the Federal government isn't doing so.

All that I have said thus far has been to a degree prologue to some specific comments about the impact of research on dental education. I say it has been prologue to a degree, but not entirely. I'm sure it is obvious from the thrust of my remarks that I have some very definite views on this subject. I began this talk by stating three conclusions; that the impact has been beneficial, was proving to be revolutionary and would intensify in the years to come. I want to take those up now and discuss each one briefly.

That it has been beneficial is the contention most easily dealt with since it is surely the most obvious. You can tick off as quickly as I can a long list of gains we have made in learning more, for example, about the etiology of oral cancer, or periodontitis or even dental caries itself. You gentlemen know even better than I what the fruits of applied research have been in the field of restorative materials and prosthetic devices over the past decade and a half. It would be, I am sure, a most instructive experience for all of us to spend some time leafing through a dental equipment and materials catalogue of 1945—before this country really began to fulfill its commitment to research—and then compare it to a catalogue of 1965.

The second point, that the impact is proving to be revolutionary, is very nearly as obvious, I think. And it is perhaps more true of dentistry than of any other health profession. All of us recognize—and no one could have been more forthright in facing the fact and doing something about it than was the dental profession—that research of the depth and breadth that was going on in some other health areas was largely nonexistent in dentistry for many years. There was no pool of properly qualified research scientists. There was no money to support those who were available or to train more of them. There was no central agency that could be instrumental in keeping scientists in touch with one another and take an overview of activity so that it could move ahead in a cogent and unified way.

The establishment of the National Institute of Dental Research and the increasingly large funding it has received have perhaps not solved these problems, but have clearly made great inroads on them. In this regard, I think tribute should be paid to the unremitting efforts of the American Dental Association to support the creation of NIDR, its being independently housed and its funding. I know I take a great deal of pride in what I have been able to do and look forward to being helpful in the years ahead.

This immense growth in dental research, proportionately greater than in other fields, has made the dental school of today a very different kind of educational institution than it was twenty years ago. First of all, it is much more intimately a part of the total health complex of the university. This is partly because it has more and more faculty members who though dentally oriented, are research scientists and have much in common with their colleagues in the medical school and in the hospital. Secondly, the great advances made possible by research have changed the curriculum of the school so as to produce a dentist who is more rigorously trained than ever before in history, and who is more conscious of the common ground shared by him and members of the sister professions in the health field.

Finally, as I have said, I think we are observing today the beginning of research's impact on dental education and that in years to come it will intensify. Dental research scientists are as you know, nearing breakthrough findings in a number of areas. No one can say precisely in what directions these breakthroughs will lead us, but that they will compel substantial changes is, I think, beyond question.

There is one final comment I feel constrained to make, one that I like to make whenever I discuss research. All of us, I am sure, recognize that research in the health field is not an end in itself. We support research because of the promise it holds out to us, and has already fulfilled in many ways, of being able to give our children, their children and their children's children the priceless gift of a life as free from crippling disease and dehumanizing pain as possible. We have a long way to go before we are in a position to give that gift. We need more and more professional manpower, in dentistry and elsewhere. We need more schools to train young men and women in the health professions. We need more offices, clinics and hospitals to improve the accessibility of care. For example, less than half the people in this nation see a dentist annually. We all know this. We all have known this for so long that it is not shocking to us. But it ought to be shocking in the richest, most powerful nation the world has ever known. It ought especially to be shocking when we think of how many children there are in that group. This is something—the dental needs of children—that the American Dental Association pledged itself to work on at its last annual session and I compliment them on it.

And this is what research is for: to find ways to prevent, control and cure disease. As I said at the beginning, I know as businessmen this prospect of an increasing demand for your products can't help but be pleasing to you. But I know that as citizens you are even more pleased that this effort is going to continue to go forward, perhaps at an increased pace, until we have achieved the health goals we all agree must be achieved. Thank you.

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Appendix

Soldiers Never Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, at this season of the year it is particularly appropriate that we think in memoriam of those who have made the supreme sacrifice in order that we might remain free as individuals in a great nation. Perhaps it is paradoxical that we "lose the peace" after such sacrifice.

I am certain there will be many Memorial Day addresses across the country, and all of us have delivered many, and read more in the past. Nevertheless, the writing of the service officer for the Goad Ballinger Post, No. 69, in my home town of Springfield, Mo., shows it as clearly and succinctly as any I have chanced to review. Mr. Patterson provided it to me at the recent dedication by the commanding general of Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., of the USO facility. I am sure all of our colleagues will agree that it has captured the tough patriotism and intense loyalty and devotion of the World War I veterans, exemplified inspiration succinctly; along with the loyalty and devotion of all in subsequent wars and incidents. I commend it to my colleagues:

SOLDIERS NEVER DIE

(By C. H. Patterson)

Slowly and reverently I walked through the great gate that guard the entrance to the National Cemetery, that beautiful White City of Stone, where lie so many of our Honored Dead.

With uncovered head I walked between row upon row of white markers, each marking the resting place of some soldier. Pausing here and there to read the names I found many that were familiar. Buddies who had gone 'West'. Comrades who had made the supreme sacrifice and given their lives in defense of their country.

Shutting my eyes I could see my buddies as I had once known them. They had been the flower of American manhood, young, in the prime of life, eager to face what life held in store for them. Like millions of others they had answered the call of their country. They had faced the enemy unafraid, confident of victory and supreme in the knowledge that right would prevail. Because of them, our lives are free. Because of them, our country lives.

The scene before me held a solemn beauty, one that made me both heart-sick and weary. Finding a secluded spot beneath the spreading branches of a hugh oak I sat down to rest. Around me, the white stones, marking the last resting place of some soldier, stood as eternal sentinel. Wearily I closed my eyes to shut from sight the heartaches and sorrow that lust and greed of some tyrant had wrought on this peace loving country of ours.

I might have slept, I never knew. It seemed but a moment until I heard a familiar voice calling "Buddy". Slowly I opened my eyes and raised my head.

What I saw did not startle me. I knew I was among friends of yesteryears. In the dusk of ev'ntitde, beneath the protecting branches of the giant oak, sat hundreds of those, who a few moments ago, were sleeping the sleep of eternal peace.

Many of those gathered around me wore the knee britches of the Revolutionary Period. Many wore the blue of the Civil War, an equal number wore the grey. Here in this peaceful City of the Dead, there was no diference between them, they were as brothers.

Spanish War Veterans sat together in small groups. The olive drab uniform of the first World War was present in great numbers. The trim snappy uniform of World War II, the Korean War and Viet Nam were slowly but steadily increasing. Buddies and comrades by the scores and hundreds. A finer representation of our Honored Dead could be found at no other place on the face of the earth.

A hush fell over the assembled group as a young soldier stepped forward.

"Buddy" Came a voice that I knew so well. "All of us here were once like you. We were men, American fighting men. Fighting for our homes and freedom. Many are the battles, on land, on sea and in the air in which we have fought side by side. You were lucky enough to escape death at the hands of the enemy, we were not."

"It has often been said 'Old soldiers never die.' That is quite true, they live on in a world all their own and continue to fight for the land of their birth. We here, who reside in this City of the Dead, have a story to tell. You must help us tell that story."

The setting sun, sinking slowly behind the distant horizon, cast long shadows of the assembled group. All were silent and motionless as the young soldier continued to speak.

"My name". He said "Does not matter. You knew me as Buddie, or Comrade, let it forever remain so."

You see before you thousands of veterans, veterans from all wars, from battle scarred Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, Gettysburg, Shiloh, San Juan Hill, Chateau Thierry, The Argonne, Pearl Harbor, Corregidor, Omaha Beach, Salerno, Porkchop Hill, Heartbreak Ridge, and Viet Nam. When our country called, we answered that call, just like millions have done in the past, just like millions will do in the future."

The young soldier paused and for a few moments stood silently gazing into space as though deep in thought, presently he continued.

"For many years there has been two kinds of war. One, a shooting war, or so called hôt war. A war where men kill or be killed. A war where whole armies annihilate each other, where cities and town are razed and destroyed, sometimes even by a single bomb. A war where all living things, even the grasses and trees, are laid to waste, where the whole countryside is devastated and ruined, where nothing remains but the useless scorched earth. This is war, a shooting war. A war, whose horrors, that those of us who sleep in this silent City of the Dead, have witnessed many times.

"The other is a non-shooting war, a diplomatic war, a war of nerves. Men do not fight openly in this kind of warfare. It is a war of broken promises, lies, deceit, intrigue. It is unprincipled, treacherous, dirty, insidious, that is why it is called a cold war. It is the kind of warfare in which we of America are mere infants. The kind of war our enemies are masters of.

"The ammunition of this cold war, now being waged against America, is not guns and gun powder, it is something far less tangible. Our enemies have already openly bragged they will bury us, this they fully intend to do if at all possible. They will not try to do this out in the open as one nation against another, they have too much fear and respect for a once aroused American public. Their strategy is to wreck our economy, lull us into an apathetic state of mind, then, when our will to resist is nil, steal our freedoms one by one and bury us in our own stupidity.

"One of the weapons our enemies intend to, and are using, is the over lavish foreign aid program the American people so generously started twenty years ago. This program was only intended to help war torn nations regain their lost stability. We were told our dollars would buy us many friends and insure peace for the entire world. Today, twenty years and 115 billion dollars later, we find just the opposite to be true. During this give-away period we have had almost continuous wars, purposely engineered by our enemies, while our friends have grown fewer in number.

"Among the many nations that were our friends in years gone by were Pakistan and India. Both of these nations came to us with out-stretched hands begging alms. Generous America responded with billions of dollars along with millions of tons of food and materials. Instead of working diligently to rebuild a sagging economy and feed their hungry, they worked at tearing down. We watched them fight a war with guns and material supplied by us, even while they fought a war we did not cut off the flow of dollars but continued to give millions to both sides. This same thing also happened to Isreal and Egypt. It was repeated again between Turkey and Greece. We have even been guilty of giving economic aid to communist block countries while they shipped their war materials to our enemies.

"For years we have been throwing our dollars around with a lavish and ungoverned hand. We have continued to give aid to countries even after they had gone behind the Iron Curtain. We need to ask ourselves these questions. When do we learn who our enemies are? When do we learn what is enough? When do we learn where to stop giving? We gave them our billions. Did they give us their friendship?

"Of the more than one hundred nations who have received our aid in past years, few are our friends. Some have openly stabbed us in the back. We have been told to get out. 'Yankee go home' has become a trite phrase. We have seen our citizens insulted, spat upon. We have seen our flag hauled down and trampled in the dirt, yet, after all of this, we still blindly hand out more and more money while the receiver laughs at us for being so gullible.

"There is graft, greed and corruption in our foreign aid program, not only on one side of the water, but on both. In the past twenty years we have made more millionaires for other nations than they have made for themselves since the beginning of time. Our national debt is well over 320 billion dollars. More than the combined debt of all the rest of the nations of the entire world. Still we give.

"When we in America have paid all of the debts of the world. Stockpiled other countries with our food and materials. Filled their vaults with our gold and silver. Depleted our own country of its vast wealth. Allowed them to lull us into an apathetic state and steal our freedoms. Then our enemies will step in and take over. Then they will easily bury us in the grave they duped us into digging for ourselves.

"The people of America must be told this story. They must be awakened from the apathetic state they have allowed themselves to get into. They must stop all of the misguided do-gooders, bungling bureaucrats and traitors from giving our country into the hands of the enemy. They must be made to realize that their own personal liberties are at stake. That the prosperity, peace and freedoms of America lies in their hands."

"Generation after generation has fought to preserve the principles of a free world. All of us here belong to one of those generations. The difference is. We have already been called by the High Command. We have joined that great Spirit Army whose footsteps make no sound. In doing so we have left in your hands a precious heritage. The most priceless heritage man can possess. Citizenship in a free nation. May you always guide and govern it wisely. Guard and protect it well. Love, honor and cherish it. And forever, keep it free."

With an expression on his boyish face that told of his sincerity, the young veteran, I knew only as Buddy, seated himself amongst his companions. Almost as if this had been the signal there came a rustling in the dry grass. I opened my eyes just in time to see a rabbit scamper past on its way to some hidden lair. The scene before me was peaceful and deserted. I was alone.

Deep in thought I walked slowly back toward the great gate that guards the entrance to the city of our Honored Dead. Looking back over the row upon row of white stone markers I found the gathering darkness had blotted out the heartaches and sorrow I knew hovered there. As I stood gazing at the somber beauty, peace seemed to settle over me. Somewhere I heard a voice saying.

"America must awake. Let her cast aside the blanket of apathy that has settled over the nation. Let her be not deceived by the lies, deceit and intrigue of others. Let her be generous, but not foolish. Let her stand steadfast for the rights and freedoms of all people. Let her guard her own freedoms, even unto death. Like generations before, she must accept her responsibilities. Stand firmly united. Unafraid. Unconquerable. And Unburied."

The 20th Anniversary of the Republic of Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, this June 2 will mark the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Italy. We in this country commend 20 years of democratic government in Italy, and are heartened by the Italian example. At the end of World War II, Italy was a broken land. Fascism had drained the country and children walked the streets hungry. Political discord was rampant and remnants of the Fascist right and Communist left threatened to destroy the new government. But, somehow, out of the chaos and despair the true spirit of the Italian people emerged. Responsible leaders came to the fore, and with the help of the United States, they began building a free and prosperous Italy.

Today Italy is in the forefront of the artistic and industrial surge of the 20th century. The movies of Italy complement the paintings of the old masters and together they enrich the spirit of the entire world. The names Fiat and Olivetti rank with those of Ford and IBM as being the leaders of the international business community. Italian goods are in demand everywhere because of their fine workmanship, and the profits from this flourishing economy have been used to rebuild a war-torn Italy.

America owes a great debt to those of Italian descent in this country, for they have contributed much to our society. Italian-Americans are prominent in every phase of American life and they have willingly fought and died to protect this country. We all share in the pride that the Italian-Americans have for their homeland. And we recognize where long ago a man was proud to say, "I am a Roman," today men are equally proud to say, "I am an Italian."

Expanding Marian College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, Marian College, in Indianapolis, Ind., is planning an expansion program that will see doubled capacity within 10 years. This is a noticeable and welcome benefit to the community, to the State, and to the entire educational system in the United States. I am pleased to insert an editorial from the May 10, 1966, Indianapolis News concerning Marian College's plans:

EXPANDING MARIAN COLLEGE

Marian College in Indianapolis is planning a dramatic expansion so that by 1975 it will be able to accommodate 1,500 full-time students, roughly twice its present number.

To do this, Marian is preparing an initial $7 million capital and endowment fund drive. First goal of the 10-year plan is a modern $1.375 million library; also slated for construction are three new residence halls, an art building annex, new science laboratories, and a spectator sports gymnasium.

Marian officials say that $4 million of the total drive goal will be sought for buildings and equipment, and $3 million for endowment funds and for faculty salaries and student financial aid programs.

At present 40 per cent of the Marian student body are campus residents. To at least maintain that ratio, the additional residence halls will be constructed for another 245 men and women by 1975.

The development plan also calls for nearly doubling the faculty in the next 10 years, while attempting to keep tuition at low levels.

It is a bold and imaginative plan upon which Marian College is embarking, and perhaps nothing reflects its worth better than the observations of Rt. Rev. Francis J. Reine, president of the college:

"The program is Marian's attempt to do its share to meet the demand upon higher education during the next decade and thereafter. It reaffirms our commitment of service to our community.

"We believe the relatively small and privately supported liberal arts college has a vitally important role in the future of American education—and it is our aim with additional facilities and endowments to ensure that Marian will continue its best effort to this end."

Naomi Talley Writes a Gem of a Children's Book on Soil Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the poet said the child is father of the man, and in no instance is this borne out more meaningfully than in the attitude of the citizen toward preservation and enrichment of the natural environment.

That is why I am particularly proud to recommend a little gem of a book written by a Texas lady who has served her State and the Nation well for many years as a staff member of the Soil Conservation Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Mrs. Naomi Talley's recently published "To Save the Soil" was written for children so that they might better understand about the land and waters of America, the disasters suffered when the land was ill-used, and what has been done through the efforts of wise conservationists to restore and develop our irreplaceable soil and water resources for the lasting benefit of the American people.

I think adults will gain a lot of useful knowledge from this book, too. Mrs. Talley is a former schoolteacher in Texas who turned to Government service in a field that has required exceptional insight, dedication, and determination to get established conservation practices that have made the land bloom again where it had been laid waste, and that have further enhanced the value of the countryside as a refuge for our rapidly growing urban population.

It is essential, I believe, for the young American to understand how the land and waters of his country have been exploited since the earliest settlements, and the efforts which have been made to advance soil and water conservation as early as the days of Washington and Jefferson. He should understand why there was a Dust Bowl in the thirties, why today once-sparkling streams no longer flow clear, why some of the land he sees in the city or on drives through the countryside is eroded and ugly. He should understand that this damage to the land and waters of America can and must be prevented, and that it must be repaired where it occurs.

The young American should be familiar with the pioneers in soil and water conservation as heroes he can look up to and emulate. Mrs. Talley's book will introduce these pathfinders to many a child and youth. Conservationists like Hugh Hammond Bennett, and many others, are men in whose footsteps the young American can readily follow, for conservation of our natural resources is a continuing responsibility of every citizen. The child who understands this responsibility will assume it throughout his adult life. I believe we can be quite certain of that.

"To Save the Soil" is a valuable contribution to the literature on soil and water conservation because it reaches out to the young American who in the years just ahead must help decide the destiny of his land and its waterways for those who will follow him.

Big Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, a former distinguished Member of the House, the Honorable Wint Smith, long a vigorous exponent of the free enterprise theory of government, has forwarded to me a letter carried in a recent issue of the Jewell County Republican, and written by Mr. Arnold Rose. Mr. Rose, a friend and neighbor of Mr. Smith, shares the former Congressman's views on big government.

Mr. Rose has established a wide reputation as an outstanding swine producer, and it is significant that his accomplishments were achieved without a program of Federal livestock controls.

So that others may have the opportunity of reading Mr. Rose's comments, I have permission to have his letter printed in the RECORD:

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

DEAR EDITOR LINGG: I would presume you will get a lot of political philosophy thrown your way this off-year election time. It's been interesting to read about, and listen to the voices in agriculture complain bitterly as the steel arm of the administration cracked down on farm prices. For the first time in well over 3 years many producers of food and fiber were to realize the true impact of Socialism. When our Ag. Sec. told the farmers, in answer to their complaints, they would be receiving in 1966, over a billion dollars in government payments to help them to achieve a high income. He was saying in effect exactly this, "We are going to subsidize you, and you are going to take some orders from us in the form of a managed economy—Socialism.

Organizations by farmers to control prices, would require near 100 per cent membership and both quality and quantity control. Government attempts to control both price and production by decree have not been satisfactory in nearly 30 years. We in the livestock industry can be grateful for having kept our business relatively free from government influence, as a result, sound livestock programs have flourished.

You in the publishing business, our friends selling clothing, groceries or lumber, do not subsidize. Any of you can price your business wares out of the market and wind up selling at a loss if you buy too high originally.

Two reasons stand out why we cannot get out of our Socialistic groove; voter apathy and voter tradition, in that order—the latter then is the balance weight. Tradition says "My parents were of a politic's faith, So, am I." My own father was a member of the party currently in power. I do mean power. However, I dare say of a different political faith. Had he lived another 10 years I'm confident he would have both, switched and fought. He died 40 years ago next week. He might not have waited the 10 years.

Socialism is a creepy moving wedge—either forward or sideways, but never backwards. Social Security is the prime example where the Government says, "I'll take away from you a per cent of your income each year (your own earnings, let them double their value every few years with compound interest on top of compound interest and then some day I'll tell you how much you need back."

Yours very truly,

ARNOLD ROSE.

The 48th Anniversary of Armenian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, this May 29 marks the 48th anniversary of Armenian Independence Day. In 1918 the brave patriots of Armenia threw off the oppressive yoke of Turkish despotism, and formed a free and independent Republic. It was a day of rejoicing and of dedication to the freedom of man, for Armenia was to be the first democratic Republic in Asia Minor. It was a day that climaxed a six-century struggle which tested a people as few others in all of history have been tested. The Armenian people proved that they will always cherish freedom and that they will endure any hardship to gain that freedom.

The Armenian Republic lasted an all too brief 2 years. Then it fell prey to the conquering armies of Soviet Russia. The dreams, of the Armenian people for an independent country, were shattered by the attacking Communist forces. The work of Woodrow Wilson to establish an order which would guarantee political independence for the great and small nations alike, was destroyed by the invading Red troops. But the dreams are not forgotten and the work is beginning again. The Armenian people are destined to again light the lamp of liberty in their native land.

There are more than 150,000 people of Armenian descent in this country and many of them live in my home State of Illinois. We are proud of these people for they have contributed much to American life. They have brought to this Nation a zest for living and a willingness to fight for liberty which they learned long ago on the Armenian plains. We thank them for all that they have given to America and we share in their prayers that their homeland of Armenia will soon know a rebirth of freedom.

Riley H. Allen of Hawaii Receives Recognition as a Builder of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, May 7, 1966, the Hawaii Federal Bar Association awarded its Law Day Liberty Bell Award to Riley H. Allen, former editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and respected senior citizen of Hawaii. Mr. Allen was cited for having courageously upheld the ideals of "equal opportunity under the law" during the 60 years that he helped to guide the destiny of our island State. As editor of one of Hawaii's leading newspapers, Mr. Allen provided much-needed leadership in formulating the principles by which Hawaii was to develop into the outstanding democratic community that it is today.

He fought for public education when its merits were still being questioned. He encouraged the development of diversified agriculture and tourism with the knowledge that a one- or two-crop economy would only perpetuate the semifeudal plantation system. He promoted "spelling bees" and oratorical contests to challenge the young people whom he knew would someday be Hawaii's leaders. He fought for statehood when few envisioned Hawaii as a State. He participated in grassroots politics and was an active leader in community organizations. He came to the defense of Hawaii's Japanese-American population during the trying days of World War II, and after the war he fostered Hawaii's role in American and Pacific-Asian understanding.

As one who remembers pre-World War II Hawaii and as a product and beneficiary of the Hawaii that Riley Allen envisioned and helped to build, I applaud the Hawaii Federal Bar Association for the recognition it has bestowed upon Hawaii's illustrious senior citizen. He is truly a personification of the ideals for which the Liberty Bell award was created.

An editorial in the May 9 issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin summarizes Mr. Allen's many contributions to Hawaii. I am pleased to submit the editorial for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A BUILDER OF DEMOCRACY

The selection of Riley H. Allen to receive the lawyers' Liberty Bell award and the citation accompanying it confirm a widely held view in the community.

This is that the retired editor of the Star-Bulletin, long before the Supreme Court made civil rights a national issue in 1954, was building a foundation for democracy in Hawaii, with equal opportunity under the law as a paramount goal.

When he came to Hawaii as a young editor, he found a paternalistic, almost a feudal system, and a wide gap between the predominantly white managerial class and the predominantly non-white laboring class.

With clear foresight, he realized that equal opportunity could only result from equal educational opportunity. He fought for universal public education at a time when many questioned its wisdom, and disdained ridicule in supporting the fledgling College of Hawaii which grew into the highly respected University of Hawaii.

Realizing that a one- or two-crop economy tended to perpetuate the semi-feudal plantation system, he supported diversified agriculture and stimulated early efforts to attract visitors to Hawaii.

He encouraged young people to advance on their merits in many ways: through the home and school garden programs, through oratorical contests and spelling bees, through the Junior Chamber of Commerce which he helped to establish in Hawaii while he was president of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce.

He regarded the letters to the editor column as a "town meeting" for practical democratic expression.

Riley Allen realized, however, that the people of Hawaii would never approach their destiny until they enjoyed the total citizenship that comes only with Statehood. He endured many jibes in the long, uphill fight which was finally crowned with success in 1959. No man contributed more to that result, although he was the first to give credit to the many others who labored to reach the goal.

Without the universal education for which he fought, Statehood would not have been possible.

On a broader scale, he contributed to the liberalization of immigration and naturalization policies, and worked through such organizations as the Institute of Pacific Relations for a better understanding among leaders of the Pacific-Asian area.

Nor were all these battles waged from an ivory tower. He was in the thick of the fray as a leader in community organizations, an enthusiastic participant in grass-roots politics, and as an adviser to numerous civic groups.

Riley Allen loves people and has faith in them. He defended the loyalty of Hawaii's people in the trying days of World War II, and worked with quiet responsibility to replace military government with civilian control. He has always been optimistic in setting goals for Hawaii and its people, and they have not let him down.

The Liberty Bell award is one of many honors he has earned in the more than 60 years of his leadership and good citizenship in Hawaii. It is a tangible symbol of the ineffable admiration, respect and affection Hawaii's people hold for him.

The lawyers chose well when they decided to award their Liberty Bell to Riley Allen.

Mrs. Brizendine Gets Top Service Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I have had numerous occasions to call upon Mrs. Virginia Brizendine in the Post Office Department for assistance with philatelic matters. I found her to be very knowledgeable and capable. Without exception, she spared no effort to be helpful.

Last week Mrs. Brizendine received the Post Office Department's Distinguished Service Award for "dedicated and distinguished work that has significantly improved the quality of philatelic programs of the United States." This is a well-deserved honor and the Postmaster General is to be commended for his selection of Mrs. Brizendine to receive this top award.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article which appeared in the Washington Star on May 22, 1966:

MRS. BRIZENDINE GETS TOP SERVICE AWARD

Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien yesterday presented the Post Office Department's highest career service recognition, the Distinguished Service Award, to Mrs. Virginia Brizendine, director of the Division of Philately.

Announcement of the award, which included a $500 check, a citation and a personal letter of commendation from the Postmaster General, was made at a philatelic press conference held at the Sixth International Philatelic Exhibition.

The citation commended Mrs. Brizendine "for dedicated and distinguished work in the service of the Post Office Department that has significantly improved the quality of the philatelic programs of the United States."

Mrs. Brizendine began her Post Office Department service in 1936 in the old Division of Stamps, then headed by Robert E. Fellers. Since 1946, she has been directly concerned with philatelic matters, including stamp selection and design. She was named director of the Division of Philately last August.

Mr. Donald O. McBride Appointed to TVA Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, last week, Mr. Donald O. McBride succeeded Mr. Arnold R. Jones as a member of the three-man Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. McBride on his appointment. I know he will be an asset, as Mr. Jones was, to TVA in this capacity, and I wish him every success in his efforts.

An editorial was presented on WCYB-TV, Bristol, Tenn.-Va., by Mr. Walter Crockett, relative to Mr. McBride's new position, and it is my pleasure to insert it in the RECORD at this point:

WCYB-TV EDITORIAL, MAY 10, 1966: DONALD O. MCBRIDE

An appointment of high importance to the Tennessee Valley region is the selection of Donald O. McBride for membership on the three-man board of directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

McBride will succeed Arnold R. Jones, whose nine-year term will expire on May 18.

McBride for 20 years has been a leader in water resources development in Oklahoma.

He went to Washington in 1949 as an administrative assistant to Senator MIKE MONRONEY of Oklahoma.

While working with Senator Kerr, McBride helped develop the TVA's self-financing legislation which passed the Congress four years ago.

The appointee is not a stranger to Tennessee or the Tennessee Valley. He has visited the region many times; is thoroughly conversant with TVA; he has the respect and friendship of TVA's board members Aubrey Wagner and Frank Smith; and his nomination goes to the Senate with the firm endorsement of Tennessee Senators ALBERT GORE and ROSS BASS.

These are welcome assets, but of far more concern to the valley is the feeling which the appointee has for TVA and its role.

Mr. McBride says, and we quote:

"I am a firm believer in the purposes of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

"I believe it has served a very useful purpose, and can still continue to serve as a developer of natural resources.

"I think TVA should lead the nation in finding ways of developing and promoting all kinds of water resources development.

"There must be additional development of the TVA because it is presently serving so many people and its power consumption doubles about every seven years.

"I believe the only way we can develop public power is by tying it in with private power, and I am opposed to neither."

Student Wins Kennedy Award in Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, 21-year-old Gary Kim Harris is one of the outstanding young men from Kansas. Kim was recently awarded the John F. Kennedy Scholarship Award at American University. Kim's father, Wylie V. Harris, a school superintendent in Shawnee Mission, Kans., reported to me that when Senator ROBERT KENNEDY presented the award, and learned that Kim was from Kansas, he remarked:

> Well, he will not be running against me.

Kim has an abiding and healthy interest in politics. I do not know if he will ever be running against me—but I do know he would be tough competition for anybody. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Kansas City Times of May 20 about Kim:

STUDENT WINS KENNEDY AWARD IN WASHINGTON

On the eve of his 21st birthday anniversary Wednesday, Gary Kim Harris, son of Mr. and Mrs. Wylie Harris, 10710 West Sixty-second street, Shawnee, received the John F. Kennedy scholarship award in an honors convocation at the American University, Washington.

The award was presented by Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, Democrat, of New York, a brother of the late President.

A junior at the university, Harris was also selected for membership in Omicron Delta Kappa fraternity; the Pi Sigma Alpha nation political science fraternity and received the student association president's award for outstanding contribution to the association.

He has been on the dean's honor roll four of five semesters and is president of the junior class. He is in the school of international service.

Harris won a $4,000 scholarship in the National Merit scholarship program in his last year at Shawnee-Mission North high school.

His father this year is ending his 19th year as superintendent of the Westwood View elementary school district.

GI Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend the veterans educational assistance program to provide for lump-sum payments to certain veterans who obtained their education before June 1, 1966.

I have long been interested in the enactment of a program of education and training for the so-called cold war veteran. In fact, even before January 31, 1955, the effective date of the President's Executive order terminating eligibility for the Korean GI bill, I introduced H.R. 2962 in the 84th Congress. This was the first cold war GI bill introduced in the House of Representatives. It provided for a program of education and training for veterans of service after February 1, 1955. This measure, of course, did not become public law. It did, however, become the prototype for hundreds of bills on this subject in the years thereafter.

With the escalation of the conflict in Vietnam and the involvement of U.S. troops, the subject of educational benefits for veterans became more popular. Scores of bills were introduced in the 89th Congress. I was no exception and again introduced a bill on this subject, H.R. 11862. Now, the philosophy behind the two previous GI bills, both the World War II and the Korean GI bills, was that the returning veteran required readjustment assistance in making the transition to civil law. My bill, therefore, would have provided educational benefits for those serving after February 28, 1961, which according to Department of Defense spokesmen, was the date our mission in Vietnam became combat rather than advisory.

Had this date been selected in the bill which eventually became law, there would have been no inequities created. The new law, however, granted eligibility for education to those who had served 6 months since January 31, 1955.

During the 11-year period since January 31, 1955, thousands of young men were released from military service and then obtained a college education through borrowing money and working at odd jobs. Why do they not wait for a grateful Government to bestow its largess upon them? They did not, because they were informed that they had not served in a war and therefore, no GI educational benefits would be available to them.

These young men, opponents of my bill will tell us, can go to graduate school with the eligibility they have earned. This is true if they can get into graduate schools that are already overcrowded with students who would rather carry text books than an M–1 rifle.

Most of these young men, however, cannot even think of graduate school. They are too busy earning enough money to repay the national defense education loans on other money borrowed to pay for their education.

While those who have waited for the GI bill to obtain their education are receiving from $100 to $150 monthly from the Federal Government, those who have already attained their educational objective are making monthly payments on national defense education loan.

I have received scores of letters, Mr. Speaker, from former servicemen who had the initiative to obtain an education and now are saddled with a large indebtedness as they embark upon their careers. The bill I am introducing will correct this inequity by authorizing a lump-sum payment for education pursued by a veteran after his release from military service in an amount equal to the allowance to which he would have been entitled for education pursued after June 1, 1966.

The text of the bill plus a representative number of the letters I have received on this important matter follow:

A bill to amend the veterans' educational assistance program in title 38 of the United States Code to provide for payments to certain veterans who obtained their education before June 1, 1966

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 34 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 1687. Payments with respect to education previously obtained.

"(a) The Administrator shall, upon application made to him on or before the 180th day after the date of enactment of this section by any eligible veterans who pursued a program of education in an educational institution after his discharge or release from any period of active duty by reason of which such veteran is an eligible veteran for purposes of this chapter and before June 1, 1966, pay to such eligible veteran in a lump sum an amount equal to the educational assistance allowances to which such veteran would have been entitled under this chapter if such program of education had been pursued under the provisions of this chapter.

"(b) Any application for a payment under this section shall be in such form and contain such information as the Administrator may prescribe.

"(c) The period of entitlement of any veteran to an educational assistance allowance under the other provisions of this chapter shall be reduced by a period equal to any period with respect to which payments are made under this section."

(b) The analysis of chapter 34 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"1687. Payments with respect to education previously obtained."

AKRON, OHIO,
April 16, 1966.

Hon. WILLIAM H. AYRES,
Congressman, Ohio 14th District,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Room 2367,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Being a veteran of the Navy I read with great interest the article in the Akron Beacon Journal by Robert H. Feldkamp concerning your proposal for an amendment to the recently enacted G.I. Bill. You are to be commended for your concern for the "forgotten" veterans.

The following is a list of information concerning my military and college life:

Name: William T. Leask.

Date of birth: 10/19/38.

Military service: U.S. Navy; induction date, 9/12/56; separation date, 10/20/59; discharge date, 9/11/62.

College: The University of Akron; dates, 9/60 to 9/66; degree; BSEE (Electrical Engineering).

Loans:

New York Higher Education Assistance Corp	$950
National Defense Student Loans	2,003
Personal Loans	300
Total	3,253

I estimate that I earned 80% of my college expenses through part-time and cooperative program jobs.

The G.I. Bill as it presently stands is discriminating against veterans who had the initiative to make it through college on their own resources. I sincerely hope your proposal for an amendment to the G.I. Bill will be favorably received.

Respectfully yours,
WILLIAM T. LEASK.

AKRON, OHIO,
April 30, 1966.

Representative AYRES,
Room 2367, Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Below is the information concerning my Military Service and college, if any more details are needing please let me know.

Name: Jerry Lee Hatchett.

Induction, 29 October 1965; discharge, 16 September 1960; U.S.A.F. 16565270.

College att., dates, money borrowed

McMurray College, part time, summer of 59 and 60	------
Brigham Young U., Sept. 1960–June 61	$500
Purdue extension night school, Sept. 1961–June 1963	------
Purdue U., Sept. 1963–Aug. 1965, BSEE	$2,600
Total	$3,100

We still owe around $2,100.00.

Sincerely,
JERRY L. HATCHETT.

BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MICH.,
April 20, 1966.

DEAR SIR: I have recently read a article in the Akron Beacon Journal concerning your interest in payment for those servicemen who financed their own college expenses.

I served with the U.S. Army from Jan. 1959 through March 1962, a period of more than 36 months. After my service obligation was complete, I returned to college for 33 months and received a B.A. degree.

Currently I am, an accountant trainee with General Motors Truck and Coach in Pontiac, Mich.

During my college career I incurred debt of more than $2,500.

Any services you could render would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Donald F. Haley.

R. C. Crichton, D.C., D.M.,
Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, April 17, 1966.

Hon. William H. Ayres,
Room 2367, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ayres: Pursuant to the Akron Beacon Journal, April 15, 1966, I am forwarding the necessary information you wish:

Date of my induction: June 2, 1942.

Date of my discharge: January 17, 1946.

Logan College: February 1954, March 1957, graduated with degree, 36 months.

Great Lakes College: September 1960, June 1961, received post graduate degree, 9 months.

Loan: $8,500.00; Balance $3,500.00 for curricula fees, textbooks, instruments, office equipment.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Crichton.

Enclosure: Copy of discharge.

Honorable Discharge—P-602-8

1. Name, Crichton, Robert C.
2. Army serial No. 15 102 705.
3. Grade, Cpl.
4. Arm or service, MD.
5. Component, AUS.
6. Organization, Med Det 38th Cav.
7. Date of separation, 21 Jan. 46.
8. Place of separation, Unit B Sep Ctr 45 IGMR Pa.
9. Permanent address for mailing purposes, 2534 Front St., Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio.
10. Date of birth, 27 Feb. 20.
11. Place of birth, Akron, Ohio.
13. Color eyes, hazel.
14. Color hair, brown.
15. Height, 5, 7.
16. Weight, 153 pounds.
17. Number dependents, 1.
18. Race, white.
19. Marital status, married.
20. U.S. citizen, yes.
21. Civilian occupation and number, tester 1, 6-78.671.

MILITARY HISTORY

22. Date of induction, 2 June 42.
24. Date of entry into active service, 2 June 42.
25. Place of entry into service, Fort Harrison, Ind.

Selective service data

26. Registered, yes.
28. County and State, Summit, Ohio.
30. Military occupational specialty and number, Medical NCO, 673.
31. Military qualifications and date (i.e., infantry, aviation, and marksmanship badges, etc.), M1 Rifle, SS, 03 Rifle, MKM, Carbine MKM.
32. Batties and campaigns, GO 33 & 40 WD/45, Normandy, No. France, Rhineland, Ardennes, Central Europe.
33. Decorations and citations, Good Conduct Med, American Thr Ser Med, EAME Thr Ser Med w/5 Bronze Stars and 1 Bronze Arrowhead, Victory Med.
34. Wounds received in action, none.
35. Latest immunization dates: Smallpox 19 Dec. 45; typhoid, 14 Dec. 45; tetanus, 25 May 43; Ty, 23 Nov. 45.
36. Service outside Continental U.S. and return, 27 May 43, ETO, 2 June 43; 7 Jan. 46, USA, 17 Jan. 46.
37. Total length of service: Continental service, 11 months, 29 days; foreign service, 2 years, 7 months, 21 days.
38. Highest grade held, Cpl.
40. Reason and authority for separation, AR 615-365-52-61-1, demobilization.
41. Service schools attended, Med Western Signal School, 4 months, teletype maint.
42. Education, high school.

PAY DATA

43. Longevity for pay purposes, 3 years, 7 months, 20 days.
44. Mustering out pay: Total, $300; this payment, $100.
46. Travel pay, $14.50.
47. Total amount, $156.77.

INSURANCE NOTICE

Important: If premium is not paid when due or within thirty-one days thereafter, insurance will lapse. Make checks or money orders payable to the Treasurer of the U.S. and forward to Collections Subdivision, Veterans' Administration, Washington 25, D.C.

48. Kind of insurance, Nat Ser.
49. How paid, allotment.
50. Effective date of allotment discontinuance, 31 Jan. 46.
51. Date of next premium due (one month after 50), 23 Feb. 46.
52. Premium due each month, $6.60.
53. Intention of veteran, to continue.
55. Remarks, Lapel Button Issued ASR (2 Sep. 45) 92.
56. Signature of person being separated, Robert C. Crichton.
57. Personnel officer, M. F. Emerich, 1st Lt. WAC.

April 19, 1966.

Representative William H. Ayres,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Room 2367,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ayres: I recently read an article concerning your GI benefit proposal and would like to add my name to the list of other veterans who have written you.

I served in the United States Air Force from October 1955 to August 1961. I enrolled at Kent State University in September 1961 and continued there till March 1963, when I was forced to drop out due to the financial strain.

I was married with two children and spent approximately $7,000.00 during this period for books, tuition, and support of my family. I am presently trying to finish my college through night school.

A large portion of the $7,000.00 mentioned above was borrowed from my father.

I am, needless to say, 100% in favor of your proposal and hope it will eventually become a bill.

Sincerely yours,

E. C. Pickard, Jr.

Akron, Ohio,
April 16, 1966.

Representative William H. Ayres,
Room 2367,
Rayburn House Office Building.

Dear Sir: In reply to your requests for the following information I have:

Date of induction, June 14, 1956.

Date of discharge, June 13, 1959.

College dates, September, 1959, to June, 1964, total months, 45 months.

Estimated funds borrowed, $2,500.

Respectfully yours,

Harold A. Lerch.

Akron, Ohio,
April 19, 1966.

Representative William H. Ayres,
Rayburn House Office Buliding,
Room 2367,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: In reply to your request for information on veterans who attended college between G.I. bills without education benefits from either, I am sending the pertinent data on myself.

I served in the United States Air Force from September, 1956 to October, 1959, receiving an honorable discharge. I attended the State University of Iowa from September, 1962 to August, 1965, graduating with a baccalaureate degree. In the course of obtaining my degree, I found need of borrowing $5,600.00.

May I also take this opportunity to strongly object to the published remark of one Washington official who stated that a provision for benefits to those, like myself, who have already attended college, would only result in "another beer bust". I find this grossly unjust, not only to those of us who also worked jobs for many hours a week to make ends meet, but also to our wives and children who worked and otherwise endured the hardships we had to be content with in pursuing a higher education.

Much continued success in your fine efforts to aid the "cold war" G.I.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Edwin L. Bugenhagen.

April 18, 1966.

Hon. William H. Ayres,
Room 2367,
Rayburn House Office Bulding,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: In response to your statement published in the Akron Beacon Journal, I am writing to inform you of my financial condition resulting from college loans.

I entered the United States Marine Corps on June 20, 1956, and was honorably discharged as a sergeant on April 1, 1959. My total period of active duty was 2 years, 9 months, and 11 days.

I then entered the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from which I received a B.S. 1962 and an M.B.A. in 1965.

To complete my education, I incurred a debt of $4450.00. To date, I have paid a total of $350.00 on these loans. It will be at least seven years before I am able to complete payment of my college debts.

If any documentation of my education debts, education, or military service would help our cause, please let me know. I would be glad to send you photostatic copies of all pertinent documents.

Sincerely,

John G. Matey.

Barberton, Ohio, *April 17, 1966.*

Representative William H. Ayres,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: The following is information covering my service record which may be of benefit to you concerning your proposed amendment to the recently enacted G.I. Bill.

Name: David Thomas Rouch.

Service: U.S.A.F. (Serial No. AF 15578413); Active dates, 3 Sept. 1957 to 23 Nov. 1960; (early release when returned from overseas, originally a 4-year enlistment.

Honorable disch: 2 Sept. 1963.

Highest rating: Airman First Class.

College: University of Akron, Sept. 1961 to present. I graduate with the Bachelor's Degree in Electrical Engineering this coming June.

Present outstanding debts due to college expenses:

A. Approximately $2,000.00 to U.S. Government through the NDSL Program.

B. Approximately $1,500.00 to assorted relatives.

C. In addition, I will be totally broke on graduation day, by anyone's standards.

Of interest:

1. The University of Akron Engineering School is a Co-operative 5 year program. My Co-operative work was spent with the U.S. Department of Defense at Ft. Geo. G. Meade, Md.—a total time of 1 year, in 4 split semesters.

2. The most unhappy thing about the new GI bill is that I will be paying back my National Defense Student Loans, while the government will be paying out to people who were in service at the same time as I—

rather a punishment for incentive, don't you think?

Finally, and perhaps oddly enough, I have elected to continue in government service, and will be moving to the Washington, D.C., area shortly after graduation. If I may be of further assistance, please feel free to contact me here at my Barberton address.

Respectfully;

David T. Rouch.

Manlius, N.Y., *May 3, 1966.*

Hon. William H. Ayres,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: I read with interest a column by Ruth Montgomery in the May 2nd issue of the Syracuse *Herald-Journal.* The article discussed your proposed amendment to the Cold War G.I. Bill.

Since I am one of those veterans (USMC 1956–1958) who took the initiative to go to college, I am directly affected by your bill, and welcome it.

I am currently repaying $3,500.00 in loans from the Federal and New York State Governments, have been for four years and will be for six years more.

What are the prospects of your bill being passed? What can I do to help? Is the American Legion for or against it?

Please keep me informed of the progress of your bill.

Very truly yours,

E. W. Newland.

Akron, Ohio,
May 1, 1966.

Representative William H. Ayres,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Room 2367, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ayres: I am a military veteran from the 14th district of Akron, presently attending college. The following is information in answer to the Akron Beacon Journal article (April 15th) regarding your amendment to the new GI bill—to cover veterans not covered in the new bill.

Air Force Service, from February 1960 to November 1963 (an early out for college).

College, from January 1964 to June 1966.

Money borrowed for education, $1,000.

Yours truly,

Gerald W. Snyder.

Reynoldsburg, Ohio,
May 10, 1966.

Representative William H. Ayres,
Congressional Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: As an ex-GI who served in the period 1955 to 1959 and later went on to obtain a couple of degrees at my own expense, I'd be delighted to just be able to trade off borrowed money (National Educational Defense Loan) against accrued educational benefits under the new "GI bill."

Sincerely yours,

Jack W. Miller.

Westerville, Ohio,
May 11, 1966.

U.S. Representative William H. Ayres,
House Education and Labor Committee,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: I wish to lend whatever support I can to your proposed addition to the new G.I. Education Bill which goes into effect June 1, 1966. I understand that this addition would make it possible for the government to reimburse those individuals who served in the armed forces since the cancellation of the previous G.I. Bill and who then went on to college totally at their own expense.

I served in the army from August, 1959 until August, 1961. Shortly after my release I returned to college and completed my education for a bachelor degree in Mechanical Engineering totally at my own expense. I was forced to borrow money and work part-time in order to support myself, my wife and two children during the 27 months it took to complete my education. I have been out of school now for 16 months and I still have a long way to go to pay off these school loans.

I would like to be kept informed as to the progress of your proposed addition to the G.I. Bill. Needless to say, I will apply for these benefits if and when the funds are available.

Very truly yours,

John L. Gensler.

Wayne, Pa.,
May 2, 1966.

Mr. William H. Ayres,
House of Representatives, Education and Labor Committee, Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: Today I read an item in the Philadelphia Inquirer concerning the G.I. Educational Bill that will be introduced this week.

My husband and I were very disappointed when we learned that the present bill will not help us until June 1, and that there will be no retroactive payments. He hopes to graduate in December of this year. At that time we will still owe approximately $2500 balance on a loan of $4500.

Immediately after his Naval release, Norman entered Villanova Univ. He worked eight hours at night and attended full time day school, meanwhile traveling from Westmont, N.J. to Villanova, Pa. daily. As a result, his grades suffered.

We married early in 1965 and he changed to evening school. I was to continue working in order to relieve his financial burden. This plan failed, because we soon learned that we were expecting. Previously, I had discontinued my hospitalization to save money. Therefore we had to make another loan to meet the hospital, obstetrical, and baby clothing costs.

We have a little baby now and our expenses have risen further. Our budget is so close that after the bills are paid we seldom have $1.00 in coin left to last till the next pay.

It may seem selfish of me but I don't want to leave my baby until he is at least three years of age. If I don't work, we will be hampered by this loan for 3½ years. This is money that could help to buy a home for us. A three room apartment is not very large, especially with an active growing child.

Norman would like to go on to graduate school for a masters degree. This situation has so depressed him, that I don't know if he will.

I do not ask for sympathy by writing this letter. I hope that I have presented the need for such a Bill as you are presenting. There probably are many similar stories, and I am sure that if the Congressmen knew some of them they would realize what a blessing this Bill will be.

Thank you for your attention and Good Luck!

Sincerely,

Priscilla Pfizenmayer.

College of William and Mary,
Williamsburg, Va., May 3, 1966.

The Honorable William H. Ayres,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative Ayres: I was surprised and pleased to read (in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* for May 2) of your proposal to make the cold-war G.I. Bill retroactive for veterans who have already completed college.

Many of us hoped—in vain—for such a bill in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Because it remained unpassed, we worked and borrowed our way through college. By so doing, we added years and additional loss of income to the time spent in school. Many peacetime veterans found the psychological and financial going too rough and were forced to quit school. These years cannot of course be made up, and the debts are still very much with us. The lack of a GI bill changed many lives for the worse.

The image of a peacetime veteran who believes that the nation owes him educational benefits is hardly attractive. Most of us forgot our complaints and did what we had to do to get through college. Nevertheless, Eisenhower's cancellation of the G.I. Bill and the concurrent drop in draft calls worked a tremendous inequity on those who had to serve and, in addition, subsequently to work their way through college. I look at my colleagues now, and I see dozens who never had to give a day to military service. Few are in debt; fewer still would probably be in favor of a bill such as yours.

If your bill is passed, many peacetime veterans would be be given a fresh start in life. I have my doubts about the bill's chances. Probably the dollar sign will be chosen before the human being. But this letter simply expresses the thanks of one veteran for your concern and for your courage in offering such a bill. I am sure that I speak for hundreds of thousands of other peacetime veterans in thanking you. Your bill, if passed, would be just.

Sincerely yours,

David L. Holmes.

The Revisionists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the problem of getting at the truth of any situation is hampered by the tendency of so many people who attempt to make the facts fit their preconceived conclusions.

We frequently find persons who debase the fine art of history by telling the story the way they want to hear it. An editorial from today's Washington Post refers to one such incident, which can only increase the confusion about Red China and the distrust of those who seek to alter our attitude toward Peking:

The Revisionists

Some of the critics of American policy in South Vietnam, in order to prove the Chinese Communists devoid of aggressive purpose, have been trying to rewrite the history of the last 20 years.

A notable example of this kind of doublethink is an article entitled: "Chinese Aggression: Myth or Menace," written by Charles S. Burchill, printed by The Study Group on China Policy of Vancouver, B.C., and circulated by the American Friends Service Committee office in Seattle.

He begins his proof of Chinese virtue with the Korean War and produces a rewrite of that episode that is an affront to scholarship, an outrage to history and a triumph of double-think that even transcends the facility of the Soviet rewriters who do over Soviet history to suit annual alterations of policy.

"On May 30, 1950," he writes, "the government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea was decisively defeated in a general election, winning only 49 out of 219 seats."

The election actually resulted in the election of 133 Independents, 46 Rhee minority party members and 31 members of minority parties opposed to Rhee. In the previous election 85 Independents were elected, 55

Syngman Rhee followers, 28 Korean Democrat Party candidates and 32 from minor parties. So the Rhee party support dropped from 55 to 46—but the coalition that had previously ruled then re-elected P. H. Shinicky, chairman of the Assembly, and went on to form the government that ran the Korean War. So Rhee's coalition regime was not "decisively defeated" but continued to command a ruling majority in the Assembly.

Then, says Mr. Burchill, "John Foster Dulles flew to Korea, and on June 19 (1950) addressed the South Korean National Assembly, pledging continued American aid, *but only if Syngman Rhee's minority government continued in power.*"

Now, the truth is that John Foster Dulles, as a special assistant to the Secretary of State, did address the Assembly and did pledge American aid—but he did not say one word about making that aid contingent on the continued rule of Syngman Rhee or on any other political decision in South Korea. Without condition of any kind, he promised, "The American people give you their support, both moral and material, consistent with your own respect and your primary dependence on your own effort." There is not a single word in this address about continuing the Rhee government.

Then came the invasion from the North. By all competent accounts the North Koreans attacked the South, but Dr. Burchill finds the genesis shrouded in obscurity. He is not sure who attacked first. He says:

"Both sections had large armies, equipped and trained by their foreign sponsors. However the southern army showed little willingness to fight for the government that had been repudiated. The northern army encountered little resistance from the southern forces, and there was no popular opposition to its advance."

Actually, a heavily armored North Korean force of more than 154,000, with 242 Soviet-made T-34 tanks, 1900 heavy weapons and 211 military planes, attacked by surprise the force of South Korea (numbering 100,000 at the start of the war but only recently expanded from a 25,000-man constabulary) and equipped with no tanks, 20 armored cars, 700 guns and 22 light planes. Not surprisingly, the lightly armed South Korean constabulary was no match for the North Korean armored force and fell back clear to the Pusan perimeter before it could regroup.

Although the United Nations repeatedly branded the later intervention by 300,000 Chinese Communists as "aggression," this invasion from China is dismissed by Burchill as a response to U.N. actions, proven by the fact that the Chinese forces were promptly withdrawn after the cease fire.

The beginnings of the Korean War may be obscure to Mr. Burchill, but to competent historians there was no obscurity. Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig, in their *East Asia: the Modern Transformation*, say of the start of the war: "The North Korean surprise attack on June 25, 1950, was at once condemned by the United Nations Security Council . . . under the well-prepared North Korean assault, the outnumbered Korean-American forces initially were forced back southeast of the Naktong River." Writing in Foreign Affairs in October, 1950, John K. Fairbank said: "Our military resistance to Communist aggression in Korea has been entirely necessary and unavoidable . . ."

It is the privilege and duty of those who wish to dissent politically to try to change the history of the future; but their efforts to change the history of the past in order to absolve the Chinese Communists of the odium of previous aggression will not deceive or mislead any informed person in the West. Fairbank estimates the Chinese had 900,000 casualties in the Korean War. They were not engaged in peaceful demonstrations at the time.

The Study Group on China Policy says it was formed for the purpose of "raising the level in Canada of knowledge and debate on China." The circulation of a farago of fiction and nonsense such as this will hardly accomplish that purpose. And the American Friends Service Committee, by disseminating such a distorted version of the past, casts doubt upon its view of the present.

Dr. Marjorie Babcock Robertson To Close Distinguished Career With Hawaii Prep School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, there are few experiences in life that can equal the satisfaction that one derives from having actively participated in the development of an educational institution, and the sense of fulfillment must be twice as great when one has also been able to carry out personal convictions with respect to the principles of education. Such a fortunate educator is Mrs. Marjorie Babcock Robertson, administrative assistant of Hawaii Preparatory Academy in Waimea, Hawaii. Mrs. Robertson is leaving the academy at the end of this school year with the knowledge that the academy, with her assistance, has hurdled its most difficult years.

The satisfaction of having been a part of the preparatory school's formative years was related to reporter Mary Cooke of the Honolulu Advertiser. Mrs. Robertson came to this academy in 1954 as an administrative assistant to capable Headmaster James M. Taylor, formerly of the well known Choate School in Wallingford, Conn. Her duties were all the more challenging because she shared Headmaster Taylor's academic and disciplinary philosophy. She recalled with nostalgia the hectic years when her job description might have been best described as that of a campus "swamper." She was everything—supply clerk, substitute teacher, nurse, chauffeur, delivery lady, organ player, publicity director, social director, errand girl and dietitian—to name a few.

It is difficult to say whether Mrs. Robertson succeeded in her various jobs "because of" or "in spite of" her background of education and experience. She not only has a Ph. D. from Columbia University and authored and coauthored two books on psychology, but she also has been a full professor of psychology and associate director of the psychological clinic at the University of Hawaii.

Her unfaltering devotion through the most difficult years has not been in vain. Today, the school which she has so lovingly nurtured is sought after by many parents and boasts a nearly complete new plant. It has an enrollment of 227 students, and employs 19 full-time teachers. Mrs. Robertson revealed her unselfish concern for the academy when she said of her retirement:

> The school is in good hands. The pioneering is through now. I don't worry about it any more.

Reporter Mary Cooke's article, which appeared in the Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser of May 8, 1966, traces Mr. Robertson's 10 years with the Hawaii Preparatory Academy. I am happy to submit the article for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in the hope that it will serve to inspire others in the field of education:

HPA ADMINISTRATOR RETIRES: SHE HELPED A SCHOOL GROW STRONG

(By Mary Cooke)

Mother's Day this year marks a milestone in the career of Big Islander Marjorie Babcock Robertson.

She is about to write "finis" to a 10-year adventure in mothercraft in which her role was to nurture a school.

After June graduation services at Hawaii Preparatory Academy in Waimea, Hawaii, Mrs. Robertson will leave her post as administrative assistant to Academy Headmaster James M. Taylor.

And thereby hangs a tale of tireless effort, conviction and tilting against odds that threatened to overwhelm an ideal.

IN GOOD HANDS

Sitting behind her desk in the new Academy administration building, Mrs. Robertson spoke in concise terms.

"The school is in good hands. The pioneering is through now. I don't worry about it any more," she said with characteristic directness, beneath which lies an abundance of human warmth and inspiration.

Her light-timbered voice reflects a modest, sensitive nature and her quick, easy choice of words is a measure of her academic background.

Throughout the interview, repeating itself like a leit-motif, one simple fact came through strong and clear. It was that she cared enormously what happened to an idea, a principle in education.

Ten years ago the school she cherished, which embodied this idea and principle, was about to go under. Today, on its Kohala foothills campus adjacent to Parker Ranch, it has a nearly-completed new plant, 227 students and a full-time faculty of 19.

"It's a source of great pride, a very thrilling experience, to see a thing like this develop," she said. "I wouldn't leave now unless I thought things were 'over the hump.'"

FIRST YEARS

In 1949, the school had come into being as the Hawaii Episcopal Academy. Mrs. Robertson and her husband, the late William F. Robertson who was manager of Hamakua Mill Co., were members of the board of directors.

Little noticed, the Academy barely had survived five difficult years until 1954 when James M. Taylor of Choate School in Wallingford, Conn., accepted both the challenge and the Headmastership and moved to Hawaii. He began work with a student body of 21 and a faculty of six.

Under his vigorous and uncompromising leadership, "Kamuela," as the school began to be known, became an exciting new element in the Island-wide community.

Parents were talking.

Weary mothers and fathers, dissatisfied with the results of a two-generation-long timidity about "inhibiting" children, now spoke of "character," "conduct," "firmness," "high demands" and "standards."

They rejoiced with, and seconded the Headmaster when he said, "How often we see the quick and delighted response of teenagers to assured, competent, adult leadership. And I include some previously noted for their defiance of authority."

A STRONGHOLD

Sink or swim, Taylor had made it clear that the tried-and-tired concept of "permissiveness" had no place in his academic or disciplinary philosophy.

Never one to pull his punches, he looked upon the young Academy under his leadership as "one of the last strongholds in America today for the disciplined individual and the building of men with strong characters.

"I believe it is up to the educators to instill and back up proper moral values," he declared.

So believed Mrs. Robertson.

In a swift train of events in 1956 she was widowed and her only son, Ian, left for Choate School. That fall, she began her work for the Academy. She became its trouble shooter, its swing shift relief workers, its anchor to windward.

HELP NEEDED

At that time, there was no parents' association to give the school a helping hand. Its physical assets were negligible, and boarding students, faculty members, kitchen, dining room and laundry facilities were crowded into a quadrangle of old World War II cane-walled barrack in the town of Kamuela.

The Headmaster and faculty did triple duty in teaching, coaching athletics and supervising study halls. Mrs. Taylor supervised the housekeeping and meal planning.

The first three years Mrs. Roberston worked for it, the Academy could not afford to pay her a salary. There was no such thing as a job description.

But just as a good mother guards, tends and encourages the young, and works to overcome handicaps that might limit a child's development, so Mrs. Robertson applied her energy and talents to the growth potential of this young school when it was struggling for existance.

THE DAY'S WORK

"I guess you might say I was the campus 'swamper'," she said.

She ordered supplies, checked invoices, delivered meat from Honokaa to the school kitchen, looked after the sick and took ailing boys to the hospital.

She baby sat for faculty wives who tutored students in French. She did substitute teaching and supervised the college admissions testing and counseling program.

She took study halls, coached students in remedial reading and spelling, cleaned the library, played the organ for chapel, wrote Academy publicity, looked after its insurance, helped arrange dances and ran errands.

Cramped though they were, faculty, students and staff achieved a standard of healthy living and thinking, rapport and academic performance that caused more and more parents, far and near, to seek admission for their sons.

Enrollment climbed to capacity and the waiting list grew longer. But though the worth of the school had been demonstrated, its facilities were so overburdened that the questions pondered by its directors were, "How long can it survive without expanding?" and "How can it expand without funds?"

CRUCIAL TIMES

Looking back on the lean years, Mrs. Robertson gave large credit for the ultimate growth of the Academy to "the parents who thought enough of the principle involved that they were willing to send us their boys in those early years."

She said that during the crucial 1956–57 school year, when each week's work was finished, she used to drive to Kona for the weekend, but the fate of the Academy was always in her thoughts.

"I knew the school was good," she said. "I used to drive with tears streaming down because, without support, it couldn' t continue. And there was no money.

"Mr. Taylor, probably one of the great Headmasters in America, had good offers to go elsewhere, and it looked as though the Academy would end."

The turning point came in January, 1957, when Theo. H. Davies & Co., Ltd., and C. Brewer & Co., Ltd., offered the Academy its first major financial support.

"Since then, the school has grown strong," she said. "Little by little, the staff has increased and others have taken on many of the things I used to do."

DREAM COME TRUE

She led the way from her office through the reception hall where a group of boys waited for interviews. All of them rose as we entered the hall and one stepped forward to open the lanai door for us.

Outside, Mrs. Robertson remarked, "I do no disciplining, but they treat me as if I were made of glass. I don't think I've ever had a boy be rude to me here."

It was late afternoon and a school bus carrying one of the Academy athletic teams climbed the hill toward the domitories. Above, on a bright green hillside a boy was rounding up several head of horses, and below, another group was practicing polo.

Clustered in groups over the rolling pasture land were the Academy's three lava stone and frame dormitories, library, classrooms with science complex, four tennis courts, track and football field and the sites of the new chapel and gymnasium.

Between the units, more boys in checkered woolen shirts, slacks and jackets strode across the grassy ranges.

It was a scene that bespoke a dream come true, one that Mrs. Robertson will miss when she leaves. But her comment was not sentimental. She said, quite simply, "I'm devoted to these boys. They've kept me busy while my own child was away."

DISTINGUISHED CAREER

Her immediate plan after retirement is a reunion with her son, Ian, a Yale graduate who will take his law degree at UCLA this June.

After HPA graduation, she will return to her home in Kona. Beyond that, she has no plans for the future.

But looking back on what Marjorie Robertson has already accomplished, it is apparent that the major part of her life work has been in pioneer efforts toward gearing human beings for effective living.

The decade she spent in helping to strengthen the Academy was one of many achievements in a career of distinguished community service.

Before her marriage, as Dr. Marjorie Babcock, she worked 16 years at the Psychological Clinic at the University of Hawaii as research assistant, associate psychologist, assistant professor and full professor of psychology at the UH, and associate director of the Clinic.

She is the author of "Applications of Clinical Psychology in Hawaii," and, with Dr. Stanley D. Porteus she co-authored the book, "Temperament and Race."

Mrs. Robertson received her Ph. D. at Columbia University and is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, a Fellow of the American Psychological Association and was one of the first people in Hawaii to be named a Diplomate in Clinical Psychology by the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOE D. WAGGONNER, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER].

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment, but I should like to ask the author of the amendment a question.

In establishing criteria for eligibility to participate in this exemption, is there to be an age limit?

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. No, there is not to be an age limit, but it is really designed for the youngsters who go out in the summertime. There is no age limit set up in the amendment.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thank the gentlewoman from Oregon.

Tennesseans Look at the Rising Cost of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the rising cost of living is a great concern to us and to our people, and it is appropriate that lengthy discussion be given to this matter.

In recent weeks, this topic has been discussed in practically every newspaper in my district.

I believe these statements should be studied. Therefore, I am inserting several of these editorials for the information of my colleagues and for the readers of the RECORD.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel, May 22, 1966]

RISING COSTS

Almost everything costs more than it used to. Some prices lapse occasionally, but eventually rise again. Overall, the cost of living has been on a steady course—upward.

The Government each month averages out the price fluctuations for a cross-section of personal expenses, and comes up with comparisons for previous months. With a rare exception here and there, prices in general have been climbing every month for years now.

What you could buy, on an across-the-board basis, for $10 in 1957–1959 now costs $11.25.

We have become accustomed to this, not necessarily happy about it.

But in the Government's latest report (for April) there is one note that points up a vital contributor to the general rise in the cost of living.

In April, the Consumers' Price Index rose four-tenths of 1 percent. Arnold Chase, assistant commissioner of labor statistics, says the increase would have been only three-tenths of 1 percent if the Government had not restored the excise taxes on telephone calls and new cars, which had been reduced only last January.

There were increases in the prices of shoes, used cars, clothing, medical services and many other things. But the price of Government figures in all of these, as well as in the direct taxes on consumers, such as sales taxes on phone calls.

Along with the trend in higher interest rates, the cost of mortgages went up. That's a part of the cost of living, too, of course. But interest rates are rising, for one reason, because the Government spends so much and borrows so much. The Government constantly is in the money market, bidding against other demands for loans.

This can be blamed only fractionally on the Vietnam war.

If the Government would slow down on some of its other spending, it could materially affect the inflationary trend.

[From the Claiborne County (Tenn.) Progress, May 19, 1966]

DON'T BE AN EASY MARK

Taxes and cost of living are going to be a major worry of the present generation and their children. The taxes they have to pay either directly or through withholding a levy on their incomes must be paid ahead of their bread and butter.

Taxes are a necessary burden in our expanding and progressive society, just as modern convenciences become necessary in our changing standards of living. But there is a point in both government and family spending, where desires have to be balanced against income and ability to pay.

It is part of our political picture for candidates for office and our representatives in government, in order to obtain public favor, to promise the people all manner of public largess in return for their support. But it is seldom mentioned that the people will have to pay in taxes for the beneficence of the politicians.

The situation is like installment buying, where inducements are so appealing that the burden of payments can sink the family ship before income has grown to meet obligations.

It is just as important for the people to vote "No" to extravagant and unnecessary, but appealing political schemes for which they will have to pay, as it is for them to say "No" to personal spending beyond their means.

[From the Jonesboro (Tenn.) Herald & Tribune, May 18–24, 1966]

NO SUBSTITUTE FOR INTEGRITY

Eventually, every housewife, every wage earner, every social security pensioner, will learn that there is a direct relationship between the financial integrity of government and the price of groceries, When you read, as you do almost daily now, of the cost of living hitting new record highs, it seems to be customary to include in the report an "explanation" of the latest price increase. Often it has to do with weather (crop failures), vagaries of supply and demand or some other special situation.

The blunt truth is that this is just so much nonsense. The special situations having to do with the functioning of the free market have not cut the value of the dollar by over half in the space of a generation. The depreciating value of money is directly traceable to government policies. And under present policies, our money is due to depreciate at an accelerating rate.

According to a release issued by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, the cost of the various social welfare programs will rise sevenfold from $3.1 billion in 1965 to $21.5 billion in 1970. By 1970, unless the mood of Congress undergoes a radical change, the largest expenditure will be for the poverty program. From an actual figure of $211 million in 1965, it will increase to $3.4 billion in 1970. The figures for elementary and secondary education also indicate a staggering increase from $295 million in 1966 to $3 billion by 1970. Similar increases will take place in a long list of other government programs, including urban renewal and various community health services. This kind of federal government spending, piled on top of rising war costs, will either mean virtually confiscatory taxation or a steadily rising public debt and inflation.

If you ask what this has to do with the price of groceries and necessities, the answer is obvious. Prices will rise as your dollar declines in value. If an attempt is made to substitute price and wage controls for a free market, the dislocations and hardships will be the greater in the long run. There is no substitute for financial integrity in government any more than there is for individual integrity.

TVA Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Nashville Tennessean commends President Johnson for taking a welcome step in recommending a $1 billion increase in revenue bonds which the Tennessee Valley Authority could issue.

The Tennessean calls the President's move "a step in the right direction."

Removal of the preset $750 million ceiling on outstanding power revenue bonds is imperative if TVA is not to be hamstrung in its development, the newspaper declares in an editorial.

It agrees with the President that TVA has used its bond authority well and adds that revenues will continue to rise sufficiently to cover any amount of bonds that are necessary.

The editorial may be of interest to many of my colleagues and I submit it for the RECORD:

PRESIDENT URGES TVA BOND HIKE

President Johnson has taken a welcome step in urging that Congress increase by $1 billion the revenue bonds which the Tennessee Valley Authority would be allowed to issue.

The TVA now has a ceiling of $750 million on the issuance of revenue bonds to finance capital improvements. This limit was put on the Agency in 1959.

There is a question whether any arbitrary limits should be imposed on the TVA's capability to meet growing power needs of the region. But the President's move is a step in the right direction.

In a letter to the speakers of both houses of Congress, the President noted that, "TVA has used its authority well," and that it will need new borrowing authority before the end of the fiscal year beginning July 1.

The President noted that power demands in the Tennessee Valley should about double in the next 10 years and that the Authority will need more funds to finance improvements and expansions.

In the years ahead, the TVA must find new energy sources and it must continue to protect and refine the "power yardstick" of providing the lowest cost electrical power to the region.

It is imperative that the present legal ceiling on outstanding power revenue bonds be removed, if the Authority is not to be hamstrung in its development.

The President is right in observing that the TVA has used its bond authority well, and it can be further pointed out that the present ceiling is no longer necessary; that TVA has demonstrated that its revenues will continue to increase at rates sufficient to cover any amount of bonds needed.

Now that the President has thrown his weight behind the move to raise the ceiling on TVA bonds, it is hoped that Valley congressmen increase their efforts in both houses to remove the handcuffs of an arbitrary bond ceiling.

The Meaning of the Space Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, Dr. Eward C. Welsh, executive secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council spoke before the Churchman's Club in Baltimore. Dr. Welsh very eloquently explored the meaning of the space age. The special value of his remarks is to remind us that from time to time it is necessary for us to step back from the specifices of any given program and ask a very basic question: "What does it mean?"

THE MEANING OF THE SPACE AGE

(Address by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, executive secretary, National Aeronautics and Space Council)

It is a pleasure and a privilege to talk with such a distinguished group this evening. I am aware of your intelligent interest in the major forces which mold and influence the course of our society. The national space program fits that characterization and will continue to be such a factor far into the future. Hence, I hope to engage your attention for a sensible period of time, to speak about the significance of this technological revolution and to suggest its benefits and its challenges.

A NATIONAL COMMITMENT

The national space commitment is the largest concerted effort undertaken by any nation to advance the frontiers of human knowledge. Combining as it does industrial, academic, and governmental resources, it has given us an advanced technology second to none. Currently, the only other nation with comparable technological creativity is the U.S.S.R., which seems to be devoting a bigger percentage of its smaller gross national product to space than we are. Such application on their part gives added weight to the thesis that vigorous space activity is beneficial, since the Soviets pride themselves on being a practical people.

In all, our space commitment is a multidimensioned national mission whose scientific, technological, economic, spirtual, and political connotations go to the very core of our national character. Its impact permeates all aspects of our society. Its energizing force is felt throughout our economy, our educational structure, and in our relations with other nations. It is a seedbed of invention, a spur to our productivity, a source of insurance for our national security, a stimulus to learning, and a worldwide ambassador for peace.

Because of it, our chances of improving medical research and finding a cure for cancer or for heart disease are greater—not less. Because of it, our chances of improving our educational system and solving a vast range of social problems are greater—not less. The truth is that the issue is not space progress instead of progress in some other worthy field, because the space program contributes importantly to advances in practically all other lines of endeavor, and it stimulates the national economy at the same time. We are wealthier, not poorer, because of the space effort.

When the challenge of the space age was posed, we had a choice whether to accept it or to reject it. We delayed a bit and then we chose to accept it, and that decision was indeed wise.

A society cannot remain great and strong if it ignores the major challenges with which it is faced, particularly when so much of the dynamics of our modern economy is associated with technological advance. Already new knowledge which we have obtained from space has revolutionized communications, energy conversion, power generation, transportation, geodesy, navigation, and weather prediction, to mention but a few of the many areas of application.

PROCESS OF DISCOVERY

All told, the United States has successfully launched nearly 400 satellites, including in that number a few lunar and interplanetary probes. Each day the Goddard Space Flight Center in nearby Greenbelt tracks some 33 active satellites. Each day, nearly 200 miles of data tape pour in from these space orbiters to the Operations Center. From this great fund of knowledge, scientists have discovered the radiation belt which surrounds the Earth at a height ranging from roughly 400 to 40,000 miles. Beyond it are the great solar winds that blow through space at 200 to 500 miles per second. Huge plasma clouds have been detected which, periodically rising from the Sun, stir this wind into magnetic storms which in turn penetrate all interplanetary space and sometimes disrupt radio communications and affect weather conditions here on Earth.

The very fact that we are doing and learning so many marvelous things in space constitutes a great adventure of the mind and spirit. In a sense, the space program may be likened to the building of a cathedral. It calls upon the skills, talents, contributions, as well as the prayers of so many throughout the length and breadth of our land.

Our nearest neighbor in space is the Moon—about 240,000 miles distant. The nearest planet is Venus—26 million miles, next nearest Mars—49 million miles. The farthest in our solar system is Pluto, about 3,680 million miles from the Sun. Beyond that the nearest star, other than our Sun, is 25 million million miles away.

Such is man's special endowment to grapple with the unknown, to penetrate what have long been mysteries of nature and to absorb them into a system of human understanding, that his drive to span such vast distances is both inevitable and inexorable.

Thus far, our manned space efforts have been restricted to fairly close Earth orbits. And the wonders of space travel experienced by our astronauts have been but a foretaste of things to come. There is little doubt that the increasing flow of knowledge and sense impressions, new experiences and new emotions which will come from deep space travel will have a profoundly stimulating effect on the human spirit. In fact, it is hopefully possible that the opening of the space frontier will help sweep away much of the neurotic, sick decadence of our times, which to a degree stems from lack of new challenges.

Furthermore, if we do not go out into outer space, our entire culture would suffer a real deprivation. For here are materials for the imagination and the nourishment of new and exciting art forms which are desperately needed if we are to experience any significant renaissance of man's creativity.

Glorious as such an era promises to be, one should expect challenging and possibly disturbing reexaminations of established belief, including some long-cherished philosophical and religious tenets.

SEARCH FOR LIFE

One of the many exciting goals of space exploration is that of determining whether life exists on other planets. Such a search illuminates an aspect of space exploration which has profound meaning both for science and theology. It takes courage to search for the truth and even more courage to accept it once it has been found.

Sooner, rather than later, space exploration will be presenting us with stubborn and disconcerting facts. Among these may be confrontation with life forms, certainly different and possibly more intelligent and gifted than our own. I do not say such life forms do exist, but I suggest that we need be prepared for the possibility.

It does not weaken my faith to question whether man is either unique or central in the scheme of things. If planetary systems like our own are common in the great reaches of space, and there are millions of star systems in the universe, then life may be quite common in the universe as a whole. I do not say that is the case, but I do propose that it may be. And if conditions favorable to life have prevailed longer elsewhere, other civilizations could be much further advanced than ours. This scientific question of the highest magnitude has profound implications for the way in which people think about themselves and their destiny. In the face of such an immense opportunity, what would be the moral and spiritual worth of a society which, having achieved the technical capacity to obtain such an answer, shrank from pursuing it?

Certainly religion and science can complement each other in discerning the infinite wonders of an infinite universe. As the eminent scientist, Albert Einstein, once philosophized; "Science without religion is lame; religion without science is blind."

THE FRONTIER OF SPACE

After all, space is not the terrifying vacuum we once assumed. Rather, it is a frontier with unlimited possibility. What new forces, powers, and discoveries will be disclosed to us when we reach the other planets or set up space laboratories cannot be predicted with confidence because they are far beyond our vision today. We cannot afford the intellectual arrogance of pretending that we know all that there is to know and that the exploration of the space frontier will bring us no surprises.

As we strive toward the complex objective of a manned lunar landing in this decade, we are accelerating the development of space competence on the widest possible front, motivating the managers, the scientists, and the engineers to move forward urgently in a way which could not be accomplished by a lesser goal. The major benefit is not having man set foot on the Moon, as important as that may be. Rather, it is the development of the capability to explore space combined with the will to do so. This stimulates the mind of man, while at the same time improving his material wellbeing.

The billions of dollars required in this effort are not spent on the Moon—they are spent in the factories, laboratories, universities, and offices right here on Earth. Space spending stimulates the economy with a multiplier effect. It is felt in the retail stores as well as the steel mills and aerospace plants. To become both parochial and practical—it is important to know that it has a major impact on the economy of those assembled here this evening.

SPACE APPLICATIONS

In communications we are rapidly developing Earth satellites to beam television programs, radio broadcasts, and phone conversations to every spot on Earth that is equipped to receive them.

In not too many years, live television shows will be beamed into our homes from all points of the globe. We will be able to see important news when it happens. Likewise, the same news may be printed simultaneously in Berlin, Dallas, and Hong Kong. Businessmen in various parts of the world may hold special television conferences, looking at the same charts, pictures, or demonstrations; giant business machines and computers may be tied together across oceans, allowing a scientist in India to solve a mathematical problem on a computer in this country.

Our weather satellites are amazing devices which provide our specialists with a 450-mile-high view of clouds over large sections of the world. These weather pictures already have helped find storms that would not have been discovered for many days, thereby producing early warnings which save countless lives and hundreds of millions of dollars in property. The value of future weather satellites cannot even be estimated, since they will provide early storm warnings against floods, tornadoes, hurricanes, and even invasions of insect armies such as locusts and grasshoppers.

In addition to both short and long-range weather forecasting, there are other benefits from these miracles of outer space. For example, we will be able to obtain early detection of forest fires, locate distressed ships and aircraft, track icebergs and estimate the extent of snow coverage for conservation and water management purposes. There is also the real possibility that information and understanding given to us by weather satellites may some day help us to modify and control weather.

At sea, the ancient method of observing the height of the stars and planets above the horizon is still used to calculate position. When heavy weather hides celestial bodies, as it will do for days at a time in the wintry North Atlantic, ship navigators cannot accurately state where they are. We have now in operation a series of navigation satellites which correct this deficiency. In addition to its value to our Navy, this competence can become a boon to commercial shipping, as a matter of both safety and economy.

Research designed to maintain the health of man in space is aiding his medical care on Earth. The output of the Space Age is revolutionizing the electronic and other essential equipment used in our hospitals. The condition of the sick can be monitored constantly by use of the same sensors that keep tabs on the physical well-being of astronauts in flight.

THIS CHANGING WORLD

No one can predict with assurance what the total practical benefits of space research will be. As has been the case in the past, so will future generations note that we were much too conservative and short-sighted in our predictions.

Applications from basic scientific discovery are coming with increasing rapidity. Who would have imagined just ten years ago that the marvels of the space age would have developed to the extent they have today. Then there was no space program, no space performance—and now look how far we have come.

So rapid is the pace of change that we must look ahead just to keep abreast of the current that leads us. Given the atom's almost limitless energy and the computer's almost limitless ability to remember and to organize, the future beckons to us as an era of almost limitless attainment. Within the next several decades one can confidently predict such developments as space ships ferrying tourists as well as scientists and exporers to space stations and to nearby planets; and aerospace planes spanning oceans and continents in tens of minutes.

But far more important than those technological miracles is the possibility that the space era may usher in a substitute for war—a permanent peace. Space activities can be a substitute for aggression, a bridge to understanding and identification of mutual interests, and a major tool of arms control and disarmament. In exploring the great universe around us, we may become free from the terrifying grip of parochial hatred and fears. It is this unquenchable thirst for knowledge that sets man apart from other creatures.

Compared to the business of coercing and killing his own kind, the challenge raised by crossing old frontiers into outer space is infinitely to be preferred. Moreover, not only will man's mind and emotions be directed from greed and brutality to exporation and discovery, but man's material resources, his laboratories, his shops, his skilled talents will move from producing weapons of war to instruments of space. I am indeed an optimist as is everyone who has faith!

The impact of the space age will pose challenges to thinking people everywhere to bring our technology and our ethics into wholesome relationship so that we will handle wisely the fast developing new power to control both the performance and the characteristics of man. If we are wise, for the first time in history we will be able to use this new found knowledge productively and not follow the fates of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome where technology grew and morals deteriorated. Not only have new discoveries enlarged and ennobled man's spirit, but already the new knowledge acquired in space exceeds by far the value of the funds so far expended. New knowledge, far more than more guns, is the true test of the worth of a modern state.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

As concluding observations concerning the matters I have been discussing, I suggest the following for your contemplation.

First, the material advantages of the space program are now substantial and in the future will become manifold. In addition to the many direct benefits, I also include the indirect contributions which can help solve social problems such as urban transportation, air and water pollution, and similar cancerous features of our so-called highly developed society.

Second, our increasingly automated society, including its educational system, will continue to improve in supplying facts and making available on a timely basis the relevant portions of accumulated knowledge as well as the citations of recorded thoughts and intelligent savings.

But, third, such technology and such automation cannot raise our social, educational, moral, or religious values. Such factors depend to a great degree upon the individual—his faith, his understanding, and his regard for the welfare of others. However, while science and technology are unable to direct such improvements, we should not overlook that science and technology do increase the opportunity to make improvements. Where there is more leisure, more accumulated knowledge, and greater understanding, there is also increased opportunity to improve character and raise human values. Certainly, the opportunity which such progress gives toward the elimination of war is an impressive justification for the entire space program.

The only real choice which remains is whether we act in harmony with, and in appreciation for, meaningful aesthetic and social values, or whether we deny such values and thereby encourage chaos and moral decay. We have the means. How we apply them depends in the last analysis on the ethical and moral guidelines of leaders such as yourselves.

Gen. and Mrs. Edward Martin Outstanding Pennsylvania Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following three articles:

[From the Washington (Pa.) Observer, May 18, 1966]

GEN. AND MRS. EDWARD MARTIN TO BE HONORED: COLLEGE DORMITORY WILL BE DEDICATED AS "MARTIN HALL"

(By John L. O'Hara)

Many richer than usual rewards of spirit and memory are awaiting Waynesburg College alumni who make the sentimental journey back to the scene of their undergraduate days for the commencement season of the 1965–66 academic year of the historic southwestern Pennsylvania liberal arts college.

The commencement season will be climaxed with the graduation ceremonies for a class of 193 young men and women on the afternoon of Sunday, May 22.

One day earlier, however, alumni, friends, students and patrons of the one hundred and seventeen year-old coeducational college will pay homage to two of its most distinguished graduates who for this occasion may be most appropriately identified as "The General and His Lady."

They are General Edward Martin and his wife, Mary Charity Scott Martin.

In a long and distinguished military career with the 28th Division Pennsylvania National Guard in which he rose from a private to Major General he has many times proved himself as a noble general as she, with comparable frequency, has been a most Gracious Lady.

His many sided career in civilian life has included two terms as United States Senator from Pennsylvania; one term as Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; one term each as State Treasurer and State Auditor General of Pennsylvania.

He has also been a prominent figure in the national Councils of the Republican party and in private life a successful operator in the oil and gas industry of his native state as well as a leader in civic, community, church and fraternal work.

Mrs. Martin has constantly and with great personal enchantment portrayed the role of the Gracious Lady in the Governor's Mansion at Harrisburg, in the sedate social circles of the national capital; in numerous army posts such as Camp Hancock, Ga., in World War I; Indiantown Gap., Pa., and in the Carolinas and Louisiana during World War II.

The story of their lives has the storybook qualities so intimately associated with all of the small co-educational colleges which have become such a treasured part of the American scene, where friendships are deeply rooted and grow in strength as the years go by. It has been a continuing lovestory since they first met as undergraduates at Waynesburg in the then exciting days of 1898.

Their campus romance, like that of hundreds of other Waynesburg students, blossomed into matrimony with their marriage on December 1st in 1908.

And down through more than a half century of time and adventures and experiences enough to fill many books, they have shared their love for one another with that for their alma mater, for their church, state and nation.

In fitting and appropriate recognition of such rare devotion to high principles and exalted purpose, the college will perpetuate the true life story of The General and His Lady in a tangible manner on Alumni Day, Saturday, May 21, by dedicating its splendid new men's residence hall in their honor.

It is the newest of the many fine structures which have been erected in the great development campaign at Waynesburg.

It will combine function and elegance in a manner befitting the two distinguished Waynesburg graduates whose memory it will perpetuate.

Scores more than the usual number of former Waynesburg students who were either personal friends of the honored husband and wife as well as many others who have been inspired by their lifelong service to the college, state, and nation plan to make the trip "back home" to personally participate in paying the homage which is their due.

The impressive dedication ceremonies and placing of the cornerstone in the spacious five-level brick and stone trimmed structure will be at 2:30 p.m. Saturday, May 21.

Joseph D. Hughes, Administrative Trustee of the Richard King Melton Foundation of Pittsburgh, will be the principal speaker.

The Foundation has been a generous benefactor to all of the colleges and universities of Western Pennsylvania. Its support at Waynesburg as elsewhere has been a great incentive to its recipient institutions in meeting constantly changing challenges in the field of higher education.

Chairman for the dedicatory service will be another long time friend and associate of General and Mrs. Martin in the person of Mrs. Charles Arthur Weaver, a prominent Wayneeburg alumna and a member of the Board of Trustees.

A reception and open house will follow the dedication.

On Saturday evening United States Senator HUGH SCOTT of Pennsylvania will speak at the annual dinner meeting of the Alumni Association in the Benedum Hall dining center on the campus. He is also a long time friend and associate of General and Mrs. Martin.

COUNTY NATIVE SERVED NATION AS GENERAL, GOVERNOR, SENATOR: MILITARY CAREER BEGAN IN SPANISH AMERICAN WAR WITH COMPANY K

Edward Martin was born September 18, 1879 in a log house on a Greene County farm near the village of Ten Mile, the son of Joseph Thomas Martin and Hannah Bristor Martin.

At fifteen, he entered Waynesburg College; but his education was interrupted, because on May 9, 1898 he enlisted in Company K, 10th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. The regiment was rushed through mobilization, trained at Mt. Gretna and San Francisco and embarked for the Philippine Islands on June 15, 1898.

He served there in the jungles of Luzon with the troops commanded by General Arthur MacArthur, father of General Douglas MacArthur. He was first under fire in the Spanish-American War on July 31, 1898 before his nineteeth birthday and was in one campaign in the Philippine Insurrection for seventy days, under fire each day.

He was mustered out August 22, 1899 as a sergeant.

His long career, embraces service in five fields—law, military, politics, government and business.

He has always been a strong advocate and defender of the American system of free enterprise and has aided it by complete loyalty, patriotism and personal courage.

In 1900 he reenlisted in the Pennsylvania National Guard, and on January 15, 1901 he was commissioned a Lieutenant. That same year he graduated from Waynesburg College. In 1905 he was commissioned a Captain and admitted to the practice of law. Almost immediately he became active in political affairs as secretary of the Greene County Republican Committee. Prior to this, he had frequently worked at the polls.

On December 1, 1908 he married Mary Charity Scott (they graduated in the same class (1901) of Waynesburg College). Her parting gift to him, when he went overseas in 1898, was a small pocket New Testament, which he carried with him during all his service. In that little Bible he recorded the important dates of his career. It has always been used when he has taken an oath of office, military or civil.

He became chairman of the Greene County Republican Committee and County Solicitor in 1908. A Democrat Board of County Commissioners elected him on two occasions as their Solicitor. By 1910 he became a member of the Republican State Committee and has also won his Major's leaves in the Pennsylvania National Guard.

Their first child, Edward Scott Martin, destined one day to become an officer like his father, was born May 2, 1914 at Waynesburg. Their second child, May Charity, was born February 19, 1916, and that same year Major Edward Martin was again called into war service.

With Pennsylvania's 28th Division (then the 7th Division), he went to the Mexican Border for service under General John J. Pershing.

During the winter of 1917 and 1918, he trained with the 28th Division at Camp Hancock, Augusta, Georgia.

The 28th embarked for France in 1918. In France he was a battalion commander and then a regimental commander, and was promoted in the field to Lieutenant Colonel. He commanded both 109th and 110th Infantry.

During the American counter-offensive at Courmont, his regimental headquarters was destroyed by an enemy shell; and seventeen of his officers and men were killed. Only five escaped. Badly bruised, Major Martin crawled out of the wreckage and continued the attack. They triumphantly reached their objective.

The regiment was in the Vesle Valley and vicinity for over thirty days and was badly gassed many times.

It then went on to the Meuse-Argonne drive, where for fourteen days the regiment carried on the offensive. Although at one time he had a temperature of 104 degrees; the result of gas, Lt. Col. Martin carried on.

The 28th fought through the Champagne-Marne, the Aisne-Marne, the Oise-Marne and the Meuse-Argonne offensives, and Colonel Martin and his regiment were invariably in the midst of the actions. By this time, General Pershing was making his plans for the final drive, even if in 1919, to terminate the war. It was ordered that certain selected officers with outstanding combat records and leadership qualifications should be sent back to the United States to command and train new regiments being created for that final drive. While Colonel Martin was engaged in this task, the Armistice was declared and hostilities terminated.

He was mustered out of the service April 25, 1919.

Soon after his return home, he was commissioned to reorganize the 110th Infantry Regiment of the Pennsylvania National Guard. He was promoted to full Colonel on October 16, 1919 and had the first federally recognized regiment in the United States.

He was promoted to Brigadier General, August 17, 1922, in command of the 55th Infantry Brigade. In 1921, he moved his family from their Greene County home to their present home in adjoining Washington County.

There he became interested in banking, transportation and the oil industry. He was elected Auditor General on the Republican ticket in 1924 and State Treasurer in 1928. During his incumbency, he was selected president of the Gasoline Tax Collectors' Association of North America and president of the Auditors, Controllers and State Treasurers' Association. The same year he became candidate for State Treasurer, he was the unanimous choice of his party for chairman of the Republican State Committee, which he held until 1934. He has been a delegate to all the Republican National Conventions since 1932, and three times he was chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation.

One of Martin's determinations, after he had become a Brigadier General, was to develop in Pennsylvania a great military training center, Indiantown Gap Military Reservation was his dream, and he constantly urged its construction.

When Governor Arthur H. James formed his cabinet, he made General Martin the Adjutant General of Pennsylvania with promotion to Major General and commander of the 28th Division. He became the first officer to be both Adjutant General and commander of the Division. He was made president of the National Guard Association of the United States in 1940.

He took the division through the vast Army Maneuvers at Manassas, Virginia, in 1939, and Ogdensburg, New York, in 1940, while the clouds of World War II hung ominously on the horizon.

He was in the middle of his term as Adjutant General when the 28th Division was inducted into the Army of the United States.

General Martin promptly took the Division to Indiantown Gap, which he aided in developing (one of his first acts after becoming Adjutant General was to get complete Federal construction on the state reservation).

From Indiantown Gap he led the 28th to the great Carolina maneuvers, where he received high commendation.

He led the 28th Division over land 1600 miles to Louisiana, where he was relieved of his command by reason of being overage in grade.

He was still on military duty when the demand rose for his services as war-time governor of Pennsylvania—the state which had to produce a bulk of the sinews of war for America and one out of ten of its servicemen and women.

The military department released him, and General Martin campaigned for the governorship. He won and was inaugurated as the 97th Governor of Pennsylvania, January 19, 1943.

Under Governor Martin's direction, the gigantic industrial and agricultural forces of Pennsylvania were mobilized for the nation's defense, and Pennsylvania produced an all-time record-breaking quantity of weapons, equipment, food and other munitions of war.

During his administration, Pennsylvania entertained the Governors' Conference at Hershey. Sessions were held in Hershey, Harrisburg, Indiantown Gap, the military post at Carlisle and services at Gettysburg on Memorial Day.

At the conference held in Michigan in 1945, Governor Martin was selected Chairman of the Governor's Conference. That made the fourth national organization he had headed.

The ultimate end of hostilities found the Commonwealth not only holding the forefront in war production, but in the forefront of post-war planning and in fine financial condition.

Governor Martin was prevailed on to continue his public service by becoming a candidate for the United States Senate at the end of his term as Governor. In the General Election of November 1946, Governor Martin was elected the 49th Senator from Pennsylvania.

It had been a long time, almost a century, since a Pennsylvania Governor had gone to the Senate—as a matter of fact, Edward Martin was only the third governor in the state's history to be elected to that highest deliberative body. The first governor to go to the Senate was William Findlay in 1821. The second was William Bigler in 1855.

On November 4, 1952 Edward Martin was reelected to the United States Senate.

When he left the Senate, he was senior Republican on the Finance Committee and the Public Works Committee and was a member of the Republican Policy Committee.

In the 81st Congress he was appointed a member of the Congressional Commission for the Renovation of the Executive Mansion (White House), which was in charge of the extensive work done on the White House during the Truman Administration.

During President Eisenhower's Administration, Senator Martin introduced and took the leadership in the fights for many key measures of the Eisenhower program.

At the end of World War I he was placed on the first General Staff Eligibility List and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross with oak-leaf cluster and the Purple Heart with oak-leaf cluster. He was awarded Pennsylvania's Reilly Medal in 1937; the Distinguished Achievement Gold Medal of the New York Pennsylvania Society in 1946; Pennsylvania's Distinguished Service Medal of the Commonwealth in 1947; the American Legion Distinguished Service Medal in 1947 and the Distinguished Service Medal of the National Guard Association of the United States in 1951.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, while Governor Leader was in office, made him a Lieutenant General August 10, 1957.

He has personal knowledge of taxes at the three levels of government by his work as solicitor of a county, State Treasurer of Pennsylvania and as a member of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate.

While he was chairman of the Public Works Committee during the 80th Congress, it put through Congress the largest road program in the history of the United States.

He is a member of the following organizations: American Legion; (Life member) Veterans of Foreign Wars; (Life member) Disabled American Veterans; Amvets; United Spanish War Veterans; Uncle Sam's 1–2–3 Boys; Legion of Valor: (Life member) Military Order of Carabao; Sons of the American Revolution; National Security Commission of the American Legion; Union League of Phila., Duquesne Club of Pittsburgh, Rolling Rock Country Club (honorary); and Bassett Club of Wash., Pa.

As a citizen, he has always taken an active part in church, educational, and welfare work. He has served on committees or as a director of the Chamber of Commerce, Community Chest, Red Cross, Salvation Army, Boy Scouts, fund raising drives and many other community activities.

He is a Presbyterian Elder; and for ten years was member of the Board of Directors, Department of Church Cooperation and Union of the Presbyterian Church in the United States; for many years was vice president and director of Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association; he is a 33rd degree Mason; Past Exalted Ruler of the B.P.O.E.; member of the Odd Fellows and trustee of Waynesburg College and Washington and Jefferson College.

He has honorary degrees from eighteen colleges.

He has lived in Washington, Pennsylvania, since 1921 and resides at 147 LeMoyne Avenue.

Mary Charity Scott Martin; Eminent Hostess, Wife: Played Vital Role in Varied Careers of Famous Husband

Mary Charity Scott Martin (Mrs. Edward Martin) was born in Monongahela, July 31, 1879, a daughter of James A. and Melissa Dickey Scott, prominent Scotch-Irish descendants. Her parents moved to Waynesburg when she was nine months old.

She was educated in the public schools of Waynesburg, and graduated from Waynesburg College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1901. She was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters by Beaver College in 1948 and the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters by Waynesburg College in 1951.

She devoted much time to church and welfare work. She was a fine vocalist and was in much demand as a soloist.

She was married to Edward Martin in 1908. They have two children—Edward S. Martin, married to Suzanne Colt; and Mary Charity, married to James B. W. Murphy. The Martins all live in Washington, Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Martin served as Honorary Chairman for the War Bond Drive for Pennsylvania during World War II and received a medal and citation from the United States Treasurer. Her greatest achievements were with the soldiers, working among them, visiting the hospitals and comforting the families left behind. In this work she excelled. They made her president of the Officers' Wives Club.

The Harrisburg "Telegraph" dated September 28, 1941, listed Mrs. Martin as a "Grand Military Mother." She certainly had lots of experience. She was with the troops during their training in 1917 and 1918 at Camp Hancock, Augusta, Georgia.

She frequently visited the field training.

In World War II, she lived either in the Executive Mansion or at Indiantown Gap, where she observed the training.

She visited soldiers' hospitals and talked to others when they would come to the training center to see their boys.

So many divisions trained at Indiantown Gap for overseas service; and regardless of the fact that the officers and men were from other states, she did not lose her interest in visiting the hospitals and comforting families left behind when the units would go overseas.

During the Second World War, Mrs. Martin lived in Harrisburg. She was Pennsylvania's First Lady. Her thoughts were with the soldiers training at Indiantown Gap to go overseas. Often the doors of the Mansion were opened to the soldiers, and entertainment and food was provided for them. It was a pleasure to do for someone's son, for her son had gone with the 28th Division. Her kindness and sympathy went far beyond her call to duty.

Notwithstanding the country was at war, many dignitaries from all over the country came to the Mansion to be entertained. Governor and Mrs. Martin met and entertained all the governors and their wives from every state in the Union in 1944 when the Governors' Conference was held at Hershey. The goodwill created by this hospitality knew no bonds. Upon arriving in Washington, D.C., Mrs. Martin was well-known for her affection and benevolence to men and women from all parts of the United States.

For twelve years she lived in Washington, D.C., fulfilling her various duties as the wife of a United States Senator. She is loved and honored by her many friends in the Capitol. Her knowledge of diplomacy reached to far away places. She was known as a great diplomat.

She belongs to the following organizations: Congressional Club, Washington, D.C., (Vice President 1953–55); 80th Congress Club, Washington, D.C., (Life Member); Senate Ladies' Red Cross, Washington, D.C., (office for two years); Women of the Army and Navy Legion of Valor; National Trustee of the Woman's Medical College, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hannah Penn House, Republican Women of Pennsylvania (Honorary Vice President); Delta Kappa Gamma Sorority, International (Honorary Member); Beta Sigma Pi, International Society (Honorary Member); Former board member of the Pennsylvania Council of Republican Women; Current Events Club, Washington, Pa.; Rolling Rock Club, Ligonier, Pa.; (Honorary Member); Officers' Wives of the 28th Division (Former President); Christopher Gist Chapter, Daughters of the American Colonists; Daughters of the Seventeenth Century; First Presbyterian Church, Washington, Pa.; Washington Hospital Auxilliary, Washington, Pa.; Auxiliary Working Twigs No. 9 and 10, Washington, Pa., Hospital; Washington County Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution; Philadelphia Society, Daughters of the American Revolution; Alpha Delta Pi Sorority; New York Society of Pennsylvania Women.

The following is from Col. LeRoy V. Greene's book, "Shelter For His Excellency"; "Charity Scott Martin was one of the most charming and delightful hostesses in the long history of First Ladies. Gentle-, soft-spoken and altogether a gentlewomen of the old school, her graciousness and kindliness won her to the hearts of all. She let the Executive Mansion stay formal, for formal use; but she turned the great field-stone house at the Gap, 'The Summer Mansion,' into a vertible gem of warm Pennsylvania hospitality. She filled it with Pennsylvania Dutch furniture and antiques. It was so well done, and became so famed, that leading figures among Pennsylvania's women awaited an invitation to the 'Summer Mansion' more eagerly than any other.

When she returned to their home on LeMoyne Avenue, Washington, Pennsylvania, she again entered church and welfare work as long as her health permitted. Illness has curtailed her activities since early April 1960.

While she was not permitted to leave home because of illness, over fifty Distinguished Daughters of Pennsylvania assembled at Hershey, 1 October 1961, where they presented her with the following certificate:

"Mrs. Edward Martin (Mary Charity Scott Martin), the Distinguished Daughters of Pennsylvania take pride and pleasure in giving this token of appreciation to the charming, gracious, sympathetic lady who, for so many years, has given her friendliness, her charm and leadership to all Pennsylvanians. As a General's wife, she mother our boys at camp and at war. As Governor's wife, she was a superb hostess. As a Senator's wife, she made Washington look up to Pennsylvania. Her principal enthusiasm is people, and her happiness lies in meeting and helping others. Sincere, earnest and human, she has spent a lifetime giving service to Pennsylvania."

If Freedom Fails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, in a few days we will celebrate Memorial Day, 1966. This is the day set aside to commemorte the memory of those who have given their lives in service to our Nation.

I would like to bring to the attention of the Congress an award-winning address delivered by Capt. P. A. Horton to the Whittier, Calif., Rio Hondo Kiwanis Club on the occasion of Memorial Day, 1965. Captain Horton on February 22, 1966, received the Freedom Foundation Award for the address.

Captain Horton, of Los Angeles, Calif., is the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Americanism of National Sojourners, Inc., an association for officers and warrant officers, past and present, of the uniformed forces. Captain Horton is one of two living holders of the Sojourners' Legion of Honor Medal, which is the highest award Sojourners can award to a member.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the address entitled "If Freedom Fails," for inclusion in the RECORD.

IF FREEDOM FAILS

(Memorial Day address by P. A. Horton at Whittier Rio Hondo Kiwanis Club, Whittier, Calif., 1965)

> "For Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeated by bleeding sire to son,
> Though often baffled, is ever won."
> —BYRON.

When General Logan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, issued his general order designating May 30, 1868 for the purpose of decorating the graves of his comrades with flowers, he had hopes that it would be kept up from year to year. It was called Decoration Day, but in 1882 it was designated Memorial Day.

A grateful people responded and for many years made this day one of our major holidays. It has since been broadened to include not only those from the armed services but all those of our dead who we respect and honor.

We respect the many men and women of great civic virtues who have donated so much to the building of the moral, spiritual and economic values in our country. We owe the most, however, to those in our armed forces who through all our history, from the beginning, a noble army of martyrs who have fiercely fought for freedom, recruited in each generation from the flower of our manhood.

The cry of the soul is for freedom. It longs for liberty from the date of its first conscious moment. Freedom and religion are akin, and so long as men believe in God, their greatest glory is to pass on that freedom to their children.

A short time ago I stood on a hill that overlooks the peaceful harbor of Plymouth, Mass. As I gazed about me, the streets, the hills, and the waters around me began to teem with the life of historic recollections. Recollections dear to all mankind. A feeling of pride arose in my heart as I thought: It was here that freedom was born. Before me was the rock upon which these courageous Pilgrims first set foot in a strange land. They had left the civilization of their birth and had ventured over uncharted seas to a land populated with hostile savages. To them freedom was more precious than life itself. No man who loves liberty, regardless of his place of birth, can fail on this sacred spot to pay tribute to those inspired people whose ideals contributed so much to the building of the American Way of life.

On the hill lie buried the mortal remains of the dauntless souls whose search for freedom was cut short by the rigors of that first terrible winter. Here, also, in this hallowed ground were many thirteen star Flags that marked the graves of men who served the cause of liberty a century and a half later; perhaps among them a survivor from Washington's Cruisers, the infant American navy that sailed these waters in defiance of the wrold's most powerful fleet. It brings to mind the great sacrifice and glorious achievement of the men of our armed forces. Since the days of Bunker Hill to this day, the valor of the men of our country has built a tradition that is truly American.

They stand today as the world's mightiest force for the preservation of freedom. Not alone for our country, but for oppressed people throughout the five continents and the islands in the seas.

Six times in the past sixty-five years our men of the armed forces have paid the supreme sacrifice on the island of Cuba. Not for conquest, not at all, but to destroy tyranny so that people of that island might be free.

One of the greatest annals in naval history was the exploit of Adm. George Dewey. He sailed his fleet through the mined fields of Manila Bay, under the guns of land forts and destroyed the grand fleet of Spain, without the loss of a single man or ship. Again tyranny was destroyed and these millions of oppressed people now live under freedom.

For more than a cenutry the American forces have defended the freedom of the people of the Western Hemisphere under the terms of the Monroe Doctrine, which declared that any attempt by any European power to interfere in the internal affairs of any country in this hemisphere will be considered by the United States to be an unfriendly act, dangerous to our peace and safety.

But, what now of the Monroe Doctrine?

The people of Cuba, like the people of Hungary, and East Germany, have found the truth of the ancient maxim: "Liberty may be gained but can never be recovered."

The spiritual heritage of our people has inspired every generation to make sacrifices in the cause of freedom. Even today, resolute Americans are dying in undeclared wars on three continents. We are now engaged in a war; they call it a cold war, but should we lose it, more blood will be shed than in any hot war we were ever engaged in.

At a time when all the world was ruled by kings, potentates and tyrants, our founding fathers brought forth the first nation on earth dedicated to the personal and religious freedom of mankind. Our great freedom documents, the Declaration, and the Bill of Rights, embody our sacred liberties. But these are nothing more than shadows, or mere painted ships upon painted oceans, except they be given meaning in the minds, hearts and actions of our people.

Our nation was founded on the Christian concept that:

1. There is a God.
2. That man has certain rights that emanate from our Creator.
3. That Government is set up to protect these rights.

Under this idealogy man could walk upright and bow to none but his God, a free man.

We have watched and permitted to grow an idealogy directly opposed to ours which has, in a brief 15 years, enslaved one-third the people of the civilized world under the doctrine:

1. That there is no God.
2. That the State is all.
3. That man has no rights.

Under this idealogy, the heartaches and terror of these enslaved people have driven millions of refugees to flee their homes for freedom even at the risk of their lives.

This is the day of the wonder drug. We seem to be inoculated with the "wonder" of them all. It is called apathy, a sort of living oblivion. What other true reason can be given for the attitude of our people?

There are two freedoms: the false, where a man is free to do what he likes; the true, where a man is free to do what he ought. In the words of Judge Learned Hand:

"Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women. When it dies there, no Constitution, no law, no court can save it."

We hear much today of changing times but human nature has not changed one iota since the dawn of civilization. The battles of the present are identical with the battles of the past. The form of warfare only is changed. The moral conflicts now waged in our nation are as truly battles as the conflict at Bunker Hill or Iwo Jima. In the words of Captain Babson:

"So long as its sons are willing to die for their motherland, so long will it endure to shelter and bless them and their children. At an hour when people shall be unwilling to abide this test, they will find that they have no longer a country worth saving."

America consists of all of us; and it can consist of all of us only as our spirits are banded together in a common enterprise. That common enterprise is the enterprise of liberty, justice and right.

As Justice Byrnes stated:

"Too many people are thinking of security instead of opportunity, they seem more afraid of life than of death."

As we look upon the world today, we find wars, or threats of war, even in the most remote parts. Freedom has been destroyed or is insecure. More than one half the people of the civilized world are now living under some form of dictatorship or actual slavery. Our own way-of-life is threatened from both within and without.

We know that Marxian theories are absurd, impractical, and appeal strongly to the adolescent mind. We also know that they are excellent propaganda used by the intellectual in his grasp for power. Like other complacent Americans, we feel secure in the protection of our Constitution. While we hold our heads in the sand like the ostrich awaiting annoying things to pass away,, our Constitution is being by-passed.

Taking advantage of the Treaty Law, Bureau after Bureau is rapidly nullifying the Constitution and creating a government of men, centralizing power in the Executive Branch of our government and specifically in the State Department.

Their policy of no win, no glory, no honor, no gain in Korea, Cuba, Loas, China, Cambodia and Viet Nam, where 27,000 of our service men are subjected to the hazards of war and disease, where no war exists; this action tells us that the hour is late. We seem to have lost the landmarks that made our people the marvel of all history.

What has become of that American spirit that would take nothing less than victory? Former Americans never could conceive of anything but victory, like Gen. MacAuliffe, whose answer was a simple "NUTS", when the Germans asked him to surrender; or John Paul Jones, whose answer was, "I have not yet begun to fight!"; or of American thrift and integrity that forged American business to lead the world? Or of great Judges, like Justice Tanney, who said: "Our Constitution is a written instrument; as such its meaning does not alter, it speaks not only in the same words, but with the same meaning and intent with which it spoke when it came from the hands of its farmers."

We honor our heroic and patriotic dead by being true men; as true men by faithfully fighting the battles of our day as they fought the battles of their day. To the sleeping American martyrs, whose bones lie buried in many lands and seas, it matters little what we may now say or do. Our feeble praise and tender offering will be as dew in a rising sun, unless we zealously defend the cause for which they died.

We honor their patriotism, emulate their example, glorify their heroism, and teach our children the scaredness of the great cause in which they offered up their lives.

Since last Memorial Day, we have seen the passing of our greatest modern American, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Soldier, Statesman, Patriot. His Pacific Campaign and the rebuilding of conquered Japan will stand preeminent in historic achievement. We inherit, not alone, his noble deeds, but all that was noble in his character as well.

He left us a great moral code to enrich the lives of all Americans.

GEN. MAC ARTHUR—A GREAT MORAL CODE

"The code of conduct and chivalry of those who guard this beloved land of culture and ancient descent.

" 'Duty' 'Honor'—'Country'—those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you want to be, what you will be. They are your rallying point to build courage when courage seems to fail, to regain faith when there seems to be little cause for faith, to create hope when hope becomes forlorn.

"The unbeliever will say that they are but words, but a slogan, but a flamboyant phrase. Every pedant, every demagog, every cynic, every hypocrite, every troublemaker, and, I am sorry to say, some others of an entirely different character, will try to downgrade them even to the extent of mockery and ridicule.

"But these are some of the things they build. They build a basic character. They mould you for your future roles as the custodians of the Nation's defense. They make you strong enough to know when you are weak, and brave enough to face yourself when you are afraid."

What we need today are men who will stand firm in the same degree of loyalty to country, the same degree of Faith in God and the clear understanding that without God there can be no freedom, and without freedom there is nothing.

As Ralph Waldo Emerson so well expressed:

"For what avail the plough or sail;
or land, or life, if freedom fail."

It's a Grand Fallacy That Capitalism Is Responsible for Black Africa's Backwardness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Africa has been very much in the minds of our people over the last few years. On Friday, May 13, Mr. George N. Crocker, author and columnist of the San Francisco Examiner, gave an address before the Commonwealth Club of California on his experiences and conclusions resulting from an African trip. The Friday flashes, as printed in the Commonwealth, on his address, follow:

IT'S A GRAND FALLACY THAT CAPITALISM IS RESPONSIBILE FOR BLACK AFRICA'S BACKWARDNESS

(From address by George N. Crocker)

We live in what I like to call the "Age of Anesthesia"; an age in which most of our intellectuals—not to mention our politicians—are in the grip of a hypnotic anti-intellectualism which inhibits them from examining, much less publicly challenging, the prevailing orthodoxies of the Liberal Establishment—no matter how preposterous they may be.

It is a grand fallacy that colonialism is responsible for the backward condition of the black people of Africa. This is one of the myths of Marxism-Leninism accepted by so many Western intellectuals. It is in South Africa, where the white presence is most numerous and massive, that the black African enjoys the highest standard of living . . . and Rhodesia is a close second.

THEY'RE HEADING FOR SOUTH AFRICA

There is an old African saying: "If you want to know where the food is, watch where the ants are going." The human ants from black-ruled countries try to make a path down into South Africa!

Only 350,000 Africans a year are allowed into South Africa, under contracts of employment not to exceed nine months. But many slip in illegally to enjoy the better life. "If we would lower the immigration bar," a high official told me, "another five million Bantu would descend upon us in no time."

This is one of the ironies of this laggard continent—cauldron of envy and hypocrisy. For 20 years South Africa has been attacked, damned, ridiculed, and constantly informed that white rule must give way. Yet that country is doing more for the nonwhites than any other country in Africa—with the possible exception of Rhodesia.

"FACTS DON'T DISAPPEAR"

With once fruitful economies now a shambles, the bellicosity of black nationalism, and especially the hateful vendetta against South Africa and Rhodesia, is becoming more unsavory each month.

Facts do not disappear because they are ignored. Ethiopia has been independent since Biblical times: colonialism did not touch it except for a brief five years under Mussolini's rule before World War II. It and Liberia are perhaps the most poverty-stricken countries in Africa, with the masses living in appalling misery. Yet, Liberia has been an independent nation for 119 years!

Material and social advancement in the nations of Africa is in close ratio to their degree of contact with Western civilization. When the white man arrived in South Africa over 300 years ago, there was not a Bantu—i.e., a black African—in sight.

Even in the 19th century, when railroads were criss-crossing Europe and America, those Bantu who had not so far encountered the whites in Africa had not yet developed the wheel or the plough. They had no written language; no calendar. They had not reached the Iron Age.

CULTURAL GULF WILL TAKE GENERATIONS

What has this to do with the present? Any notion that the people as a whole could participate in power on equal terms with the whites is the worst kind of romance. There is a cultural gulf which it will take generations to overcome.

Meantime, asks the white man, "What moral code prescribes that we must invite these Bantu tribes, by their sheer numbers, to take everything in sight? And what would be just about that?"

The white men, who brought the light of civilization, number 3¼ million. And who are the Bantu? They are nine tribes, totaling 11¼ million. They speak different languages, have their own homelands, and have fought each other for centuries. Add a half million Indians—who integrate only with Indians—and the picture takes shape.

COLOREDS OPPOSE COMPLETE INTEGRATION

Then there are the people of mixed blood—the "coloreds" and there are over a million and a half of them, mostly around Capetown. They want no part of the Bantu. One of them said to me, "We wouldn't want the vote for everybody, because that wouldn't do."

We talked with five members of the Council for Colored Affairs, all colored men. The last thing they want is complete integration. Why? Because they would be engulfed by the Bantu.

—As one of hem told us, "Under the present government we are beginning to see the dawn. But with integration we would get nothing. We would go under, together with the whites."

—Yet the aspiration for self-government must be respected. Separate nations for the whites and the tribes, based roughly on original occupancy, is the experiment to which South Africa has committed itself. It is sometimes called Apartheid—but in South Africa they prefer to call it Separate Development.

"HEAD COUNTING" VS. LITERACY

—With respect to Rhodesia there is another fallacy—that to be moral a government must be based on an iron principle of one-man-one-vote; that mere head-counting must prevail over everything else; that levels of literacy and culture must be ignored—even the capacity, or lack of it, to exercise the restraint and judgment without which democracy can never be more than a cruel farce.

—Philosophers and statesmen down through the ages have rejetced such a doctrine as unjust and inhumane. It is still unjust and inhumane, whether it be the tool of a demagog or the obsession of a doctrinaire—whether it be bellowed by a Sukarno or a "Soapy" Williams, by a Kwame Nkrumah, a Jomo Kenyatta, or a Bishop Pike!

"ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE—ONCE!"

—Furthermore, in the context of Africa today, it comes close to fraud. To be realistic, one must add a word to that slogan. One must say: "One-man-one-vote—once!" Just as Sukarno of Indonesia made himself president for life, so no vote was to budge Nkrumah of Ghana, who had to be bounced out by the military after nine years of ruinous tyranny; and we may be sure that Kenyatta (the old Mau Mau chieftain), and Nyerere of Tanzania, and Obote of Uganda, and the others, will cling to power until they are carried out or deposed by a coup.

—In Rhodesia there are black men in Parliament and on the voting lists. But the qualifications are stringent—and this made the U.N. angry!

WHY RHODESIA?

Why Rhodesia? If it is the business of the U.N. to instigate boycotts and embargoes against nations whose electoral processes are not completely democratic, it has been shirking its job for 20 years.

Its charade of piety in the case of Rhodesia is a crude piece of hypocrisy. Almost all the new nations north of Rhodesia quickly degenerated into one-party dictatorships. The average black man in Ghana, Mali, Sudan, Tanzania and the others, has no real voice in his destiny, even to comment on the deterioration of his condition since the white man departed.

Fidel Castro didn't limit the suffrage in Cuba by literacy and other merit tests, as Rhodesia does; he just abolished elections. Not a tear fell from the U.N.'s fabled reservoir of compassion for the disfranchised.

U.N. DOESN'T WORRY ABOUT RED-OPPRESSED

Not even a tepid resolution has been wasted on the tragic fate of the Baltic peoples, swallowed into the Soviet Union; the U.N.'s pulse didn't skip when Tibet was ravaged; or when 25,000 Watutsis were slaughtered in Rwanda alone, in a wave of tribal genocide.

Seventeen million East Germans had the hated Ulbricht selected for them by their alien masters; the whole Communist phalanx, from Albania to Red China, has open scorn for parliamentary government, a free press and free elections.

Submerged minorities, silent majorities, languish in many parts of the world; yet the U.N. chooses peaceful, self-reliant Rhodesia to stage a tantrum over.

"I SAW NO POLICE STATE"

To hypocrisy, add envy. After South Africa, Rhodesia is the most highly industrialized country in Africa. For its black population, housing and schools and hospitals have been built beyond compare farther north. Modern cities rise where 75 years ago there was nothing but bush.

The followers of Cecil Rhodes have built a mangnificent economy. "We will not," they say, "go down to the African standards. It is not a question of color, but of civilization."

I saw no police state. I saw few police; and the police in Rhodesia are unarmed, as they are in Britain.

I interviewed Ian Smith in his office. Britain is being pushed by the Commonwealth nations, "now," Smith said, "an incredible hodge-podge." The time has come, he said, for Britain to stop have its policies made this way, and to show the kind of leadership it was once capable of. "We have never done anything to harm the United States," he said. "We too believe in free enterprise, a high standard of living, and we worship democracy."

SOUTH AFRICA RICH PRIZE

Another grand fallacy of potentially cataclysmic consequences is that the peace of the world would be promoted by bringing Rhodesia and South Africa to their knees. On the contrary, this would be the most serious blunder of the Western powers since Roosevelt's concessions to Stalin at Teheran and Yalta and the series of blunders which abandoned China to communism.

If this happens, I predict that some day American soldiers will be fighting in southern Africa as they are today fighting in Southeast Asia. We will have betrayed the friends of Western civilization—and the cost will be high.

—Look at the map. Close the Suez Canal and South Africa commands the only sea route between the Atlanic and the Indian oceans.

—South Africa is the industrial powerhouse of Africa. It is a rich prize . . . and so is Rhodesia.

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS FROM FLOOR

Question. Was a brown race the original inhabitants of southern Africa?

Answer. Original indigenous inhabitants were Hottentots and Bushmen. Not many of them—most had been killed off in intertribal warfare.

Question. (Larry Morgan) Does white man belong legally in Africa?

Answer. Does the white man belong 'legally' in North America?

Question. (R. Langner) Were not Belgian and Portugese colonial approaches different from British and French?

Answer. Several approaches. Rhodesia's differed from South Africa. Portuguese different still. Different ethnic groups involved.

Question. (John A. Mohler) Your reports on South Africa censored?

Answer. No censorship of any kind. Talked to whom I chose; dug information from any source. Airmailed my columns which weren't seen until they arrived here.

Question. (R. B. Dewey) Legal status of Rhodesia—government duly elected? Justification for blockade?

Answer. Rhodesia autonomous since 1923. Slight technical tie to Crown. Little reason for Britain to have any say about conditions in Rhodesia. Rhodesia self-governing; has parliamentary system. Suffrage restricted but laws apply equally to all.

Question. (Hilary H. Crawford) By what right does U.N. tell Rhodesia how to handle its race problems?

Answer. Race problem exists not only in Rhodesia but in many parts of world. Problem in U.S. quite different. Negroes are part of our country; they're assimilable—we have the same language, aspirations, and goals. Question in Africa is completely divorced—they're in a condition of primitivity. Their way of life makes them unassimilable.

Question. Reaction to your article on Stanford University last week?

Answer. What's happening at Stanford and California happened at University of Chicago yesterday too. In Africa a great deal is made of our demonstrations here.

Hawaii's Mary Mitsuda, 16, Writes Winning Law Day Essay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to invite the attention of my colleagues to 16-year-old Mary Mitsuda's winning essay in Hawaii's Law Day Essay contest. It presents a straightforward and hard-hitting admonition to all who abuse the law—whether they be jaywalkers or drunken drivers.

A junior at Aiea High School, Aiea, Hawaii, Mary Mitsuda points out that we tend to take the law for granted; we uphold it when it serves our purpose, and ignore it when it does not. She says:

> We should stop being fair weather friends (of the law) and start giving as much as we get; start protecting and defending the law.

I am proud to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Miss Mary Mitsuda's refreshing and inspiring essay which was published in the May 5, 1966, issue of the Honolulu Advertiser:

WINNING ESSAY IN LAW CONTEST

Here is the winning essay in the Law Day contest, written by Mary Mitsuda, 16, an Aiea High School junior and the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Satoshi Mitsuda of 99107 Uahi St., Aiea:

"Why the law still respects the human race after all these years is a mystery to me. We have sworn at it, kicked it around, often snubbed it as being beneath our class, and deserted it when it needed us the most.

"It has been our strongest ally since civilization began—loyal, perhaps too trusting, forgiving, and, moreover, it has outlived most of our other 'best friends,' canine or otherwise.

"I suppose like all friends who have always been there to help us out of tough spots, we tend to take it for granted. I wouldn't be surprised if, in our better moods, we thought, 'Good Ol' Law. Now there's a nice guy; not too good-looking or popular, but a decent, dependable sort of person.'

"We want him to look the other way when we jaywalk; but if a car hits us while we're jaywalking, we expect Law to say we were definitely within our rights and that the driver of the car was reckless and is responsible for all the damages.

"In spite of incidents like this, Law still respects us.

"It respects youth and wants young people to get the best education and training possible in preparation for their niche in adult life.

"Law even puts in a few recommendations about how young people should be brought up but leaves most of this up to the parents. The law figures the parents know more about their children than it does. That's the difference between Law and Oppression.

"Oppression is bossy and aggressive and doesn't give people credit for being able to think for themselves; it tells them what to do and when and how to do it. Oppression doesn't respect people.

"The funny thing about it is that people respect Oppression a lot more than democratic Law. They tip their hats to it and speak in quiet, humble tones. We're always more polite when we're afraid.

"If the Law requires us to be jailed for drunken driving, do we, in the morning, thank him for his overnight hospitality, for protecting society, or for taking us off the road before we lengthened the obituary column? We do not! The ingratitude of it is almost too gross to comprehend.

"I, for one, think we should stop being fair weather friends and start giving as much as we get; start protecting and defending the Law.

"Respect the Law, it respects you."

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. MARTIN of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the Nebraska Rural Electric Association and public power districts in the State of Nebraska sponsor each year an essay contest among the young men and women in the State. The title of the essay this year is "The Value of Rural Electrification in our Home and Community."

I would like to submit the following five essays which were written by young men from the Third District of Nebraska and which express the interest of these young men in rural electrification. The essays tell of the program and what it means to the family and communities who benefit from the program. I believe that you will find the following essays to be of interest to you:

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(INFORMATION.—Name, Richard K. Butcher; age, 16; grade, junior; school, Morrill High School; name of father, Richard W. Butcher, Morrill, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Roosevelt Public Power District, Mitchell, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

The value of rural electrification can be shown by drawing a contrast between the farmer of today and the farmer of the pre-rural electrification day.

The rural housewife uses electricity from the time she awakens until the end of the day. The housewife's day begins with the sound of an electric alarm clock. After awakening, she turns on the electric light and washes with water which has been pumped and heated through the use of electricity. The housewife, using an electric stove and coffee pot, then prepares breakfast. After breakfast is over, she puts the dishes in an electric dish washer. She then cleans the house using an electric vacuum cleaner. The food to be cooked for dinner is taken from the refrigerator and placed either on the electric stove or in an electric frying pan. In the afternoon, the housewife uses an electric washer and dryer for her daily laundry. As supper time approaches, the housewife again uses the electric stove. This view of a typical housewife's day shows how she uses electricity throughout the day.

The farmer also uses electric power during his long day. He, too, awakens to the sound of an electric alarm clock and turns on the electric lights. In a brightly lit barn, the farmer, aided by an electric milking machine, milks his cows. The milk is stored in an electrically cooled tank after the milking has been done. The farmer then turns the cows into a pasture enclosed by an electric fence. During the morning, he builds a cattle shed using electric carpenter tools. In the afternoon, the farmer, using an electric welder, welds metal braces for the shed. At the end of the day, the farmer again milks his cows using the electric milking machine. The farmer then enters the house; and as it begins to get dark, he turns on the lights. This picture of a farmer's day shows his many uses of electricity.

The importance of rural electrification can be emphasized by showing a contrast between today's rural life and rural life before electricity. Before electricity came to the farm, the farmer and his wife were awakened by the sound of a hand-wound alarm clock. The farmer would then get up and light a kerosene lamp. Then he and his wife would go to a dimly lighted barn and milk the cows by hand. After they had milked the cows, the farmer and his wife would pump water with a hand pump. Breakfast, dinner, and supper were cooked over a wood stove. During the day, the farmer and his wife did their chores by other than electrical means. As darkness falls, we see the farmer lighting the kerosene lamps.

As one can see by the contrasts drawn, the farmer of today has a much easier and more pleasant life than the farmer of the pre-rural electrification day.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN MY COMMUNITY

(INFORMATION.—Name, Cheryl Benda; age, 17; grade, junior; school, Hemingford High School; name of father, William Benda, Hemingford, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Panhandle Rural Electric Membership Association, Alliance, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Electricity is a very wonderful and work saving invention which is taken for granted most of the time. It is only during a power failure when we finally realize how much we depend on it. Since I live on a farm I can fully understand the true meaning of the value of rural electrification.

About twenty years ago, the farms around my community didn't enjoy all the pleasures of electricity as the people in the cities and towns. Nowadays the farms also have electricity. No longer are they behind the times.

This electricity brought prosperity, work saving methods, and pleasure to the hard working farms. It helped the farmer to produce more products from this land for his family and the community with less time, labor, and effort. It also helped him to get more and better crops from his land by pumping the water for irrigation. All in all if the farms are prosperous the communities are, and if the communities are prosperous the nation is.

The farms are not cut off from the rest of the world as they used to be. Now with the help of electricity, they have television and radios which can inform them of the world news; weather, and advertising; and it can also give them entertainment. This information and communication makes the community stronger because it is then better informed of what is going on.

They can now cook their food over up-to-date stoves, and their food can be kept fresh till it is needed in refrigerators and deep freezers instead of messing with ice and water. Their homes are kept warm by electric furnaces instead of using coal or wood which took up a lot of space and time not to mention how much harder it was to keep the house clean because of the soot. They can use the many household appliances which require electricity. All of these things help to keep the living standards of the community high.

Yes, the value of rural electrification in my community is very great. Without it, the community could not have advanced as it did. Yes, it is the truth that rural electrification is the bright light of prosperity that shines in not only my community but also in all communities, and to this day our country is lots stronger because of it.

LIFE BEGINS WITH REA

(INFORMATION.—Name, JoAnne Hrebec; age, 16; grade, junior; school, Ord High School; name of father, Oldrich V. Hrebec, Ord, Nebr,; contestant sponsored by the Loup Valleys Rural Public Power District, Ord, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

I was born, like millions of others before me, into the overwhelming hum drum of life. Had I received the ability to realize, ability to foretell the innumerable problems that I would have to vanquish before enabling me to survive, I may not have ever attempted to open my eyes to the perplexity of life.

Now, at the supposedly carefree age of sixteen, I am faced with the problems concerning Vietnam, Red China and Indonesia. How I and the leaders of America today, attack and resolve these problems will well decide the future of the coming generations. But people have been confronted with problems since the very beginning of time. My mind becomes cluttered when I try to list the problems that humans have defeated! One, or perhaps the most important, was being able to communicate with our fellow man. We must be able to talk to people in order to understand them and the things they do.

Communication has transformed the rest of the world's thoughts, ideas and fears into our own. It has changed the once thought giant of a world into a diminution which is able to carry on almost instantaneous communication with the telegraph, the first application of electricity for the service of human beings. The telegraph has decreased the amount of time, from several days or weeks to a few seconds, for a message to cross our country. It has made us aware of problems, half a world away, the minute they are happening.

After the telegraph was invented, man began to realize the possibilities of using electricity as other means of communication. With much ambition and experimenting came an advancement in communication with the radio and television. It was, now not only possible to hear of news events from every corner of the world, but also to see them. But, until 1935, these were only urban luxuries. Were the rural people supposed to be content with the quiet solitude of the country? Maybe some thought they could be, but there were men determined to make rural life more enjoyable. These men were responsible for the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration in 1935, and were able to bring the world into the lonely farm homes. Our community was among the many to receive R.E.A., the wonders of electricity were now available for the country people to take advantage of. R.E.A. ended the daily trips to the outdoor well for water, the hand crank phonograph, the wind-up clock, the rendition to darkness and the inability to know what was happening outside a person's own small community.

With the ending of these "centuries old" methods of living came the beginning of a new and more enjoyable life for the rural people. For us, life began with R.E.A.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(INFORMATION.—Name, Sonja Godeken; age, 16; grade, junior; school, Naponee public schools; name of father, Wendell Godeken, Republican City, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Franklin County Rural Public Power District, Franklin, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Why is rural electrification so vitally essential to each and everyone's life. Could anyone's home or community continue in its efficiency without the use of electricity in the Space-Age world of today? Is rural electrification considered a convenience or is it a necessity? In commenting about these questions, I hope to point out the value of our local REA district.

Rural electrification has affected the lives of many. When the REA first was forming districts in the United States, people awaited the power lines, soon to reach their homes, with excited anticipation. They soon became accustomed to the luxury of having electric lights and radios. The Franklin Rural Public Power District extended its lines to the many eager people in the surrounding area to bring comfort to them, and to remove some of the drudgery from their everyday work.

Today, the inexpensive electric power available through the REA adds a vital ingredient to our lives. It brings warmth, light, convenience in cooking, in household chores, and in caring for livestock. Besides these essentials, electricity brings modern entertainment to our homes through television and radio. These are a few proof of electricity's intrinsic worth.

All of us know how an abrupt loss of electric power during a storm affects the normal, established pattern of our lives. It is at this time that we fully realize the importance and value of our rural electricity. How relieved we are when our local electric power lines are repaired by faithful and concerned repairmen! During severe storms, causing danger to our homes and communities, fast communications systems, made possible by rural electrification, often have saved many human lives and livestock.

The REA has done its part in the growth of our nation by bringing efficient electrical service to its rural areas. Just as a community grows with the modernization of its people's homes, so does a nation expand with the growth of its communities. Therefore, I consider rural electrification a very important necessity to every person.

For the above reasons, I believe that the REA has contributed and will continue to contribute much to the efficiency and comfort of my home as well as to the "updating" of my community to fit into our modern world.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ON THE FARM

(INFORMATION.—Name, Linda Zumbrunn; age, 16; grade, junior; school, Fullerton public schools; name of father, Melvin Zumbrunn, Fullerton, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

The past century can be divided into two eras, before and after REA. During the era before REA, the farmer was thought to be one of a group of uninformed, unintelligent people who worked long hours without the so-called modern conveniences of the city to make life easy for him. On the farm modern conveniences were merly foolish dreams that were impossible to fulfill.

Today, with the help of REA, the farmer is a well-informed, intelligent individual taking part in the activities of his community and contributing to its welfare.

REA is responsible for making life easier for the farm wife. She has a large assortment of electrical appliances at her service to help her in preserving, preparing, and cooking wholesome meals for her family. The electric stove is a big boon over the old wood stove Grandma had to use. The farm wife is now able to regulate the temperature of the stove by the mere flick of a dial. In Grandma's day it was necessary to add more wood or close the vent to change the temperature.

Electric appliances play a big part in cleaning the house also. The electric pump and water heater make it possible for the farm wife to have hot and cold water in her kitchen without the old cast iron pump and kettles of water to be hauled to the stove. Vacuum cleaners aid her in cleaning. Electric heating stoves and air conditioners keep the home at a comfortable temperature with little of the old mess of the wood stoves and dust blown in open windows.

Electric clocks tell the farm wife when it is time to tune in the weather and market news. She can use the space time electrical conveniences given her by watching her favorite shows on television or listening to the "golden oldies" on the stereo. Yes. REA spells convenience and luxury to the farm wife, but it spells money and profits to the farmer himself.

Electricity is more dependable than wind when it comes to watering the livestock. Electric fences are great improvements for keeping cattle in the pastures. Milkers take the work out of milking. Coolers and bulk tanks keep the milk fresh electrically. Electric time clocks are used in the hen house to boost egg production. Brooder stoves keep baby chicks alive during during the first crucial weeks of life on the farm.

In the farm shop electricity is used in many more ways. The farmer can make fast, efficient repairs on the farm with the help of electric saws, drills, welders, and battery chargers.

Even the crops a farmer grows benefit from electricity brought to the farm by REA. Irrigation pumps bring water to the fields and transform them into lush green oases. When the grain is harvested, the farmer is saved much back-breaking scooping by the electric auger.

All of this is made possible for the farmer with the help of REA. It doesn't cost, it pays.

James M. Yeargin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, James M. Yeargin, former chief of the New York Supreme Court bureau of the New York County district attorney's office, was recently appointed by Mayor Lindsay as a judge of the criminal court. A career assistant district attorney first appointed by Thomas E. Dewey, James Yeargin served as an able, fair, and fearless prosecutor for 28 years. His appointment was a richly deserved recognition of his talent and devoted public service and will add unusual lustre and dignity to the bench. It has been my good fortune to know Jim Yeargin as a friend, a former colleague on the staff of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, and as a constituent.

In the New York Post of April 7, 1966, Roberta B. Gratz wrote a profile of James Yeargin which follows:

PROSECUTOR TO JUDGE

(By Roberta B. Gratz)

In the 28 years James Madison Yeargin had been serving as a prosecutor in the Manhattan District Attorney's office he quietly harbored the hope that "some day lightning would strike and I'd be a judge."

Lightning did finally strike and last week Yeargin, grandson of a slave, was sworn in by Mayor Lindsay as a $25,000-a-year judge of the Criminal Court. His name had been submitted by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan for the 10-year appointment.

At 54, Yeargin is tall and lean with penetrating dark eyes and an athletic frame that he keeps in shape through tennis matches with his 21-year-old son, James, Jr., a senior at Brown University. (His daughter Helene, 24, is a social worker). Somewhat shy and cautious, Yeargin hesitates before discussing his career as an assistant DA lest he say "anything that might sound prejudicial to me as a judge." But the DA's office, Yeargin says, was a good vantage point to witness judicial history.

When he was first appointed by Thomas E. Dewey in 1938, after working in Dewey's 1937 campaign for district attorney, "the scales of justice were then unbalanced in favor of the prosecution," Yeargin observed. "But now I feel it may be going a little too far the other way. I fear we're heading for the time when interrogations and confessions will be a thing of the past."

In the 20 years he served in the homicide bureau—before his appointment eight years ago as chief of the New York Supreme Court trial bureau—Yeargin saw a number of the defendants he prosecuted go to the electric chair.

"At first I felt a little queasy," he said, "but so long as I did my job fairly and honestly I had no worry." Now capital punishment is almost totally outlawed in this state. While he was a prosecutor, Yeargin says, he "had no strong feelings about the law but now I think the change was a wise one."

A native of Spring Hope, N.C., and the one son in a family of seven children, James Madison Yeargin was named after his paternal grandfather, who before the Civil War was a slave apprenticed in a foundry his master owned. After the war he opened his own foundry (in the 1900 census it was listed as the only foundry to be operated by Negroes in the U.S.) and his son James Yeargin, now 84, kept it in operation until it was destroyed by fire in 1939. The second-generation Yeargin then opened—and still runs—an insurance and real estate office in Raleigh.

Although he worked for a while in his father's foundry to earn money for his undergraduate education at Shaw University, Judge Yeargin always wanted to be a lawyer, and his coming to New York in 1931 to attend St. John's University law school was all according to plan. It may have been unusual at that time for any young Negro to aspire to a legal profession but Yeargin claims the "boldness was more in going to law school and working during the Depression, not in being a Negro. I didn't have too much to lose."

Yeargin financed his bachelor's and law degrees by working for the old Home Relief Bureau (forerunner of the Welfare Dept.), passed the bar in 1936, went into private practice for less than a year, worked in Dewey's campaign and soon after its success was appointed to Dewey's staff. A registered Republican ("but I never vote a straight ticket"), he is circumspect in discussing his specific political orientation.

In 1939 Yeargin married Helene Gould Lassiter, a Philadelphia-born dental hygienist, whom he had met socially after she had moved to New York.

His background, Yeargin says confidently, qualifies him well for his judgeship even if the cases he will now deal with (misdemeanors) will be of a different nature. "The rules of evidence are the same," he said. "I've observed witnesses and defendants for many years. After all, a trial is a trial no matter what the charge."

Mother Eleanor Mary O'Byrne To Retire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Mother Eleanor Mary O'Byrne, one of the ablest, most creative and thoughtful leaders of higher education in America, will retire in June as president of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart in Purchase, N.Y.

During Mother O'Byrne's 21-year tenure as president of Manhattanville, she has more than tripled the college's worth and doubled its enrollment, and she has supervised the college's move from its old campus on Convent Avenue in Manhattan to its larger quarters in Purchase—where, I may add, she has made a fine neighbor.

Although Mother O'Byrne is officially retiring as president of Manhattanville, her devotion to her college and to higher education in America will never diminish; it can only expand and continue to inspire. The Congress and the States have made great progress in assisting higher education, but only dedicated teachers and administrators such as Mother O'Byrne can breathe life into the laws we enact. Her warmth, sense of humor, and sense of commitment are valued to all who know her.

The New York Times honored Mother O'Byrne as the "Woman in the News" last Friday, May 20, and I would like to share this tribute with my colleagues. Under unanimous consent, I am inserting in the RECORD the Times stories as well as a story and an editorial that appeared in the White Plains, N.Y., Reporter-Dispatch and throughout the Westchester-Rockland newspaper group on May 20, 1966:

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter-Dispatch, May 20, 1966]

MOTHER O'BYRNE RETIRES: MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE NAMES NEW PRESIDENT

PURCHASE.—The board of trustees of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart announces today the resignation of Mother E.M. O'Bryne as president of the college and the appointment of Mother Elizabeth J. McCormack as her successor.

In making the announcement, Joseph T. Geuting, chairman of the board of trustees, said the new appointment will take effect July 16.

Asked to comment on the resignation, which comes as a surprise to many, Mother O'Byrne, who will be 70 in September, said, "I am retiring because I feel I have reached the appropriate retirement age. I won't be knitting by the fireside. I thank God for good health.

"My address will be our Provincial House in Albany where I will be engaged in a structural educational project, the details of which cannot be disclosed."

HAS WIDE RECOGNITION

Mother O'Byrne, widely recognized as one of the foremost educators and administrative leaders, not only in Catholic academic circles but across the nation, has been president of Manhattanville since 1945. She had previously been dean and professor of history.

During her presidency, Manhattanville, which is conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart, has more than doubled its student body and faculty, and greatly expanded its academic programs. The relocation of the college from New York City to Purchase in 1952 was a major milestone of Mother O'Byrne's administration.

Mother McCormack who came to Manhattanville in 1958 and was named academic dean in 1962, had previously been headmistress at the Academy of the Sacret Heart, Greenwich, Conn. She is a graduate of the college, and holds an M.A. from Providence College.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROPONENT

Mother O'Byrne has served frequently on committees of the Department of Education, New York State, and recently on the Governor's Commission on the Education and Employment of Women. She has led the college and its alumnae into active involvement in the civil rights movement, is a director of Catholic Scholarships for Negroes Inc., a member of a standing educational committee of the United Negro College Fund, a charter and advisory committee member of the John La Farge Institute, an advisor to the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

The college president is one of the founders and charter directors of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, of the Greater New York Council for Foreign Students, and a member of the Commission on International Understanding of the Association of American Colleges.

She is presently serving on the advisory committee of college and university presidents of the Institute for International Education.

The educator has been an active participant of the programs of the College Entrance Examination Board, having served as a trustee, and at various times as chairman of commissions.

OTHER AFFILIATIONS

Other organizations in which she has been an active participant, include Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, National Catholic Education Association, Empire State Foundation for Independent Liberal Arts Colleges, American Association of University Women, American Council on Education.

A native of Savannah, Ga., she is the daughter of the late Michael A. and Marie M. (McDonough) O'Byrne, attended the Academy of the Sacred Heart at Manhattanville, New York City, received her B.A. from the college in 1931. She received her masters' degrees from Fordham University and Oxford University, and has been awarded honorary degrees from New York, Fordham and Notre Dame universities.

This week she was given the award of Palmes Academiques from the government of France in recognition of her contributions to education, and in June will receive honorary degrees from Georgetown University and from Boston College.

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter-Dispatch, May 20, 1966]

MOTHER O'BYRNE WON'T BE RESTING

"I won't be knitting by the fireplace."

If anything is a certainty, it is the truth of this comment made by Mother E. M. O'Byrne, president of Manhattanville College in Purchase, upon the announcement of her resignation and impending retirement.

In the 14 years since the college she headed came to Westchester from New York City, Mother O'Byrne has impressed her educational and business acumen and administrative abilities upon everyone with whom she has come in contact.

She has made Manhattanville a meaningful institution in the county in measures far beyond the academic pursuits in which it excels.

The impact of her ideas has been felt, moreover, in state and national affairs, both formally as a member of State Education Department committees, as a College Entrance Examination Board trustee, and as a member of a host of educational associations and commissions.

But no full measure of such a woman can be made simply by the listing of her academic associations, honors and achievements, many and great as they have been.

There must also be taken into account her essentially personal attributes. In Mother O'Byrne those qualities found expression in manifest dedication to her religious as well as her educational vocation, in a deep and kindly understanding of all about her, in a generous neighborliness and, of by no means least importance, in a spontaneously engaging sense of humor.

She has been and will be extolled for the legacy she has left to her students and to the college over whose development she has presided, as well as the thousands of Manhattanville alumnae around the world.

Mother O'Byrne will be missed in Westchester, as at Manhattanville, but, fortunately, her successor, Mother Elizabeth J. McCormack, has shared with her the spirit and responsibility of Manhattanville service and leadership for years.

Appealing Educator: Mother Eleanor Mary O'Byrne

She has called herself "the old witch," "Crazy Jane" and "Mother Lollipops," but the secret of her achievements, she confided to an interviewer, is her ability to be a "Jimmy, Jimmy, got anything to gimmee." The last characterization was Mother Eleanor Mary O'Byrne's salty way of explaining her success in wheedling money for her beloved Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart in Purchase, N.Y. During her 21-year tenure as president—the school announced yesterday that she will retire in July—she has more than tripled the college's worth, to $19.1-million, and raised alumnae contributions from $65,000 in 1945 to $169,050 last year.

That sum would be just chalk-and-erasers money for one of the universities that count their students in the tens of thousands, but for Manhattanville, with its 935 girls, it is a gift-giving record to make a secular college president, hired chiefly for his ability as a dollar-collector, gnash his teeth in envy.

One reason the gifts come pouring in is the loyalty the college instills in its girls. No student spends four years at the gray stone and brick campus without becoming a first-name intimate of Mother O'Byrne. And she keeps the ties taut with frequent visits to alumnae around the country.

Invariably, on these trips, the Manhattanville graduates proudly present their children, an experience Mother O'Byrne enjoys and prepares for carefully.

LOLLIPOPS, UNLIMITED

"For the first two minutes the children are always perfect," she said. "Then they start behaving normally. That's why I'm always armed with lollipops."

Small, slim, with plump cheeks and bright brown eyes behind rimless spectacles, Mother O'Byrne looks, at first glance, nowhere near the 70th birthday she is approaching this year. And she is in perpetual motion, bouncing quickly down the marble stairs of the administration building, a turreted, granite castle that once was the home of Whitelaw Reid; racing down the walk toward the chapel for a moment of prayer; using even her rare moments of repose for knitting.

She seems to be the living embodiment of the spirit of the college. A frequent visitor said he never would forget seeing her at the head of a line of nuns, passing chairs from hand to hand like a bucket brigade as they prepared the campus for an outdoor concert, and all of them singing lustily "I've Been Working On the Railroad."

A HECTIC MOVING DAY

Another recalled the hectic summer days of 1952, when the college was preparing to move to Purchase from its old center on Convent Avenue in Manhattan.

Ophir Farm, as the place was called when the Reid family owned it, had been churned up into a sea of mud by bulldozers and other heavy machinery as workmen rushed to complete five new buildings. Mother O'Byrne wore heavy overshoes under her long black skirts and waded into the muck and mire to cheer the workmen on.

And when one truck driver shouted to another to ask, "Where's this blankety-blank Mother O'Byrne?" she just chuckled over the "blankety-blank" and answered: "Here I am. What do you want?"

Born on Sept. 12, 1896, in Savannah, where she was reared, Mother O'Byrne is the antithesis of the green-yallery George peach, and very much a modern woman. Reproached for the abstract design of the stained glass windows installed in the college chapel in 1963, she replied: "We are living in a contemporary world—not in the 13th century."

SHE ABOUNDS IN DEGREES

Mother O'Byrne prepared herself of teach-Sacred Heart Order and for a career of teaching at the Manhattanville College, Fordham University and Oxford University. She has two bachelor's degrees, two master's degrees and three honorary doctorates. In June, she will get two more honorary degrees, from Boston College and from Georgetown University.

After completing her studies at Oxford in 1933, she returned to Manhattanville as professor of history, became dean in 1934, and succeeded to the presidency in 1945. In recent years, her work off campus, on committees of distinguished educators, has brought her national fame.

One off-campus work Mother O'Byrne is particularly proud of is her service on behalf of Negro education. In 1953, she began urging the Association of American Colleges to open scholarships and fellowships to Negro students, and she has served as director of Catholic Scholarships for Negroes and as a member of the education committee of the United Negro College Fund.

Manhattanville Losing President—Mother O'Byrne, 69, To Quit in July for Post "Just 240 Minutes Away"—Students in Serenade—Sing "Dixie" When They Hear She's Leaving After 21 Years as College Head

Purchase, N.Y., May 19.—Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart announced today that Mother Eleanor M. O'Byrne would retire as its president in July. She will be succeeded by Mother Elizabeth J. McCormack, academic dean of the Roman Catholic institution.

Now 69 years old, Mother O'Byrne said, "God has left me in good health, and senility has not yet appeared." While still ahead, she went on, she wants to step aside for Mother McCormack, who is 44.

When she had to confide her plan to the faculty this week she waited until the end of a routine meeting when the teachers were about to leave.

"This is the time of year for good-bys, and we can add Mother O'Byrne to the list," she said as tears welled in her brown eyes.

She paused, then said: "There's nothing I want less than good-bys. I'll never leave Manhattanville in interest. In my new work I'll be just 240 minutes away by driving at the legal limit—and I'm sure my friends will do it much quicker."

Her new post will be in Kenwood, the provincial house of the Sacred Heart Order in Albany, where she will set up education and advisory projects.

When the campus grapevine spread the word about Mother O'Byrne, somebody pushed a button in the chapel that started the bells pealing.

Soon most of the 935 students left their dormitories and formed outside the chapel. Their voices rose first in "Dixie" (Mother O'Byrne is from Savannah, Ga.), and then "For She's a Jolly Good Fellow?"

"Silly girls," Mother O'Byrne retorted. "This is a strange use of your reading period. I never say good-by." Then she saw Mother McCormack in the crowd and added, "Everybody must know that I am not irreplacable."

Mother O'Byrne became president of Manhattanville in 1945 when its campus with 399 students, was in Manhattan. She managed the development of the new campus here in 1952 on the old Ophir Hall estate of Whitelaw Reid.

Mother McCormack, who is from Larchmont, joined Manhattanville in 1944 as an English teacher. She became the academic dean in 1962.

Farewell to Nelson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. SWEENEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of the House today to what I consider to be a bit of classic Irish-American poetry authored by one John Magee which deals with the subject of the destruction of Lord Nelson's monument in Dublin City, Ireland, earlier this year. It seems that in poetic style Mr. Magee has caught the true meaning of the event.

The poem follows:

Farewell to Nelson

Lord Nelson was an Englishman,
A man of great renown;
But when Ireland gets her freedom
We will put his pillar down.

This was the promise expressed in a jingle
That went thru the land from Dublin to Dingle;
But the years passed by with nothing done
'Til four decades and more since victory was won.

Thousands of words rang thru the Dail
And echoed for years in each city hall.
"We can't take him down—the cost is too great"
All that they did was sit back and wait.

Then early one morn in March sixty-six
A time that was ripe for all sorts of tricks,
The Lord tumbled down from his lofty perch,
And the Garda set out on a fruitless search.

To track down the culprits who'd do such a deed,
Alas for their efforts! There was nary a lead.
Some thought at one of the old I.R.A.
Whoever had done it had got clean away.

But why be so sure 'twas the I.R.A. sinned,
Any fool would know it might be the wind
Or a seismic disturbance in China or Chile
That put the great Lord alongside King Billy.

Or a band of little men just passing by
Who thought that the Admiral was standing
too high,
Dwarfing O'Connell and other brave men,
That fought for Old Ireland again and again.

Or perhaps it was Danno applying a grip
Using a half-nelson instead of his whip;
Or a jet out of Shannon flying so high
It shook down the thunder from out of the
sky.

Anyone of these things might well be the
reason
For the havoc that was wrought in this grim
Lenton season;
The whys and wherefores are not ours to say
Had he been an old soldier he'd have faded
away.

It was just fifty years since the Famed Easter
trouble
That Trafalgar's great hero became so much
rubble.
To some it may seem his fate was quite cruel,
While others would call it good urban renewal.

The moral of this tale is simple and plain,
What falleth in Ireland is not always the
rain;
And Nelson as all men returneth to dust,
A hero at sea, on land, just a bust.

The Steel Car of Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, if a majority of the Members of Congress had been present at Tuesday's United States Steel presentation in the Washington Hilton Hotel suggesting some solutions to the Nation's growing traffic dilemma, there is no question but that efforts to ease the District of Columbia's transit problems would be assured of a prompt and effective legislative boost.

In a highly interesting combination of personal appearances by company executives, slides, prototypes, and working models of equipment, the production demonstrated the use of steel tunnel liners for subway transportation, modern passenger stations, aerial structures for elevated rail traffic, a unique electrical utility substation designed to enhance the esthetic value of a community, and a full-scale transit car called the New Scot—Steel Car of Tomorrow.

The meeting was opened by William G. Whyte, United States Steel's vice president, Washington. He was joined by Max H. Hofmann, manager of sales for the Baltimore district; Robert L. Hardin, Jr., general manager of transportation industry marketing; and Bruce A. Williams, marketing representative. They are to be congratulated for giving Washington the show that should bring animation to this city's stalled transportation plans, and commendations are also due Roger Blough, chairman of the board, President L. B. Worthington, and other executives whose willingness to invest in this gigantic research effort will help speed the way out of the maze that is reaching emergency proportions in numerous metropolitan areas.

I hope that representatives of the various organizations in any way responsible for the projections intended to untangle this area's jumbled traffic problems were in attendance. If not, they should attempt to obtain the materials on the subject made available at the Hilton on Tuesday. These booklets and papers should be perused carefully by all members of the National Capital Planning Commission, the Policy Advisory Committee, the National Capital Transportation Agency, the District Policy Advisory Committee, the Fine Arts Commission, the Committee of 100 on the Federal City, Maryland's Washington Suburban Transit Commission, the Northern Virginia Transportation Commission, and the myriad of other government and public groups interested in bringing the District out of its transportation labyrinth.

Mr. Speaker, a look at the history of Washington's roads might prompt a disgusted resident to recommend that the unfinished end of the Potomac River Freeway be looped into the shape of a question mark as a monument to local highway planning. The National Capital Planning Commission's recommendation for scrapping the remaining interstate freeway program until the projected subway system becomes reality appears to be the only reasonable step at this time.

No doubt the fate of the Du Pont Circle underpass should be considered among the top blunders in recent traffic planning. After months of construction work that turned into years of inconvenience for motorists, transit riders, and pedestrians alike, the completed tunnel served streetcar traffic for a very short time before being shut off as entirely useless when buses replaced the electric cars.

But other miscalculations of such magnitude as to make the Du Pont Circle case seem judicious by comparison have been in the making and could come into being unless the NCPC recommendation is approved.

There is no logic in planning a highway and city street program that will handle anticipated traffic of 1980—or of 2000. Mr. Whyte pointed out at Tuesday's conference that there will be about 100 million automobiles in use in the United States by 1980. If Washington's streets are going to accommodate all the traffic that could develop as more cars make their appearance, it would not be long until encroachment on embassy properties along Massachusetts Avenue would be required; it has already been suggested that Glover-Archbold Park serve as part of the north leg freeway in violation of terms stipulated when the public inherited the land; and beware the time that cutting into the monument grounds will be propounded as essential to serving vehicular traffic.

Currently there is an attempt to use tax revenue taken from the people of the 50 States for the subsidization of parking lots in the District of Columbia. In the face of the administration's determination to expedite construction of a subway system here, I am astounded at We do not want to attract more automobiles to the downtown area. We need to dissuade increased traffic. Fringe parking is an effective deterrent, and it should be further exploited.

Meanwhile, plans for a rapid transit system—whether it be underground, above ground, on the surface, or in combination—should be accelerated. United States Steel put a road on the show on Tuesday and everyone who has any interest and/or responsibility should have a look at what that company's research and development program has already brought forth.

The city of Washington belongs to all Americans and should serve as a model for the highway and street requirements of tomorrow. Furthermore, it should be easy enough to enter and to move around in without overtaxing the energy of visitors who come to relax and learn, not to suffer the frustrations that will only increase unless a rapid transit system is put into service to lighten the traffic load on city streets.

Nothing in Great Society Is Certain but Debt and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE SKUBITZ
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the facts have administered their annual pinprick to the balloon of the Great Society and to President Johnson's propagandized economy claims. Turning out the closet lights in the White House just was not enough to avert another increase in the debt ceiling. These annual exercises in economic frustration mean simply that the administration is spending more than it takes in, and is borrowing on the future of every American to pay for it.

It is always interesting to see what reasons are given for having to let out the Great Society's girdle every year. This year, of course, the pat answer will be "We are at war." Some years, when there is no war on, it is blamed on the necessity to think boldly. Sometimes the economy is blamed for not spurting ahead and furnishing more revenues. There are periodic rumblings about tax increases to balance the whole thing off.

However, I should like to note that the thousands of added Federal employees, the scandalous waste in the war on poverty, the outpouring of new programs and the profligacy of the entire Great Society crew are responsible for the budget busting its buttons.

This brings on inflation—the very evil the administration talks about fighting. The Washington Evening News of May 25, 1966, has an editorial which expresses some pungent views on raising the debt limit. Text of the editorial is as follows:

Annual Hock Ceremony

By the latest computation, the Government's debt is $318.1 billion.

This is where the debt stands right after the biggest tax haul in the Government's history—that April 15 shakeout.

The Government has just started to speed up its collections, by raising your withholding rates and prodding corporations to hustle their payments.

Congress has just passed a bill to permit the Government to sell some $4 billion of its outstanding loans—loans to farmers, veterans, colleges, etc.

With the extra dough it will get this year from faster collections, and the $4 billion from shuffling these loans off to private investors, the Government still doesn't think it can come out anywhere near even.

Treasury Secretary Fowler has paid his annual visit to Congress to ask that the debt ceiling be raised from $328 billion, which it now is, to $332 billion. At $332 billion, the Government debt will be $60 billion over what it was only 10 years ago.

In these 10 years, interest on the debt alone has cost the taxpayers more than $88 billion. That is twice the total of the national debt in 1940, five and a half times the national debt of 1930.

Mr. Fowler says it is "essential" that Congress raise the debt ceiling because otherwise the Government won't be able to pay its bills.

The higher debt limit, he says, "is needed to operate the financial affairs of this Government in a prudent manner."

If the Government ever got around to operating in a "prudent" manner, it wouldn't be asking to raise the debt limit.

This debt hiking is a regular ritual in Washington, but it used to be the Treasury Secretary at least would offer a vague promise that if Congress would just let him borrow a little more temporarily the budget shortly would be balanced.

Mr. Fowler didn't even dangle that bait before Congress.

Have we come to the point where there is no hope that the generations of unborn Americans will escape the mountainous debts of their ancestors?

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Chairman, it is very seldom that the two gentlewomen on our committee, for whom we have such a great respect and admiration, have disagreed upon any major issue. But, rather than to take a position, since they are in disagreement, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I would only answer the gentleman from Pennsylvania by saying that when we debated and discussed this in the subcommittee, we found no resolution, no way to resolve equitably, the contradictions involved in this amendment. I feel that the amendment should be defeated.

We are now looking into an area in an attempt to try to take care of one small segment of temporary seasonal labor, while the rest would be covered. You are looking into an area where we say to an employer, "You are covered with certain types of people you employ, but you are not covered with other types of people you employ."

Mr. Chairman, I feel that it is a messy amendment. I believe it will cause many problems and it will be unfair.

The Military Sea Transportation Service Celebrates National Maritime Day, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, on National Maritime Day, May 23, the Military Sea Transportation Service announced to the Nation that it has had to use 31 foreign-flag ships to carry military cargo to Vietnam in the last 13 months. And this statement comes only a few weeks after Secretary of Defense McNamara told the Congress that the American merchant marine alone was capable of delivering the needed supplies to our fightingmen in Vietnam. This seems to be another case where one computer in the Pentagon does not know what the other computer is doing.

The fact is that our merchant marine fleet is inadequate to carry out our emergency military obligations without drawing upon foreign-flag ships. The current British maritime workers strike dramatizes the danger of depending on the ships of other nations to haul our military cargoes. A maritime strike of any kind in another nation whose ships we were using could possibly hold up supplies to our soldiers in Vietnam, and we could do nothing about it. When will the administration act on its obligations to provide for an adequate merchant fleet to carry our international trade and to meet our emergency obligations? The news report from the Baltimore Sun of May 24, 1966, carries this report of interest to Members of Congress:

Foreign-Flag Ship Usage Data Given: 31 Such Vessels Used for Viet Cargoes in 13 Months

WASHINGTON, May 23.—The Military Sea Transportation Service has had to use 31 foreign-flag ships to carry military cargo to Vietnam in the last thirteen months, according a Department of Defense spokesman.

Ten of these vessels have been chartered directly by MSTS, he said, while the remaining 21 have been chartered by American shipping companies to carry MSTS cargo.

Defense and MSTS sources stress that, particularly in recent instances of foreign flags carrying cargo to Vietnam, it was their "suitability" for handling the cargo rather than any other factor which determined their use.

MORE USED LAST YEAR

The most extensive use of foreign-flag shipping occurred in the period from April to mid-November last year, when MSTS chartered nine vessels for single voyages, American-flag operators used another eighteen, a Defense spokesman said, "for the shipment of military cargoes in less than shipload lots to Vietnam."

Since that time, he declared, MSTS has chartered only the Norwegian flag Vesteroy for Vietnam service. The spokesman said the Vesteroy was required to carry more than 20,000 measurement tons of long steel beams from Davisville, R.I., to Vietnam to be used in port construction.

"The Vesteroy is also carrying several thousand additional tons of other military cargo to Vietnam ports," the spokesman added.

American-flag operators, according to Defense Department records, did not use any foreign-flag ships from mid-November until April of this year. Three have been so chartered in the last two months.

ONE LEFT BALTIMORE

In April the Greek-flag Eurymedon, owned by the Marchessini Lines, was chartered to carry 4,800 measurement tons of military cargo to Vietnam from Baltimore. The Norwegian-flag Aramis, operated by Central Gulf Lines, is being used to transport about 10,000 measurement tons of military cargo from New Orleans and Mobile.

Early this month the Greek ship Orpheus, operated by States Marine Lines, loaded some 10,500 measurement tons of military cargo at New Orleans, Gulfport, Miss., and Mobile, Ala.

Claim River Low on Water

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, as you know, I testified last month before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works urging an increase of $1,200,000 over the Budget Bureau's proposed funds for the Missouri River Navigation project.

These additional funds would insure continuation of the 9-foot channel construction work that is now being done on the Missouri River between Kansas City, Omaha, and Sioux City.

Although this situation may not appear too alarming here in Washington, I can assure you that it is. Shippers on the Missouri River are actually turning down business because there is not enough water in the river for safe navigation.

It is my firm belief that the social and economic welfare of southwest Iowa and all adjacent regions depends to a great degree on the full implementation of this 9-foot channel.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to insert the following article from the May 15 issue of the Des Moines *Register.* This article more clearly describes the seriousness of this problem.

The article follows:

Claim River Low on Water

OMAHA, NEBR.—Missouri River shippers have told Army Engineers there is not enough water in the river and there are too many channel obstructions.

Complaints about obstructions tended to locate the main trouble in the Kansas City area and the lower 300 miles of the river.

Paul Newsome of Consolidated Mills, Fremont, Nebr., acted as chief spokesman for the shippers. He said shippers are having to turn down business and he pleaded with the Engineers to hurry up plans for a 9-foot channel.

David Parker of Houston, Tex., who owns the Sioux City-New Orleans Barge Lines, said channel obstructions have caused more than 100 groundings of barges. He said his company has expended more than $300,000 for repairs and loss of time.

V. A. Leinart of the Farmers Union, Kansas City, Mo., wanted to know "Why don't we have more water?" He was told there is more water now at Kansas City than in 1963 and 1964.

As to channel obstructions, the Engineers said this was due primarily to winter ice damage and that Congress has not provided an emergency fund of $1 million the Engineers estimate is needed to repair the damage.

Potofsky Defends War Critics Against Efforts To Curb Dissent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, from every area there comes increasing criticism of our policy in Vietnam. The latest, from a well-respected labor leader, Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, is set forth in the New York Times of Tuesday, May 24, 1966, at page 4, column 5:

POTOFSKY DEFENDS WAR CRITICS AGAINST EFFORTS TO CURB DISSENT—UNION LEADER FINDS NOTHING UNPATRIOTIC—URGES RESTUDY OF POLICY ON RED CHINA

(By Emanuel Perlmutter)

ATLANTIC CITY, May 23.—The president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union today criticized efforts by "some in high office" to silence those who disagreed with the Government's Vietnam policies.

"Debate must not be stifled or discouraged," Jacob S. Potofsky, who heads the 385,000-member men's apparel union, declared. "There is nothing unpatriotic about free discussion."

Mr. Potofsky also urged a reassessment of the Administration's policy toward Communist China.

His remarks, with their implicit criticism of President Johnson and some of his top advisers, were delivered to 1,500 delegates at the opening of the union's five-day biennial convention in Convention Hall here.

The speech pointed up the dismay of some labor leaders over the displeasure with which the Johnson Administration regards opposition to its foreign policies in Asia. Mr. Potofsky is a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and a member of its executive council. He was a strong supporter of Mr. Johnson in 1964.

RADICAL RIGHT SCORED

Mr. Potofsky cautioned against the resurgence of extreme rightist movements in the United States and their relation to the Vietnam war.

"This year we have seen a gradual change in the atmosphere of freedom," he said. "The radical right has used the military involvement in Vietnam as an excuse to try to impose a blackout on dissent—and in too many cases they have been joined by others, including some in high office who ordinarily would not support such right-wing goals so openly.

"Regardless of our viewpoints, debate must not be stifled or discouraged. Without free and open discussion and debate, the public loses its only means of making intelligent decisions. There is nothing unpatriotic or un-American in freedom of expression. An informed electorate is the best guarantee of democracy."

On the question of Communist China, Mr. Potofsky said that "the time is coming when we must re-examine our policy."

In his hour-long address, Mr. Potofsky also discussed domestic policies and here he was generous in support of the Administration. He said that the Democratic-sponsored bill in the House to raise the minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.60 on hour "is as good as we can expect at this time."

He urged that family exemptions on the Federal income tax, now $600 a person, be raised to $1,000.

Standpoint—Our Armed Forces and Their Foes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding editorial commentaries in the Chicago Metropolitan area is "Standpoint," the editorial voice of WBBM-TV, which has acquired a well-deserved reputation for timely and frank observations. Therefore, I have leave to insert in the RECORD a most pertinent editorial from the "Standpoint" broadcast Friday evening, May 20:

STANDPOINT—OUR ARMED FORCES AND THEIR FOES

(Presented by Carter Davidson, editorial director of WBBM-TV, Friday, May 20, 1966, 6:25 to 6:30 p.m.)

Tomorrow is Armed Forces Day. As a date on the calendar, it doesn't mean much. The third Saturday in May was set aside by Congress seventeen years ago as a date to honor the men of America who are serving in our various branches of the armed forces.

The day doesn't echo an anniversary of anything connected with our armed forces. One suspects it was picked because it was the earliest day in the year we could reasonably expect to enjoy sufficiently fair weather to permit a parade. There's going to be one in Chicago, by the way, tomorrow at two in the afternoon.

But as a moment of meaning, Armed Forces Day is of considerable significance. It affords us, for example, while honoring the men in military service, the chance to point a finger of disdain and scorn at the handful of publicity-seeking dodgers of responsibility who seem to think they are above the rest of the young men of America, and who go to ridiculous lengths in their efforts to avoid serving their country.

We refer to the minority groups of students on most college campuses who would rather make spectacles of themselves than do their duty * * * who would rather shame their country than serve it.

We have had a couple of rather distasteful examples here in Chicago in the past few days. University of Chicago students who objected to serving their country virtually took over the university's administration building. Officials of the university let them do it, apparently on the grounds that they didn't want to make martyrs of the wild-eyed ones doing the protesting.

We think the university was wrong. The students should have been thrown into the streets. They already are heroes in their own eyes, and they can aspire to no greater degree of hero worship than that.

At Roosevelt University, a couple of dozen draft protestors were thrown in jail, as the ultimate payoff of what seemed obviously to be a publicity stunt.

And * * * the protests go on, fortunately involving only a tiny minority of the men of America who might be subject to the draft. They have a right to protest, to demonstrate, to go to jail or, in any other manner that comes to mind, to subject themselves to public ridicule.

We would not, for a moment, tamper with that right. But we would suggest that now, particularly tomorrow on Armed Forces Day, is a proper moment to reassure ourselves that we are more impressed with the honor due the men who already serve their country than the attention being demanded by those who would rather shame it than serve it.

The Legal Services Program of the War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a brief article in support of the legal services program of the war on poverty by Theodore Voorhees, the distinguished president of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association.

The article, which appears in Brief Case, the publication of the NLADA, is drawn from a speech by Mr. Voorhees to the Legal Aid Society of Toledo, Ohio.

Because Congress is now giving consideration to extension of the Economic Opportunity Act, I believe that Mr. Voorhees' comments on the importance of legal services to the poor and the responsibility of the bar in making the legal services program a success is particularly timely.

Mr. Voorhees' comments follow:

On February 10, 1966, I attended the annual meeting of the Legal Aid Society of Toledo and discussed the impact of the OEO Legal Services Program on Legal Aid and on the bar. Perhaps an excerpt or two from the talk might serve as a preface to this issue of the *Brief Case* which is primarily devoted to this new governmental program:

For the first time in history, a truly resourceful, imaginative, and novel approach has been developed to eradicate poverty and the indignity and inequality that are a part of it. Neither the hand-out, the leaf-raking, the condescending charity, nor the distribution of surplus food—in short, none of the quarter-way measures and temporizing of the past—form a part of this new program. It is built solidly around around a single concept: the invasion of the pockets of poverty, the slums and the ghetto, and the enlistment of the poor themselves to fight their own battle to gain jobs, independence, education, and self-respect. If compassion for the plight of the poor does not move you to accept the program, you can still embrace it as an enormously important measure in the battle against crime, the geometrical progression of which is the great by-product of poverty. Crime, along with Communism, if unchecked, threatens ultimately to engulf us all.

Now, the heart of the new program has to be the providing of legal services. Whether we are talking in terms of a man's right to an opportunity for employment, or to receive welfare that is legally due him in the absence of a job, or to live in an inhabitable dwelling under the minimum standards of the rent and housing laws, or to keep his child in a friendly or unfriendly school, or to escape victimization at the hands of the unscrupulous purveyor of consumer goods, the whole bundle of rights that the poor ought to share with the rest of us are utterly meaningless to them unless legal representation is provided to give those rights reality. The anti-poverty drive to bring new opportunities of employment, health, and education into the immediate neighborhood of the poor will inevitably fall far short of its mark unless lawyers and the Legal Service Program are in the vanguard. They should spearhead the whole program.

Legal Aid and the legal profession have had an excuse in the past for our failure to do a broader and better job in providing services to the poor. We have not had the funds. Congress has now proffered the money that has been needed; but now that it is available, we are neglecting to step forward and demand that the money be allocated to legal services in order to assure that the War on Poverty have the minimum chance for success.

I suggest to you that the profession must exercise a greater sense of responsibility. What is developing in the War on Poverty must be made a matter of our deepest concern. It is not enough for us merely to answer the critics of the program. The bar must watch the allocation of the funds and insist that they be expended wisely. We must see to it that all necessary steps be taken to insure the achievement of the widest measure of the program's success. We would assuredly give it that backing if its beneficiaries were our own rich clients. It is unthinkable that we should do less, simply because the service is designed to help the poor.

The Negro and the Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, this House has demonstrated its concern for those who serve in our Armed Forces and then enter civilian life. Joseph Alsop in a column written from Dian, Vietnam, and which appeared in the Washington Post on May 25, points up a serious problem which should be brought to the attention of our colleagues.

The article follows:

THE NEGRO AND THE ARMY

(By Joseph Alsop)

DIAN, VIETNAM.—At this uncertain juncture, it is wiser not to try to answer any of the crowding, obvious questions about the political future here. So the subject of this report is a very hopeful thing that happens to be very visible in Vietnam.

Since it was so memorable, it may be well to begin with the experience that started me asking questions about this hopeful thing. The scene was a wide, sunny field by the roadside in rubber-plantation country. The time was last September, when our green troops were first going into action in Vietnam.

The fence along the road was lined by hundreds of little Vietnamese children giggling and oohing and aahing. The grand attraction that was evoking all this interest was the Point Company of one of the battalions of the Airmobile Brigade. Only a few minutes earlier, the Company had been helilifted, after eight rough days of jungle fighting which had also been this company's introduction to combat.

It was a day of brilliant sunlight, and most members of the company had stripped to the waist. In this country of small, light-boned people, they looked like giants. They were all in high good humor, too, and the Negro soldiers, who composed at least a quarter of the company, were celebrating the release from the jungle along with everyone else.

The company commander was a genuine giant—he must have been at least 6 feet 5 inches tall—and his Southern drawl all but announced his origin. He came, in fact, from Columbus, Miss. He was a fighting man above all, as you could see by the way he answered questions about the jungle operations. Finally, when the inquiries grew too complicated, he gave a shout of "Harry" and with obvious pride and confidence, he introduced his company executive officer.

Harry turned out to be a wiry young Negro lieutenant, strikingly alert, exceptionally intelligent, who came from rural Louisiana, just across the border from Columbus. That, really, is all there is to the story; but if you just reflect on the probable relationship between Harry and his white company commander if they had still been at home and in civilian life, you can see there is a lot to it.

That moment, when one saw all the ancient, ugly barriers of race were suddenly struck down and forgotten, was not to be forgotten. It has now led me to ask a lot of questions about the role of Negro soldiers in the new model American Army in my days with the 1st Division. Briefly, these were the answers.

First of all, the proportion of Negroes in the Army as a whole is not enormously higher than the Negro proportion of the American population. But in the combat units, the proportion is markedly higher, running above 20 per cent in the average infantry company.

There are two reasons for this. One is that good athletes make good infantrymen. The other is economic. The Negro recruits, with a lower average of technical skills, are less likely to be assigned to one of the technical specialties requiring such skills.

The other side of the same coin (and a bitterly unjust coin it is!) can be seen in the numbers of Negro non-commissioned officers. Because Negroes can make a better career in the Army, more re-enlist, so nearly a third of the noncoms in our infantry divisions are now Negroes.

For just the same economic reason, finally, the other large, easily identifiable group in the new Army is composed of Southerners from poor families. You might suppose the mixture would be explosive, especially when a Negro officer commands a company with a high component of Southern troops, as quite often happens. But far from being explosive, the mixture merely serves to demonstrate how needless, how ignoble, how silly and sordid is the racial segregation that mars so many departments of American life.

This totally integrated new model Army should in truth serve as a model to the rest of us. Yet there are, I think, two steps that still need to be taken. In the Army itself, more generous arrangements are needed to provide additional education to soldiers of promise, who cannot otherwise be promoted to officer rank. This would benefit Negroes and poor Southerners almost equally.

Mainly to aid the same two groups, special arrangements are also needed at home, to make it easier to take advantage of the GI Bill of Rights. The Negro soldiers, and many of the poor Southern soldiers, too, will be educationally debarred from the privileges conferred by the GI Bill. Special placement centers, special intermediate training courses, special arrangements with universities and technological schools—all these are needed if these men are to get their due.

And it is their due! They serve their country with shining courage, with splendid proficiency, with soldierly determination, and with never a doubt that America truly is their country, despite the ugly memories of prejudice and injustice that can hardly be absent from the Negro soldiers' minds. A debt is owing. And if the debt is paid in such a manner that this ugly war results in a major increase in the number of university-trained Negro Americans, all of American society will be the better for it.

Soil Stewardship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I take this occasion to salute the Nation's conservationists, who have just completed the observance of National Soil Stewardship Week. These are the people who are consecrated to the protection and improvement of our most vital resource, the soil.

The United States is the best fed nation on earth.

We shall soon assume leadership in a world war on hunger.

This would not be possible had not our farmers long ago accepted the conservation of our natural resources as their responsibility and trust. They have protected and they have improved these resources. Now this country eats well and we have food to share with hungry people in other nations.

I commend the churches and the communities that have participated in National Soil Stewardship Week, and the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts which has led this observance.

Mr. Speaker, in this era of great national concern for the conservation and beautification of our soil, water and woodland resources, the people of rural America generally and traditionally are responding with great enthusiasm.

It is particularly satisfying to me that North Carolina is typical. In the great home State of the late Hugh Hammond Bennett, recognized widely as the father of soil conservation, soil and water conservation work is moving forward impressively.

And the pride of Hugh Bennett, the Soil Conservation Service, continues after 30 years to lead this movement, ever extending its record of technical assistance.

In addition to significant progress in conservation districts and small watershed projects there are other activities in my own congressional district that merit commendation.

For example, it was through the impetus provided by the Wake County Soil Conservation District that the present statewide effort got underway to get utility rights-of-way seeded for erosion control and to provide better wildlife food and habitat.

The Nash County Soil and Water Conservation District, in addition to joining the utility right-of-way project, has undertaken a number of other activities to stimulate local residents in the conservation effort, including the selection of an outstanding conservation farmer each year and holding poster and other contests in the schools.

These efforts are examples of the enduring results our people achieve through imagination, local initiative and cooperation.

The feasibility of these sound, supplemental local approaches to a universal problem is gratifying. In this case, it is especially fitting that this is so in the State that gave us Hugh Bennett and the first soil conservation district in the world.

Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all Members receive a lot of mail on the subject of Vietnam, some of which comes to us directly and we receive some of it indirectly, by letters that go first to the editor of some of the papers in our district. After these letters are printed, invariably many of our constituents take the time to clip these letters and forward them on to the congressional offices. This has happened in our district many times.

The other day we noticed in the editorial column of the Clinton Eye, Clinton, Mo., a letter from the wife of a fighting man in Vietnam. It seemed to me the ideas expressed in this letter were so clearly thought out and well presented, they deserved to be shared with the other Members of this body.

Mrs. Larmer, of Clinton, Mo., points out that her husband has written that when the going gets rough, he tries to remember how it would be to live under a Communist government with its constant oppression and without the freedoms we take for granted.

Our constituent points out quite impressively that there is a way that the wives and relatives of the men fighting in Vietnam can help on the home front and that is to exhibit an extra amount of patience and maintain tranquility when everything seems to be going wrong. Mrs. Larmer so very well states that patriotism can include such things as standing for truth and honor; by being continuously loyal to our beliefs and dealing honestly with our neighbors, as well as defending the principles that have made our Nation great. The letter as printed in the Clinton Eye, Clinton, Mo., is as follows:

CLINTON, MO.,
May 11, 1966.

The EDITOR,
The Clinton Eye,
Clinton, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Jim is in Vietnam now. I can't even fathom the hardships he must be enduring, but know he feels his job is important and that he's needed.

His letters tell of the thanks they receive from the Vietnamese people after he has helped treat their diseases and wounds.

I guess I'll never understand war, and because I'm selfish wish he didn't have to be there, but am proud he does his job willingly, and without complaining of the tremendous heat, insects, mud, stench, and other terrible conditions.

He said when the going gets rough, he thinks how it would be for us to have to live with a Communist government, and how life would be for us under oppression and without the freedoms we now take for granted. Those freedoms, after all, are our birthright and he's glad to be able to help another nation attain what has long been ours.

Sometimes people say they wish they could do something—carry a gun—join right in the fighting, so I've thought a lot about what would be a practical way to help in a positive manner.

I, too, want to be a real part of this, but have no ambitions to carry a gun since I know nothing about them. I'm not a banner carrier nor demonstrator, because it's my opinion that isn't the way to stop a war nor win it. But I think we can take other action.

We can fill our homes with as much love as possible—teach our children love for others, for our nation, our God.

If we can have an extra amount of patience, understanding and kindness for our neighbors and family; if we can keep from being too busy (or too lazy) to show those around us we really care; if we can maintain a semblance of tranquility when all seems to go wrong and help make someone's cares lighter, isn't that a start in helping to fight this war?

For, I believe freedom is a spirit. The spirit of people's hearts, many hands working together, dreams that became realities, a soul finding joy or solace in prayer.

Jim, only one of many men, is standing for truth and honor in a place strange to him and so far from those he loves. I want to do the same thing here. Call me patriotic or sentimental, or whatever you like—even nuts. But I want to try to be continually loyal to my beliefs, expressing that through everyday acts such as: Co-operating with those around me; dealing with them honestly, and defending the principles that have built our nation.

We face a great challenge, and I believe we must start at home to meet that challenge to maintain the freedom we enjoy every day.

I'm proud to be the wife of a fighting man in Vietnam and pray that God will give me the strength and wisdom to carry on without him for awhile. It also is my prayer that he will continually protect our men, allowing them to return safely to us, where they again can enjoy the rights and freedoms of our beloved land—knowing they have helped keep it so.

Sincerely,
MRS. JIMMY V. (MARTHA) LARMER.

High Court Should Not Sit in Past

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta, Ga., Constitution, is a great southerner and a great journalist.

Recently, he wrote a column which discussed the role of the U.S. Supreme Court in our changing and contemporary society.

Some critics, McGill writes, suggest by their statements that—

> The dead hand of the past must relentlessly hold us in its grasp, no matter what the changes.

Yet, he points out that it has been the rulings of a responsive Supreme Court which have served the "American promise and dream."

The Indianapolis Star on May 18, 1966, performed a genuine and constructive public service by printing Mr. McGill's column under the heading, "High Court Should Not Sit in Past."

Under unanimous consent I insert the text of the column at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

HIGH COURT SHOULD NOT SIT IN PAST

(By Ralph McGill)

By a happy—and revealing—coincidence, Senator SAMUEL J. ERVIN, JR. (D-N.C.) spoke at a bar association meeting the evening before "Law Day, U.S.A." was celebrated by the law school students and faculty at Emory University in Atlanta, with United States Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas as the speaker.

The coincidence provided the symbolism of light following darkness, of hope replacing defeatism, of the dead past trying to speak for the living present. Senator ERVIN's view of the meaning of laws is, if one judges from reports of his address, that of mechanical details: "Thou shalt brush thy teeth at least twice daily," "thou shalt not spit on the sidewalk," etc.

"Laws," he said, "are designed to furnish rules of conduct for government and people."

But are they? Is that what we really mean by the majesty and breadth of the word "law" and the phrase "due process of law?" Hasn't the senator used a beautiful, wide fabric of principles woven by the laws of centuries to wrap up municipal ordinances and all the petty ambiguities of "states' rights"?

The senator doesn't like the U.S. Supreme Court. He sees its "whims" replacing "laws." He deplores and views with alarm the fact that the Supreme Court of today may overrule one of 1860, 1840—or any "past decision."

Surely the senator does not mean that the dead hand of the past must relentlessly hold us in its grasp no matter what the changes? Is it a "whim" of the U.S. Supreme Court to rule that if a large percentage of the people move to cities, the states may not continue to give the depopulated areas the same representation as those with many more citizens? Is the "one man, one vote" ruling a "whim" or is it an upholding of the supreme constitutional guarantee of a republican or representative form of government?

The 13th, the 14th and the 15th amendments have been in the U.S. Constitution for about 100 years. Beginning in the late 1870s and continuing into the 20th Century, they were largely nullified by court rulings and political and economic pressures, mostly from the financial centers of the East and North. Is it, let us ask ourselves, merely a "whim" that these amendments are declared valid?

Senator Ervin's fears are as old as the nation. He is saying the same things that were said of the Supreme Court in John Marshall's time—only not so strongly. From that day to this, rulings that have served the American promise and dream have been condemned by the fearful and the greedy. Yet, can anyone deny that individual rights and dignity are more strongly delineated today than ever in our history?

Fortas' talk was inspiring. It breathed confidence in the American dream of a country where each citizen enjoys equal protection of the law, where there are no discriminations in voting and in an equal sharing of opportunity and education, and where we try to alleviate and get at the causes of poverty.

Justice Fortas believes we do subscribe to this sort of country because of the great principles of law in the Constitution and its amendments—also because they and our religious origins have given us a sense of moral consciousness about the individual. It is these principles of law, not the police court rules or the states' laws governing conduct, that enable us to "channel this evolution of our free society into the broad banks of the law."

Fortas looks forward with hope and confidence. He was neither petulent nor defeatist. Senator Ervin was, it seemed, plaintively looking backward.

Our Man of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, on May 9, 1966, a group of friends of former President of the United States Harry S. Truman gathered at the invitation of Mr. Henry Talge, philanthropist and industrialist of Kansas City, Mo., to observe President Truman's 82d birthday.

On this occasion, special tribute was paid President Truman for his constant and continuing efforts toward seeking to achieve world peace. Students from 71 foreign coutries brought their greetings.

Mr. Leonard H. Marks, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, delivered the principal tribute to President Truman; a brief address titled "Our Man of Peace."

Mr. Speaker, I believe Mr. Marks' speech will be of great interest to our colleagues:

Our Man of Peace

(Remarks by the Director of the U.S. Information Agency, at the observance of President Truman's 82d birthday, May 9, 1966)

Harry S. Truman served his country as President at one of the great watersheds in the history of the Republic.

Rushing events of global significance posed problems for the American chief executive of momentous import and concern. Abroad, much of the world lay shocked in the cruel aftermath of a great war—peoples destitute, governments broken, economies shattered, vast colonial lands restive, aggressive appetites in some quarters unappeased—and men everywhere looked to America for help and hope. At home, the nation was engaged in the colossal and complex move from war to peace; major efforts were launched to improve the people's welfare and to strengthen civil rights; and all Americans found themselves asked to adjust to the mantle of world power and leadership.

What qualities did Harry Truman bring to office? Somehow they seemed to be those most representative of the American spirit: courage, confidence, ingenuity, faith, humor, frankness, a concern for others.

James Bryce wrote of the American people: "Nor do their moral and religious impulses remain in the soft haze of self-complacement sentiment. The desire to expunge or cure the visible evils of the world is strong."

Such desire was certainly strong in the 32d President. His constant search for peace and freedom and for rising levels of prosperity did not stop at the water's edge. He sought all this for all men, and under his leadership the quest was well rewarded.

He put the weight of his office firmly behind plans for a concert of nations, and, at the opening of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, he advanced the view that: "We must build a new world, a far better one in which the elemental dignity of man is respected."

In 1947 he enunciated the Truman Doctrine: "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." There followed economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey which enabled those countries to resist successfully such outside pressures.

That same year his administration laid the groundwork for launching the Marshall Plan, which supplied American assistance for the reconstruction of war-ravaged countries and the peaceful and stable reconstitution of their societies.

He journeyed to Brazil to participate in the Rio conference and to tell the delegates that his country would stay strong militarily in order to be able to wage the peace. Under his direction the Berlin blockade was blunted and the city saved. In 1949 he took the United States into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—an establishment created to deter aggression and to allow continued free European progress, a vision so brilliant and successful that today we see a strong and peaceful Europe. Then in 1950 when the communists struck with stealth at South Korea, President Truman, with United Nations support, committed American might to that country's cause.

Perhaps one of Mr. Truman's best points was his fourth one. As point 4 of his 1949 inaugural address he stated: "We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and the growth of under-developed areas in the world." That program of U.S. assistance has continued on down to this very day.

He also backed the principle of firm international control of atomic energy and at the same time he encouraged the expanded use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

And all this time at home he fought for what he believed was right to achieve greater abundance, strengthened civil rights, and wider social benefits—such as medical care for the aged.

Because of Harry Truman, millions around the world, who might otherwise not be, are free today.

So, to this man of peace, we say with affection and gratitude, in the well-known words that closed his meetings with the press, "Thank you, Mr. President."

Communism Can Be Defeated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, in all of our confusion today concerning Vietnam, the U.S.S.R. East-West trade, and scores of life-and-death issues there are a few sturdy and consistent voices which continues to emphasize the realities of the conflict situation and the means to cope with Red totalitarian aggression toward definite victory in the unceasing cold war. One such voice is Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor at Georgetown University and also chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee.

Dr. Dobriansky's main theses are: First, most Americans, in official and private positions, still do not understand the Soviet Union and the nature of Soviet Russian imperiocolonialism, second, this lack of proper understanding with regard to the power center of the Red empire breeds policies which are detrimental both to the captive nations and our own security interests, and, third, our continued failure to take psychopolitical warfare seriously will inevitably lead to more needless sacrifices of lives and treasure and to an extended list of captive nations, now numbering 27.

Recently, these points were discussed over the nationwide Manion Forum. I request that the full text of the broadcast, titled "Communism Can Be Defeated," be printed in the Record, followed by a report on it in the May 9 Chicago Tribune issue, under the caption, "Urges U.S. Campaign Behind Iron Curtain":

[From the South Bend (Ind.) Manion Forum weekly broadcast]

Communism Can Be Defeated by "Wars of Liberation" in the Captive Nations

(By Dr. Lev Dobriansky, chairman, National Captive Nations Committee)

Dean Manion. My friends, a few weeks ago I invited Dr. Lev Dobriansky, Professor of Economics at Georgetown University, in Washington, to talk to us about the possibilities for peace through international trade and through a proper understanding of the many captive nations now enslaved by the Communists all over the world. Dr. Dobriansky's broadcast was so popular with all of you that I have asked him to come back. He is here today to explore this subject further.

Doctor, when you were here a few weeks ago, you were talking about the possibilities for peace through the liberation of the captive nations. Now, the Communists are always promoting what they call "wars of liberation" in Viet Nam and elsewhere; is this what you are talking about in reverse, or not?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. In a sense we're talking about the same thing in terms of the process, but our objective, of course, is entirely different. Our objective is toward the expansion of world freedom and the liberation of this huge mass of humanity that is now in a state of Communist captivity.

As you will recall, Dean Manion, when I was here with you before, I stressed the deceptive policy of peaceful coexistence that is being waged by Moscow. We mustn't forget that Moscow is the chief center of the entire Red Empire, the whole empire, including mainland China, depends on the strength and the power of the center, namely Moscow and the Soviet Union itself.

Behind this facade, this shield of peaceful coexistence, Moscow, with its various puppets and satellites, has proceeded to wage these wars of so-called "national liberation." Actually, any war of national liberation of the Communist type is a war of the few against the many. Anyone that is familiar with the history of how nations have become captive, whether during wartime or peacetime or in some state of unsettlement, will find in every instance that it is always a well-trained group that comes into power, that seizes the main media, the means of control within the state.

Usually the department of interior comes first, the police, that is, the armed forces, and then the group proceeds to take over completely. Now, one can say there is a war of liberation, an unfinished one, a genuine war of liberation behind the Iron Curtain, the Bamboo Curtain, even the Sugar Curtain, namely, a war for the liberation of all these captive nations.

Does it mean war in the sense of military foray? No, on the contrary, we can have an enormous advantage here through many paramilitary means to influence the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, to let them know that we are with them, that we haven't forgotten them, that we don't intend to build bridges of understanding that end up with toll gates of the various Communist regimes you have in these captive states.

Dean MANION. A few weeks ago, Doctor, Mr. Jules Dubois, the Latin America correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*, was on this program. He pointed out that the Soviet Government makes huge financial outlays for the promotion of these wars of liberation that you have described. Tell us more about that. Does Moscow actually have schools and that sort of thing conducted around the world to promote these wars of liberation and to prepare people to wage them?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. They certainly do, and this, I'm afraid, is one of the tragic gaps in the understanding of the American people with regard to political warfare as waged by the Communists. Most Americans are unaware of the fact that even before Lenin seized control in Russia, about 15 years before 1917, he started a political warfare school. There is one on the Island of Capri, there is another in Italy and a third outside of Paris.

Once the Bolsheviks came into power they proceeded in a very formal and methodical way to set up schools, and that has continued right down to the present date. We estimate there are about six thousand schools behind the Iron Curtain or in the Red Empire, and also among the various Communist cells in the free world. The Moscow government, we estimate, spends roughly *more than five billion dollars a year* for this type of political warfare to take place in various parts of the world, primarily in the underdeveloped areas.

We estimate, too, a revolving fund of about 150 thousand professional revolutionaries that make up the cadres. These are people that are dedicating their lives to Communist revolutions, the fomentation of such revolutions wherever possible, and they feel that it's possible in every part of the world, including the United States.

Dean MANION. This is certainly a very frightening story that you're telling here. I know, of course, and most people, I think, recognize that these so-called wars of liberation, these Communist cadres, are working in underdeveloped countries—Asia, Latin America, and so on. Now is it conceivable that this softening-up process is being carried on here in the United States as well?

U.S.—Chief Communist target

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Not only conceivable, but it's actually being done. I don't wish to go back into past history but there was even a measure of it back in the Thirties, and we are getting, of course, a massive repetition of it now. This is all in black and white, there's no mystery about it, I'm not concocting it. The fact is, the Communist Party and numerous functionaries, through the united front or the popular front means, is aiming at the youth of this Nation, and thus you have the hyper-activity of Reds on various college campuses. They have also infiltrated many of the civil rights areas.

In other words, they are doing precisely what has been done in the past on a larger scale. In view of the enormous amount of resources that they have now as against the past, I think, without being an alarmist, it is important for Americans to understand that, after all, the United States is the chief target, or, in Communists' eyes, the chief enemy. You can see, if the United States were to collapse there would be no other part of the free world that could possibly cope with the Communists. By the same token, if the Soviet Union were to collapse, you would have also the collapse of the Red Empire.

Moscow has denounced the Captive Nations Week Resolution most vehemently all of these years, precisely because Moscow has recognized that the Resolution strikes at one of the greatest weaknesses within the Soviet Union itself, namely, its multi-national character and the existence of about twelve captive nations within the U.S.S.R.

Dean MANION. Doctor, do you think this Consular Treaty that is being proposed for Soviet Russian diplomats is a part of this softening-up process?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. No question about it. It's a unique treaty in the sense that for the first time we're submitting to a provision that will give diplomatic immunity, which is usually reserved to members of the embassy, to consular offices. Now the Soviet Union, as Mr. Hoover has so well pointed out, is most anxious to set up consulates in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and perhaps, as they have in the past, a sub-consulate in Los Angeles. All across the country then you'd have the establishment of these spy nests. We would not get a benefit in return by setting up consulates in the Soviet Union.

There are other aspects to this. It's a current issue and I think it will be brought up in due course in Congress. Not only would we be exposing ourselves to the espionage and the spy element here but we would be putting a diplomatic stamp of approval upon the Soviet Union as a state similar to ours, which it is not. It is really an empire within an empire. The Soviet Union is the very basis, if you will, an imperial basis, of the entire Red Empire, economically, scientifically, militarily and politically.

We have a great deal to fear from the Soviet Union. More so, contrary to what Mr. Rusk has said, than we have to fear from Red China. It is the Soviet Union that has the resources, and not only that, it is more skillful, more adept and more deceptive in its peaceful coexistence policy.

Dean MANION. Doctor, this audience already knows, at least I've told them frequently, that you are the author of the famous Captive Nations Resolution which was passed unanimously by Congress in 1959. Now what can be done to implement the force and effectiveness of this famous resolution?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Very concretely, the first thing we must do and which we have been striving to do, is to set up a special House Committee on the captive nations. Why in the House? Mainly because it's a more responsive chamber to the will and to the feelings of the American people than is the Senate. We have been striving to do that. But there has been one obstacle in the sense that the House leadership has not provided us with the opportunity.

Soviet Government world strife source

The curious thing is that the majority of the House Rules Committee which has to report this out either favorably or unfavorably, is for such a committee. Why have a committee of this sort? Well, it would be a working symbol of the dedication of the American people toward the eventual liberation and freedom of all the captive nations. Its work would spotlight or focus the attention not only of the American people alone on this whole area of the Red Empire, particularly Soviet Russian imperial colonialism, but also call the attention of the world at large to the slavery of the captive nations.

The fact is if you pick up a daily paper, time and time again, whether out of the mouths of Kosygin, Brezhnev or others, you will find that they are constantly talking about American imperialism. To use the old Goebbels trick, the more it's repeated the more peoples throughout the free world will think that Americans really are imperialists. In fact, we even have a venerable historian such as Arnold Toynbee saying that America is the last imperialist power in the free world except for the Portuguese, and that is going some.

Now with a committee of this sort we can really show the last source, fundamental source, of imperialism, colonialism, and really the source of our major troubles in the world at large, namely, the Soviet Government.

A second concrete proposal is the passage of the U.S. Freedom Academy Bill. Now this has been bottled up, again in the Rules Committee, in the House of Representatives. It is urgent that the Rules Committee report this out favorably. Why? So that we may train people in political warfare. We now send nothing but amateurs—whether out of the USIS, the State Department or any other agency—to cope with these professionals in South Viet Nam and British Guiana and Colombia, Venezuela or anywhere else in the free world.

We have to have people who know the techniques and methods employed by the Communists who use the few to conquer the many. Behind the Iron Curtain it is we who have the many that can really make their Communist rulers very insecure and, in time, will be able to overcome the few that are represented in their totalitarian governments.

Dean MANION. Thank you, Dr. Lev Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, Chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee.

Ladies and gentlemen, if you do not have a copy of this Captive Nations Resolution, the Manion Forum will send you one free of charge along with the address of the National Committee for the Captive Nations, of which Dr. Dobriansky is Chairman. We want to have a record-breaking series of Captive Nations observances next July when the week will be proclaimed by President Johnson.

Get on the "band wagon" now and be sure that we exploit this great potential for peace, namely, the ultimate liberation of the one billion people now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. The Communist threat to world peace will be liquidated once and for all when the historic freedom and independence of the captive nations is restored.

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 9, 1966]

URGES U.S. CAMPAIGN BEHIND IRON CURTAIN

Congress can aid in defeating communism in iron curtain satellite nations by passing laws to create a special House captive nations committee and to establish an academy to train Americans in political warfare, an expert said last night.

Dr. Lev Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations committee, Washington D.C., said the House rules committee has "bottled up" proposals to set up both.

The House committee, favored by a majority of the rules committee, would serve as "a working symbol of the dedication of the American people toward the eventual liberation and and freedom of all the captive nations," Dr. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown university, said.

ON MANION FORUM

He appeared on the Manion Forum, weekly radio program of Clarence Manion, author, lecturer, and constitutional authority.

"Its work would spotlight or focus the attention not only of the American people alone on this whole area of the Red empire, particularly Soviet Russian imperial colonialism, but also call the attention of the world at large to the slavery of the captive nations," he said.

A "freedom academy" for training in political warfare could give the United States the professionals needed to cope with a Russian cadre working to subvert other nations, including the United States, he said.

CAN MAKE REDS NERVOUS

"We have to have people who know the techniques and methods employed by the Communists, Dr. Dobriansky said. "Behind the iron curtain, it is we who have the many that can really make their communist rulers very insecure and, in time, will be able to overcome the few that are represented in their totalitarian governments."

Dr. Dobriansky also called for congressional rejection of a proposal to grant diplomatic immunity to Russians working in soviet consulates in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Such immunity, now granted only to Russians in that nation's embassy in Washington, would create "spy nests" all across the country, he said.

Address of Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., Before the Wiring Device Section of the National Electrical Manufacturers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I call to the attention of my colleagues the recent address of our distinguished colleague, Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, JR., of New Jersey, before the wiring device section of the National Electrical Manufacturers Association.

Congressman THOMPSON is the chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor and is, therefore, closely concerned with the National Labor Relations Act as it is administered by the National Labor Relations Board.

In his address, Congressman THOMPSON has many worthwhile and interesting observations, comments, and suggestions in regard to the operation of the National Labor Relations Act. I believe his address is must reading for those who wish to become better informed on this important subject.

The address follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR., BEFORE THE WIRING DEVICE SECTION OF THE NATIONAL ELECTRICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

The introduction by your Chairman is very pleasant, but it reminds me of the story about the boy who came home from Sunday School and his grandmother asked him what he has learned. The lad replied that he had heard a great story, all about how Moses got his people out of slavery. Moses woke his people early in the morning, and before the Pharaoh knew it, they were across the Red Sea. Then the Pharaoh sent his armored columns and his tanks after Moses, but Moses called on his dive bombers, which hit the bridge when all the Egyptian troops were on it, and they were all drowned in the Red Sea. His grandmother said: "Sonny, they didn't teach you any such nonsense." The boy admitted that that was so, but said: "If I told you the truth, you wouldn't believe it."

I'm glad the Chairman did not the truth about me in his introduction, but I will try to tell you some truths, hard though they may be, about the National Labor Relations Act.

As you know, I Chair the Special Subcommittee on Labor in the House of Representatives. It is the job of this Subcommittee to "ride herd" on the National Labor Relations Act as it is administered by the National Labor Relations Board. This Committee assignment takes us right into the thick of all the current issues.

Two of the issues which my Subcommittee explored with many witnesses, and about which we proposed amendments, are Section 14(b) and the "Common Situs Picketing" amendment. Should Section 14(b) be repealed, and with it the 19 State "Right-To-Work" laws? Should we adopt a "common-situs picketing" bill and thereby permit a particular union—the carpenters, the electricians—to picket a non-union employer at the building site shared by the non-union subcontractor with other subcontractors, many of whom are union, and whose employees might be expected to honor the primary picket line?

These are controversial matters; but exciting, and very demanding. I am sure the glamor of these and similar assignments had nothing to do with the fact that BOB GRIFFIN resigned from our Subcommittee to accept a Michigan seat in the Senate; that CARLTON SICKLES is resigning to seek the Governorship of Maryland; that RALPH SCOTT is resigning to seek some peace and quiet in his native North Carolina foothills.

These losses make a big gap in our Committee, but fortunately, we have plenty of bench strength: JIM O'HARA from Michigan, whose district runs from Detroit, through the northern suburbs. HUGH CAREY, whose 13 children add to the beauty and density of his populous constituency in Brooklyn. JAMES SCHEUER, from the Bronx, who made a distinguished name for himself in urban redevelopment and the building of planned communities prior to his arrival in Congress. On the Republican side we have GLENN ANDREWS of Selma, Alabama; EDWARD GURNEY from Florida; and OGDEN REID from Westchester County, New York—all with great ability.

Collectively, we have a diversity of backgrounds, experience, predilictions, and what have you. We share, however, a common concern that the Labor Act work well, and work as Congress intended it to work.

With this background of our Subcommittee, I would like to share with you some of the areas of our concerns about the effectiveness of the National Labor Relations Act.

I. THE PROBLEM OF DELAY

A major weakness in the Labor Management Relations Act is the long delay in the NLRB proceedings in holding elections; and, more importantly, in the trial of unfair labor practice cases. If an employer discharges an employee for union reasons today, it makes little practical difference if he is ordered to reinstate the man two years from now.

A. In representation hearings

As you know, one of the major functions of the Labor Board is to conduct elections wherein the employees select, by secret ballot, the union of their choice, or no union at all.

Upon a petition showing that at least 30% of the employees want a union, the Labor Board will hold such an election. The Board must ascertain the "appropriate unit", those who are employed within this unit, and identify those who are ineligible to vote because they are supervisors, guards, professional employees, or otherwise ineligible.

In 1960 it took 110 days (almost 4 months) from the time the petition for an election was filed until the election was ordered. Today, it takes 45 days (about a month and a half).

This decrease in time was due to the 1959 Landrum-Griffin amendments wherein we in Congress authorized the Labor Board to delegate the routine work of conducting elections to the Regional Directors, reserving to itself the power to review important cases.

This delegation has worked well. About 90% of the election cases are decided on the scene by the local officials in about a month and a half. The remainder go to the Board in Washington on review. These are the novel cases, the rough cases, the cases where there is conflict; and there, the latest figures show, it takes an average of 131 days (over 4 months) from petition for election until decision that an election should be held. I don't know if we can hope for further improvement.

B. In unfair labor practice cases

The delay in processing unfair labor practice cases continues. Let me explain the process here and some of the delays.

1. *The charge and investigation.* An unfair labor practice case begins when a union, a company, or an individual walks into the Regional Office and *charges* that his rights under the Labor Act have been violated. The regional officials investigate the charge, interview witnesses, and decide to dismiss the charge or go forward. This process takes, on an average, 25 days. There is then a process of mediation, where the parties are informed of their rights. If there is no settlement, a "complaint" is filed. There is an average of 59 days (2 months) from the charge to the issuance of complaint.

2. *The complaint and hearing.* After the complaint is issued by the Regional Office, an independent trial examiner in Washington is assigned the case; and he sits like a trial judge hearing all the evidence. It takes approximately 66 days (2 months) from the issuance of the complaint to the close of the hearing.

Then, the trial examiner must write his findings of fact and conclusions of law. This takes, on the average, an additional 114 days (almost 4 months).

In short, the case is pending at the trial examiner level for almost six months. The delay at this stage is due almost entirely to the large volume of business handled by each trial examiner, and can be solved by hiring more trial examiners. This is being done.

3. *Appeal to the Labor Board.* Currently, every person who loses at the trial examiner level has a right to appeal to the Labor Board. There were 749 such appeals this last fiscal year—almost 2 a day. They pile up awaiting their turn for decision, and it takes on an average of 105 days (3½ months) from the time the appeal is filed until the Labor Board decides the case.

4. *Appeal to the Courts of Appeal.* The losing party then has a right to appeal his case to the United States Courts of Appeal for review; and this opportunity is availed of. Over 64% of the litigants before the Labor Board take this opportunity, and another year or so is added to the case.

In sum, it takes, on an average, some 12 months from the time the charge is filed in the Regional Office until it is decided by the Labor Board in Wishington. Then there is up to another year while the case is pending in court on review.

As an Ad Hoc Subcommittee asked in 1961: "If an employer refuses to bargain collectively on June 1, 1961, how much good will be done by an order to bargain entered June 1, 1963"?. By then the union will be dead and long gone, there will be no one to bargain with.

I might add that the normal unfair labor practices committed by unions do not go unremedied for this length of time. Section 10(1) of our Act requires the Regional officials to seek interim relief from the Federal courts whenever there is reason to believe that a union has violated the secondary boycott, the hot-cargo, or the recognitional-picketing provisions of our law.

What can be done about this delay?

Not much at the Regional Office level when two months go by while the case is investigated and the complaint is filed. We can prod the local officials, but there is a need for thoroughness in investigation and in the opportunity for conciliation.

At the trial examiner level—six months from complaint to decision—we can cut down the delay by hiring more trial examiners and spreading the case load and the work to more people.

At the Labor Board level, there are various proposals for cutting down the 3½ month delay. One proposal is more Labor Board members, operating in panels of three. Another proposal is that we create regional, intermediate Labor Boards, with appeal to the Washington Labor Board on a discretionary basis.

I favor a greater delegation of authority to the trial examiners. If similar delegation worked in representation cases, why not try it in unfair labor practice cases. At least for certain kinds.

A great bulk of the unfair labor practice cases concern violation of 8(a)(3), discharge because of union membership or activity. Most of these cases involve questions of fact—did the employer discharge the man because of union activity, as charged; or was it because of inefficiency as alleged by the employer. In this type of case, the Labor Board generally affirms the findings of the trial examiner; and does so unanimously. This is the situation in over 95% of these cases.

Why must these cases flood the Labor Board and clog the decisional processes? Judge Friendly, of the Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit, suggests that the trial examiner decision be made final. I almost agree; but I would give the Labor Board discretionary authority to review this type of case when there is a novel or otherwise unusual question involved.

In short, I think that we in Congress should amend the Act to permit the Labor Board to delegate greater authority to the trial examiners in these routine, factual cases which arise under this particular section of the law.

II. THE PROBLEM OF REMEDIES

Another problem we regard seriously is that of remedies. Here too, I would like to center upon the 8(a)(3) violations—the discharge of employees because of union membership or activity. These charges constitute 72% of all charges against employers; and they go to the very heart of the Act—the right guaranteed by Section 7 to "self-organization".

These discharges seldom occur in a unionized plant; and the normal or typical situation as we see it, is something like this—The union begins an organizing drive; and the employer decides to resist. He does this by discharging a handful of the known activists in the union organizing drive. This chills the enthusiasm of the others, and the organizing drive dies down. An unfair labor practice charge is filed; and ultimately, a year after the event (or two years if the employer seeks court review), the Labor Board orders the employer to reinstate the discharged employees with back pay—less what they earned while they were laid off.

Now, approximately a quarter of the employees whose reinstatement is ordered can't be found. They have moved elsewhere and have just dropped out of sight. Another quarter have been found, but don't want their old jobs back. They found other employment, and are happy. The other half goes back to work at the old job, with back pay, less what they earned elsewhere. Whatever the amounts the employer must pay, these amounts are tax deductable as a business expense. These reinstatement-with-back-pay awards have been characterized by union spokesmen as "nothing more than license fees for union-busting". I am afraid there is some truth in that. The employer rids his plant of a union, and stands to suffer very little loss.

I suggest we take the profit out of this violation of the Labor law. I suggest specifically, that the employee discharged for union membership be given double, or treble, damages for his lost wages. He certainly needs it; for the costs in mental anxiety, in the loss of installment purchase items, in the costs of borrowing-to-tide-one-over exceed by far the amount lost in steady income.

I further suggest that this violation of the Labor law be made more expensive by hitting the violator where it hurts—in the pocketbook. Many of these repeated violators—and they can be identified—have contracts with the government. I suggest that the Walsh-Healey, the Davis-Bacon, and the Service Contracts Acts be amended to authorize the government purchasing agents to look with disfavor on any bidder who is certified by the Labor Board to be a repeated, a flagrant, a knowing violator of the Labor law. I would not penalize the employer who violates the law through ignorance, through mistake, through inadvertence. But the company that repeatedly flounts the Federal laws should not be rewarded with a Federal contract.

III. THE PROBLEM OF COVERAGE

You may gain the impression that the Labor Act is not working. It isn't in some individual instances; but it is in the main.

In the 1935 Wagner Act (reaffirmed by Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin) Congress declared that it is the policy of the United States to encourage the practices and procedures of collective bargaining. This is the policy of most business men and of most unions. Strikes and lock-outs are mostly a thing of the past. Less than one half of one percent of lost man-hours are due to industrial disputes. Strikes still occur, but rarely.

All over the country local people are bargaining peacefully over local wages, hours, and conditions of employment, and finding local situations to meet the local needs. This is how it should be.

The Labor law works so well when given a chance, that I wonder if the National Labor Relations Act should not now be extended to three classes of employees who heretofore have been denied its benefits. I refer to hospital workers, to those employed by educational and charitable institutions, and to agricultural laborers. These three classes of employees are usually at the bottom of the economic ladder, and have no opportunity for arms-length meaningful bargaining with their employers on an individual basis.

A. Hospital employees

Hospital employees were covered by the 1935 Wagner Act, and the Labor Board conducted elections between the various unions interested in organizing and representing the non-professional employees.

The 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments excluded employees of charitable hospitals from the protection of the Act by defining employers so as not in include a corporation or association operating a hospital, if no part of the net earnings inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual. The Labor Board, by a policy ruling, extended this exemption to private profit-making hospitals, and refused a hospital's request that it conduct an election between two competing unions.

The reasons for the statutory exclusion of charitable hospitals, and the administrative exclusion of profit hospitals, are twofold: that hospitals are not in "commerce"; and that hospitals carry out local functions and should be subject to the jurisdiction of local agencies. I believe Blue Cross and Medicare put the hospitals in "commerce"; and the local jurisdictions by and large show no concern over the labor-management relations in hospitals. There is a void, a vacuum, hospitals are not required to recognize and bargain with unions; so they don't. The consequence is that wages and employment conditions remain static. The professionals drift off to better paying jobs (witness the current situation in New York City); and the non-professionals remain on the job; but bitter, disillusioned, strike happy. It is time for some agency to move into this void and impose sensible proceedings for the resolution of disputes. We have several bills pending to restore NLRB jurisdiction, and will give them a close look.

B. Employees of charitable organizations

Employees of charitable organizations, other than non-profit hospitals, have never been excluded from the protection of the Labor Act by any express provision.

In 1947 the Hartley bill in the House contained a provision which would have expressly excluded employees of religious, charitable, scientific, educational and other like institutions. The Taft bill in the Senate contained no such exclusion. The Taft-Hartley compromise was the exclusion of non-profit hospitals. The Conference Report explained the omission of other kinds of charitable institutions from this express exclusion on the theory that the Labor Board had never considered them within its jurisdiction except "in exceptional circumstances and in connection with purely commercial activities".

Taking cue from this Conference Report, the Labor Board had taken jurisdiction "when the particular activities involved have been commercial in the generally accepted sense"; when, for example, the activity is a commercial radio station owned by a university, or a publishing house owned by a religious corporation, or a training school doing work for the parent organization. On the other hand, the Labor Board will not take jurisdiction "where the activities concerned are intimately connected with the educational activities of the institution and are noncommercial in nature". Thus, the Labor Board dismissed the petition for an election filed by the clerical personnel employed by the various libraries at Columbia University.

This situation was brought to our attention recently by a spokesman for blind workers, employed at various "shelters" and "lighthouses" around the country. These "shelters" are non-profit, and provide job training, vocational guidance, and personal counselling. In the usual situation, 90% or so of the funds supporting these institutions come from the sale of commercial products produced by the handicapped workers. The other 10% comes from contributions.

In recent months, the handicapped workers have organized into unions, and have gone out on strike in various cities around the country: Dallas, Cleveland, St. Louis, San Diego, and Berkeley. In St. Louis, there was an eight-week strike against the Lighthouse for the Blind. In the Berkeley strike, the blind broom makers boarded buses and picketed the State House in Sacramento; complete with guide dogs. The demands are pretty uniform: recognition of their union, a set wage scale, seniority in layoff, a grievance procedure for the resolution of disputes.

The Labor Board has so far refused to accept jurisdiction over these disputes. In a three to two opinion, the Labor Board recently ruled that the activities of the Sheltered Workshops of San Diego partake more of the character of rehabilitation and training rather than activities "commercial in the generally accepted sence". The two dissenters rejected the concept that a non-profit organization (existing on commercial profits) "owes its employees less than other employers do".

I myself feel that the Labor Board is letting the tail wag the dog here. The handicapped do receive job training and personal counseling; but they also produce the goods sold on a commercial basis, which makes the whole venture possible. These workshops live on the proceeds of the work products, expect the handicapped to work, regulate their hours of work, pay them at rates which take into account differences in proficiency and productivity, dock them for time lost from work, and lay them off when work is slack. The employee/trainees have grievances, why not regularize their adjustment?

C. Agricultural employees

A third category of "excluded" employees are those who work on the farms. The 1935 Wagner Act excluded them, on the theory that the Constitutional power of the Commerce Clause did not extend to agriculture. Indeed, it was argued at that time that the Commerce Clause did not extend to local manufacturing. Since the 1935 Wagner Act, the Supreme Court in a number of related situations has upheld the Congressional power—under the Commerce Clause—to regulate farm activities. Thus, there is no longer any constitutional impediment to extending the coverage of the Labor Act to farm workers.

It is also suggested that the Labor Act has no place in the intimate relationships between the farmer and his hired hand. I agree; but I am speaking of the large corporate farm where a hundred or more employees are hired on a regularized basis to drive the tractors, repair the equipment, prune the trees, and so on. The situation, in short, is like that at Delano where two or three thousand regularly employed workers recently completed a long and bitter strike against the large grape orchards.

It is the purpose of Federal labor laws to encourage collective bargaining. The theory behind these laws is that peaceful settlements among the parties working by themselves under the aegis of Federal law will be substituted for the old-time labor feuds—too frequently accompanied by bitter strife and wasteful, dangerous conflicts verging on private war. These hopes have been largely realized in most segments of our economy. I hope someday to extend the Labor law, with the same beneficient results, where it does not now reach.

CONCLUSION

I have enjoyed the opportunity to come here and share with you some of the problems, and some of the thinking, of the Special Subcommittee on Labor.

We had hoped to look into these matters in some depth this current session of Congress. But, while you may be disbelieving, we could not get a budget approved by the appropriate committee. So, I take this opportunity to give you some of our tentative thinking: I am the witness presenting ideas, you gentlemen can help us by giving a reaction.

Association for Mental Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

REMARKS OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVE JOHN E. FOGARTY AT RHODE ISLAND ASSOCIATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH DINNER, CHAPIN HOSPITAL, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1965, AT 7 P.M.

It is always a pleasure for me to address such a group as this, but tonight I feel I must forgo pleasure for duty, and forsake enjoyment for the necessity of looking at stark facts. I intend to use harsh words because I believe the time has come for harsh words—and action.

A new day has dawned for the mentally ill and mentally retarded in the United States.

Unfortunately, the full light of this dawn has yet to reach Rhode Island's mentally disabled.

Two years ago this fall, in response to the eloquent plea from the late President John F. Kennedy, the Congress enacted the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, inaugurating a new national mental health program.

This legislation put into motion many activities which, like a set of gears, are enmeshed—with the proper functioning of each dependent upon all the others.

First there came the process of comprehensive planning by the States for the mental health needs of all their citizens.

Then came the $150 million Federal assistance program for the construction of community mental health centers, along with the program for providing for the mentally retarded.

This year came the $225 million Federal assistance program to allow for help in staffing community mental health centers.

Comprehensive planning, aided over a two-year period by $8.4 million in Federal matching funds, has been completed by all of the 50 States. They are now submitting their final reports on planning activities to the National Institute of Mental Health.

To participate in the program for construction assistance, each of the States had to formulate a centers plan consistent with its comprehensive plan.

I realize it was something of an administrative hardship for each State to proceed with both its comprehensive plan and its centers construction plan at the same time. Ideally, this latter would have evolved from the comprehensive plan; but the need was—and is—so urgent, so pressing, that they were thought to be equally essential and they were carried out simultaneously.

The national mental health program is now well underway. A total of 15 State center plans have been approved and 10 others are in various stages of processing by the National Institute of Mental Health. So far, a total of nine individual center construction grants have been made.

Now, where in all this does Rhode Island stand?

First let me say that I take great pride in the fact that as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee of the House of Representatives I participated in the actions of the 88th and 89th Congresses to enact these laws.

My pride is based, to an extent, on the enormous steps the laws have enabled us to take in aiding all in this country who need mental health assistance. But the pride is based also on the fact that what I have done I did as a citizen of the State of Rhode Island for the betterment of my fellow Rhode Islanders.

Thus, I think you can understand my disappointment when I say that my own State stands near the bottom of the list when it comes to taking advantage of these opportunities.

This disappointment is intensified by the realization that, especially in this instance, the lack of action is not at the Federal level. On most occasions, as you know, the plea comes from State residents who say they are doing their share, or more, and what does the Federal Government intend to do?

Here, just the reverse is true. I come to you as a member of the United States House of Representatives to say that the Federal Government has provided its share—what do you in Rhode Island plan to do?

This legislation, the Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963, was designed as a stimulus. We in Congress had no intention of supplanting local or State programs with Federal programs. We deliberately left it up to the States to take the next steps for themselves.

Under the legislation, Federal funds will provide one-third to two-thirds of a center's construction cost, depending upon the State's population, the extent of its mental health problem and its financial situation. But this money is only enough to interest communities and States in attempting to find additional methods of financing.

The Act's regulations require that each State prepare a plan for the use of its allotted funds. To be successful the State's plan must reflect the development of plans by individual communities for participation in the program.

As I see it, through this system of planning, we are for once, at least, coming up with true cooperation between the Federal Government on the one hand and the States and their communities on the other.

My disappointment with Rhode Island's progress—or lack of it—is actually difficult to describe, for I know there are many individual programs across our State that are actively involved in providing treatment resources for both the mentally ill and the mentally retarded.

A comprehensive mental health plan for Rhode Island has been completed. This plan recommends a permanent Governor's council on mental health with full-time professional and clerical staff. The plan emphasizes the distinctive features of Rhode Island: its small geographic size and the comparatively easy geographical accessibility to mental health services developed within our State.

Because of these features, Rhode Island is in the unique position of being able to establish specialized units providing centralized services for the entire State. For example, Rhode Island would need one specialized unit for autistic children. However, the State would also need a number of different locations to meet its responsibilities for basic mental health services.

This plan, however, has not yet led to a practical plan of action for participation in the Federal program for community mental health centers. While I understand that a plan for centers is in process and will probably be submitted within the month, I cannot understand why Rhode Island was not in the forefront of this national movement.

Look at the States whose centers plans have already been approved—New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Florida, Ohio, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Louisiana, Colorado, California, Washington, South Carolina and Oregon. Why should not Rhode Island be at or near the head of the list?

As I have said the urgency and the pressing need were so great in the United States that comprehensive planning and centers planning were called for at the same time. But this has not occurred in Rhode Island; and not only that, neither planning process in our State has kept to the projected timetable.

As an example, our State was allotted $50,000 in matching funds for the first full year of comprehensive planning, but the planning process was slow in getting underway and more than $31,000 of the $50,000 had to be returned to the Federal Government unexpended.

We are in danger of having the same thing happen to the funds that have been appropriated for the construction of mental health centers. A total of $35 million was appropriated for use nationally during fiscal 1965—but, knowing that such programs take time to develop, the Congress made the funds available for a period of two consecutive years.

Rhode Island's allocated 1965 share was $156,014 and our matching percentage is approximately 50 percent. Thus, to build a comprehensive community mental health center in Rhode Island, the State and community would need provide only half the cost.

But the process does take time; an application for funds cannot be developed overnight. We have only a little more than six months now until the first funds will be lost to us. A year and a half has passed since this money first became available. Why have we not succeeded in using it?

The construction program as authorized in the Centers Act is to cover three years and, just as for the first year, each year's funds will be available for two years. Already the 1966 funds have been appropriated and our allocated share is $225,920.

But specific recommendations regarding sources, methods and levels of financing a mental health program to take advantage of our opportunities in this area are lacking altogether in the Rhode Island comprehensive plan. These must be provided—and soon—by the responsible State officials.

The plan does recommend the development of a model mental health law for Rhode Island to be submitted to the general assembly at its 1966 session. This, too, must be done: Rhode Island cannot continue to lag behind the 25 other States that have already enacted such legislation.

The Governor's council on mental health has recommended an extensive program for expanding mental health facilities in Rhode Island. The council's report also called for the establishment of several new institutions.

According to the council, an estimated 86,000 persons in the State were in need of some form of psychiatric care in 1960, and the council's prediction was that the number could increase to 94,200 by 1970. Last year, approximately 32,800 persons were treated in Rhode Island.

Although the council has not estimated specifically the cost of such an expanded program, it did say that a great deal of money would be involved. But a great deal of money is available to us, if we will only use it. The Government has told us it is ready and willing to match our funds—dollar for dollar in the construction of mental health centers—and it asks only a guarantee in the form of a viable State plan in return for this money.

To be eligible for these funds, as most of you know, a center must offer at least what are called the five essential mental health services: inpatient treatment, outpatient treatment, partial hospitalization, emergency services and consultation and education services. These criteria for centers are far from unreasonable—an emotionally disturbed person should be able to expect to find such services available to him, and close to his home.

Further, amendments to the Centers Act that were enacted this year to provide staffing assistance can help pay for the personnel providing these services during the first 51 months of a center's operation. And what is even more important, this staffing assistance is available to center programs that do not need to build new facilities; programs are eligible for assistance for any new service that they add that had not been provided before.

Here again, the Federal funds are not to be used to lessen the responsibility of the State or the community. They will be available on a declining basis as the center develops its own financial resources.

In the area of mental retardation, the situation is somewhat better; a mental retardation facilities plan for Rhode Island has been submitted to the Public Health Service. And this plan projects 13 facilities for communities in the State, based on a division of Rhode Island into four regions.

But you, as members of the Rhode Island Association for Mental Health, know that plans are nothing without execution. As members of one of the oldest mental health associations in America, you are aware that the Federal Government cannot be the complete rich uncle in providing for our State's needs—nor would you want it to be—and you are aware that your volunteer action cannot be the full action, either.

One of Rhode Island's greatest needs—perhaps her greatest need—is for informed, interested leaders who can recognize opportunity and seize it.

We have had such opportunities in the past, but the truth is that we have simply not taken adequate care of our mentally ill and mentally retarded fellows. We have not taken care of our disturbed children. We have not taken care of our troubled adolescents. We have often ignored mentally retarded children. We have not taken care of the aging citizens whose mental health may be failing. We have done less than our best for those with problems of alcoholism, of suicide, of drug addiction.

Of course, Rhode Island is a small State, but the problems of mental illness and mental retardation are proportionately no smaller in Rhode Island than in any other State. Frankly, I can see no excuse for the lack of action that has typified Rhode Island during the two years since passage of the 1963 legislation.

Our goals are clear. Of this, we can have no doubt. John F. Kennedy did not exclude Rhode Island when he sent his message on mental illness and mental retardation to the Congress in February of 1963. He said:

"This situation has been tolerated far too long."

In fact, as he continued in the message, his words could be used then—as they can today—as a specific indictment of Rhode Island.

The situation "has troubled our national conscience—" he said "—but only as a problem unpleasant to mention, easy to postpone, and desparing of solution."

In Rhode Island today we can no longer accept the unpleasantness of our situation as a reason for keeping quiet about the mentally afflicted.

In Rhode Island today we cannot postpone action simply because it is easy to do so.

In Rhode Island today we cannot despair of a solution—for we have the tools to fashion a solution. We have only to make use of those tools.

I cannot stand by, watching the other States move ahead of Rhode Island. I cannot allow my State to remain out of step in this National march against the afflictions of mental illness and mental retardation.

Unfortunately, the persons who suffer from these afflictions are unable to band together to demand the improvements, the assistance, the compassion they must have.

We must give voice to those demands for them. And I feel very strongly that this should be the primary task of the Rhode Island Association for Mental Health.

You and I together must make our Rhode Island leaders realize that they have not exercised the use of our modern knowledge, our modern prosperity, our modern benefits either to reduce the incidence of these maladies or to take enlightened and humane care of the persons who are suffering from them.

We are falling behind in Rhode Island. The qualities of leadership that will put us in our rightful place among all the States are vitally needed today. My fervent hope is that we shall soon see these qualities in action.

And my firm resolve is to continue my fight until that hope is realized. I urge you to join with me.

Viet's a Dollar War as Well as Shooting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the relationship between the war in Vietnam and our international investment is of major interest and concern to me. Ray R. Eppert, chairman of the board of Burroughs Corp. was recently interviewed for the Chicago Tribune by the economist Eliot Janeway. Mr. Eppert's responses to the questions put to him are clear, to the point, and worthy of the attention of every Congressman and Senator. Mr. Janeway's article follows:

VIET'S A DOLLAR WAR AS WELL AS SHOOTING

(By Eliot Janeway)

NEW YORK, May 4.—The normal rule of war is that it suspends business as usual. But now, it is all too clear that the normal rules of war don't apply in Viet Nam. Militarily, it's too small a war to get in the way of business as usual. But, financially, it's too costly a war to be allowed to get it in the way of business as usual. In fact, the rising cost of the war is putting America under pressure to beat the earning norms of business as usual. To finance the shooting war in Viet Nam, we need to keep our lead in the economic competition everywhere.

Napoleon sneered at England as "a nation of shopkeepers." But she beat him in the markets of the world—where we are on the defensive now. Money alone can't win a war, but lack of it can lose one. We are learning the hard way what the Chinese war lords meant over the years by "silver bullets."

The dollar bullets we are fighting with today are made of paper, and they do the job in the world power struggle that "silver bullets" used to do in the world of Fu Manchu—with immeasurably greater impact. To assess how we are doing as a nation of shopkeepers in a world of sharp traders, this column interviewed Ray Eppert, head of the world-wide Burroughs corporation, a pioneering veteran of the international economic competition.

PUNTING ON FIRST DOWN

Janeway. Do you agree with present recommendations aimed at pulling back our investment operations—by limitations on investment, not only overseas but here at home, and by tax increases?

Eppert. I do not. I don't think that there is much difference between athletic competition and economic competition. No football team ever wins by punting on first down. No country ever scores in the marketplace by trying to earn less. I hope that we will try to earn more from our exports and foreign operations. The only way we can do this is to invest more in overseas markets, not less.

Janeway. How do you explain the failure of intelligent men to agree on such a sound and simple American objective?

Eppert. We have had things so easy in this country that we have failed either to recognize or to implement the rule that is standard operating practice in every other country doing well—that every country has two economies, one for domestic operations and the other for international competition. The "two-economy" rule requires two monetary policies, one for our domestic economy and the other to maximize world trade. We are in trouble because we are trying to make the same policy fit both sets of problems. Actually, if we were earning more abroad, we would be under less pressure to cut back at home.

TWO-PRIORITY ACTIONS

Janeway. What is your prescription for curing our overseas earnings complaints?

Eppert. There are quite a number of actions which are urgently needed, and I think that there are two which should be given high priority.

Janeway. What are they?

Eppert. The first is action to recognize that our external economy must have special and consistent treatment, and not be subjected to or affected by every domestic breeze or whim. Secondly, the way to achieve our objective of international "equilibrium" is by selling our way to proper balance.

Janeway. Are you saying that we must not only continue to invest overseas, but also increase direct exports from this country?

Eppert. Right. And this requires us to do as well by our exporters as other governments are doing by theirs. Our banking system needs a new arm—for extending credit on export orders at an export prime interest rate. Businesses can't tie up their working capital by financing exports to the detriment of their domestic credit, and the average businessman will not get involved in exports if he has to negotiate individual loan projects in Washington. Export financing needs to be routed thru the commercial banks, and the banks should be able to rediscount this paper in Washington at a discount rate established for exports. This would be similar to the banking discount privilege with the federal reserve on domestic paper, except that the time periods would be considerably longer. Such a simple procedure would create and promote incentive to export, and would help greatly to solve the problem of selling America into a proper international monetary balance.

Janeway. In essence, you are saying that the time is overdue for America to get off the defensive by taking the initiatives which its position justifies and requires.

Parcel Post Wrapped in a Crazy-Quilt of Regulations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Alan Emory recently appeared in Anderson, S.C., Daily Mail:

[From the Anderson (S.C.) Daily Mail Mar. 16, 1966]

PARCEL POST WRAPPED IN A CRAZY-QUILT OF REGULATIONS

(By Alan Emory, North American Alliance)

Washington.—A business firm in Buffalo, the second largest city in New York State, cannot mail a parcel post package weighing 21 pounds to Jersey City, the second largest city in New Jersey, because the two cities are more than 150 miles apart.

A resident of Wainwright, Alaska, population 253, above the Arctic Circle, however, 4,200 miles from Buffalo, may order three items that were too heavy for the Buffalo-Jersey City mailing, having them put in one carton and mailed by parcel post by the Buffalo firm.

Mrs. Lawrence F. O'Brien, wife of the postmaster general, recently wrapped a gift for her sister-in-law, a resident of Westfield, Mass., and brought it to a Washington, D.C.; post office, gave it to a clerk and asked for the postage amount.

The clerk looked at the 20-pound package a moment, pulled out a tape measure and measured it, found it was 14 inches wide, 14 inches deep and 23 inches long.

"Sorry," said the clerk, "we can't accept it," and he pulled out a copy of the postal regulations to back his argument.

Mrs. O'Brien pointed out someone had mailed a larger package to an address at Hampden, Mass., less than 10 miles from Westfield.

"Well, it's easy to explain," said the clerk. "Westfield is a first-class office; Hampden is a second-class office.".

Then Postmaster O'Brien heard about the quick-switch post office.

Mailings were large enough to advance it to first-class status July 1, 1961. This led to restrictions on the size of parcels that could be mailed, and office revenues dropped so fast that by July 1, 1963, it had been reduced to second class again.

A local company recommended widespread mailing, and revenue rose so fast the office was advanced to first-class status again last July 1.

Customer reaction has varied from "indignation" to "disgust" to "anger" to "frustration" to "typical government logic."

One postmaster commented it was "a hardship for Grandma wanting to send a tricycle and can't because it is 'too big.' "

This kind of thing happens "literally millions of times a year," according to O'Brien.

Even though nearly 750,000,000 parcels are mailed annually, he says, an estimated 20,000,000 potential patrons are turned away from mailing more packages because of present restrictions.

A manufacturer in Tucson, Ariz., cannot send an item weighing 70 pounds and measuring 100 inches in Helena, Mont., which has a population of more than 20,000, but he can mail it to Silver Bow, Mont., with fewer than 5,000 residents.

A Dallas businessman can mail an item of similar size to nearby villages and hamlets, but not to buyers in larger cities like Omaha, Neb.; Kansas City, Kansas, or Bradford, Pa.

O'Brien's files are full of cases like that of the couple from Hammond, La., who wanted to mail identical 25-pound Christmas packages to their two sets of parents. The husband's parents reside in Baton Rouge, and there was no problem. His wife's live in Shreveport, but weight and size restrictions blocked that mailing.

The Post Office Department says that it operated a uniform parcel post system before a 1951 law, with packages less than 70 pounds and 100 inches eligible for mailing anywhere in the country.

It blames the "precarious financial position of the Railway Express Agency" for the 1951 restrictions. Rural areas, which did not get much R.E.A. business, could keep the old limits, but shipments between first-class offices were limited to 20 pounds and 72 inches if they were more than 150 miles apart and 40 pounds and 72 inches if less than 150 miles apart.

The postal system, according to the postmaster general, "is serving to block and to constrict an important area of commerce."

He pointed out to Congress this week that while the economy was expanding about 50 per cent between 1953 and 1965, the volume of parcel-post mailings dropped from 6,000,000,000 pounds to 4,300,000,000.

The villain of the piece is that 1951 law that placed the current restrictions on parcel post, and O'Brien maintains "the public paid excessively for the adverse effects . . . too many patrons have been turned away from the only small-package service available to them."

Ironically, according to Deputy Postmaster Gen. Frederick G. Belen, the restrictions have hit the farmer and rural areas hardest of all. Congress was most concerned about the farmer back in 1912, when it put the parcel post system into effect.

O'Brien wants Congress to pass a law setting uniform limits of 40 pounds and 100 inches for packages mailed from one first-class post office to another, higher parcel post and catalog rates, simplified postal computations and a parcel-post service that is self-sustaining.

President Johnson has told the postmaster general he wants to see a marked improvement in the quality of postal service.

O'Brien says that in the past 14 years farmers and businessmen have been forced to pay more than half a billion dollars to ship small parcels to provide "a privileged sanctuary to one company, the Railway Express Agency."

Joint AFL–CIO Maritime Union Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the testimony of Mr. Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union of North America, before the House Committee on Government Operations, of which I am a member, on H.R. 13200, to create a Department of Transportation.

Mr. Hall's statement follows:

Joint AFL–CIO Maritime Union Position on Proposals To Create a Department of Transportation and To Make the Maritime Administration an Independent Agency

(Presented by Paul Hall, president, Seafarers International Union of North America, before the House Committee on Government Operations, Washington, D.C., May 19, 1966)

My name is Paul Hall. I am the president of the Seafarers International Union of North America but the views I am about to express today, with respect to the proposed Department of Transportation, represent the views of all AFL–CIO maritime unions affiliated with the AFL–CIO Maritime Trades Department, the AFL–CIO Metal Trades Department and the AFL–CIO Maritime Committee.

I am therefore here today as a spokesman for virtually all of American maritime labor—both licensed and unlicensed.

Moreover, I might add that other AFL–CIO transportation unions in the airline, railroad and highway carrier fields have endorsed the views I am about to present, and have pledged us their support, just as we in turn have pledged our support to their respective positions regarding the Department of Transportation.

I might also add that certain of our views, as I will note later in this presentation, have been endorsed by the full AFL–CIO, so that with respect to these views we carry into these hearings the support of the entire organized American labor movement.

Now with respect to the Department of Transportation, I shall not attempt here to discuss all of the proposals made by the President in the Transportation Message which he sent to the Congress last March 2nd.

Discussions of those proposals which relate to other modes of transportation—air, rail and highway—I shall leave to the appropriate persons in those fields, and I shall confine my discussion to those proposals which relate directly to the maritime industry.

To begin with, I might note that the President's Transportation Message, while calling for the inclusion of the Maritime Administration in the Department of Transportation, and while setting forth a number of general proposals for improving water transportation, leaves unanswered many basic questions regarding maritime's position in the proposed department.

I might also note that the identical legislation which has been introduced in the Senate and House to implement the President's recommendations—S. 3010 by Senator Magnuson and H.R. 13200 by Congressman Holifield—similarly leave unanswered the same basic questions.

Neither the Transportation Message, in fact, nor the legislation which is now being considered by this committee, is specific about maritime's position in the new department, about the functions and duties of the Maritime Administration within the department, or about what future Federal maritime policy will be—a matter with which maritime labor is extremely concerned.

In fact, if one studies the proposed structure of the Department of Transportation, as reported by the *Congressional Quarterly* of March 25, 1966, and appended here as *Exhibit No. 1*, one will note that all we really have here is a brief sketch of a new and mammoth Federal department within which the present Maritime Administration could very easily become lost in a bureaucratic maze.

The chart indicates, for example, that the proposed department will have a Secretary, an Undersecretary, four Assistant Secretaries (one of whom will be an Assistant Secretary for Administration) and a General Counsel. But the functions of these officers are not delineated, nor are the lines of communication and responsibility between them and maritime clearly drawn.

What, in other words, is the channel of communication between maritime, at the bottom of this structure, and the Assistant Secretaries, Undersecretary, Secretary, and finally the President himself, at the top? Neither the chart, the Transportation Message nor the proposed legislation makes this clear.

Nor do either the Transportation Message or proposed legislation make clear a number of other matters. The President stated in his Transportation Message that the proposed department would embrace the Maritime Administration, but there is no clear indication in either the message or the legislation as to how the Maritime Administration will be constituted, what policies it will promote, or how much independence it will have in the promotion of these policies.

Certainly, with regard to policy, all of our past experience has taught us that whenever jurisdiction over maritime affairs has been delegated to Federal departments or agencies whose primary concern has *not* been the merchant marine, the merchant marine has suffered, and with it the nation which should be the beneficiary of the contributions which the merchant marine can make to its commerce and secruity.

This has been true whenever maritime affairs have been in the hands of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Defense, the Department of State or other Federal Departments and agencies. It is true in the present instance, in which the Maritime Administration occupies a subordinate position within the Department of Commerce, and there is every reason to believe it would be true in the Department of Transportation, particularly since the role of the Maritime Administration is not clearly defined, nor are the lines of responsibility clearly drawn.

In light of this we feel very strongly that maritime would be completely swallowed up within the mammoth, complex structure of the proposed department, that maritime concerns would be shunted aside or pigeonholed in a bureaucratic web, and that no proper representation would be given to maritime's interests which in many respects are far different from those of other forms of transportation.

The merchant marine, it must always be remembered, differs from other modes of transportation—except possibly the airlines—in that its operations are international in scope. In a sense, it is a political instrument, as well as an economic instrument and an instrument of our national defense, and each of these roles must be given its full share of consideration in the determination of maritime policy and the administration of maritime affairs.

In the proposed Department of Transportation, we strongly feel, none of these roles of the merchant marine would be given their full and proper consideration, and neither the best interests of the merchant marine nor the nation would be served.

The merchant marine, we believe, would have a far better chance for survival and growth if its affairs were under the jurisdiction of a Federal agency whose sole concern was maritime.

For this reason, we strongly oppose inclusion of the Maritime Administration in the Department of Transportation and urge that the Maritime Administration be removed from the Department of Commerce and reestablished as an entirely independent and autonomous agency. And in this position, I might note, we are not only being supported by other AFL–CIO transportation unions, but by the entire AFL–CIO which endorsed the concept of an independent Maritime Administration in Resolution No. 217 unanimously adopted at the AFL–CIO convention in San Francisco in December of last year, and appended as *Exhibit No. 2*.

Our reasons for favoring an independent and autonomous Maritime Administration are as follows:

1. The Maritime Administration now has no independent power and must compete with other programs administered by the Department of Commerce. Thus, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 has not been properly administered and the inevitable result has been the decline of the American merchant marine. Putting Marad in a Department of Transportation would not alter this situation.

2. The creation of an independent agency to administer this country's maritime laws would focus greater attention on our decaying fleet, and the ultimate objective of revitalizing the industry and enabling the United States to meet its foreign commerce needs and defense commitments pursuant to the policy set forth in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

3. The present structure of the agency constitutes an inconsistency in government organization since, whereas the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 created the Federal Aviation Agency, thus giving independent status to aviation, the promotional activities of the merchant marine—as well as administration of the subsidy program—were buried within the Department of Commerce by Reorganization Plan No. 7 of 1961. Also, subsidy functions of the Civil Aeronautics Board are *not* to be included in the new Department of Transportation but the maritime subsidy functions *will* be included.

4. The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 provided for a five-man independent Maritime Commission, to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The Commission functioned independently and conducted a survey which resulted in a long-range program of shipbuilding designed to provide some 500 new ships over a ten-year period. It was during this time that the "C" type vessel was designed for the carriage of cargo, and the passenger liner *S.S. America* was built. During the Commission's existence, between 1936 and 1950, an unprecented strengthening of our merchant marine took place.

5. The Maritime Subsidy Board cannot now function independently as intended by the Act of 1936 since its decisions are subject to review and veto by the Secretary of Commerce. An independent maritime agency, with a stronger and more independent Maritime Subsidy Board, would serve to cure these ills.

We are aware, of course, that some 11 different bills have already been introduced to make the Maritime Administration an independent agency, but while we favor the intent of these bills, we do not feel that any of them would provide us with the type of independent Maritime Administration which we really need. This is particularly true because none of the bills separate the quasi-judicial subsidy functions of the Maritime Administration from purely promotional and administrative functions and it is our strong feeling that the interests of the maritime industry would best be served by giving independence to the Maritime Subsidy Board.

The value of separating subsidy functions from other functions has already been recognized in other areas—as in the case of the CAB which we have just cited—and it is our strong feeling that subsidy determinations are so important to the maritime industry that those charged with the responsibility for these determinations should be absolutely free to reach their decisions on the basis of the merits of the case, without regard to other considerations and without the overriding of their decisions by some other person who may be influenced by other considerations.

For this reason, we have drafted our own proposed legislation calling for the establishment of an independent Federal Maritime

Agency, and a copy of this proposed bill is appended as *Exhibit No. 3*.

The manner in which our proposed bill would alter existing legislation is shown in *Exhibit No. 4*.

As can be seen from a study of these two exhibits, our proposed bill would not only establish an independent and autonomous Federal Maritime Agency, but within that agency the Maritime Subsidy Board would be a relatively independent body composed of the Maritime Administrator and two other members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Board would have complete and final authority to pass upon all matters related to construction and operating subsidies, and the affirmative votes of any two members of the Board would be sufficient for the disposition of any matter which comes before it. No single Board member, including the Maritime Administrator, in other words, would have the power to override the decisions of the other two Board members, nor would any other official.

The Maritime Administrator would also be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and he would be appointed with due regard for his fitness for the efficient discharge of the powers and duties vested in and imposed upon him by the bill. Previous employment by or previous pecuniary interest in any business or union associated with the maritime industry would not constitute a bar to appointment as Administrator. A Deputy Maritime Administrator, appointed by the Administrator under the classified civil service, is also provided for by our bill. The Deputy Administrator would at no time sit as a member or acting member of the Maritime Subsidy Board.

Thus, our bill would solve four of the most pressing problems now confronting the present Maritime Administration within the Department of Commerce:

1. It would establish a completely independent and autonomous Federal Maritime Administration.

2. It would establish a strong and independent Maritime Subsidy Board within the Maritime Administration, whose rulings would not be subject to veto by another agency or higher official.

3. By establishing such a Maritime Subsidy Board, it would separate within the Maritime Administration quasi-judicial subsidy matters from purely administrative and promotional matters. Yet a close liaison between the two functions would be maintained because the Maritime Administrator would be Chairman of the Board.

4. It would provide for the appointment of a strong Maritime Administrator who could devote a good portion of his time to promoting the merchant marine. Previous experience in the industry, either management or business experience, would not be a bar to his appointment as Administrator, and such experience could be considered as an asset.

EXHIBIT NO. 1

PRESENT STRUCTURE OF EXECUTIVE TRANSPORT AGENCIES

President:
- Interior Department.
  - Alaska Railroad.
- Commerce Department.
- U.S. Travel Service.
- St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation.
- Undersecretary for Transportation.
  - Great Lakes Pilotage.
  - Maritime Administration.
  - Bureau of Public Roads.
  - Emergency Transportation.
- General Services Administration.
- State Department.
- Housing and Urban Development Department.
- Treasury Department.
  - Coast Guard.
- Federal Aviation Agency.
- Defense Department.
  - MAC.
  - MSTS.
  - MTMTS.
  - Corps of Engineers.

PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

President:
- Secretary, Undersecretary.
  - Staff Offices.
  - National Transportation Safety Board.
  - General Counsel.
  - Assistant Secretary.
  - Assistant Secretary.
  - Assistant Secretary.
  - Assistant Secretary.
  - Assistant Secretary for Administration.
  - St. Lawrence Seaway Functions.
  - Rail Functions.
  - Highway Functions.
  - Maritime Functions.
  - Coast Guard Functions.
  - Aviation Functions.

EXHIBIT NO. 2

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE AND MARITIME POLICY: RESOLUTION NO. 217

(Text of American Merchant Marine & Maritime policy adopted by AFL-CIO convention)

Whereas, The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 sets forth the intent of Congress that the United States shall have an American-flag merchant fleet capable of carrying a substantial portion of our waterborne commerce and of serving as a naval or military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency.

Whereas, Despite the intent of the 1936 Act, our American-flag merchant marine has continued to decline in terms of the number of ships, in terms of the percentage of our cargoes carried by these vessels, and in terms of job opportunities for merchant seamen, shipbuilders and other workers in the maritime industry. As a result, the American merchant marine today cannot meet the criteria of the Merchant Marine Act; it is not adequate to fulfill its responsibilities as an arm of our national defense, a factor in our economy or as a productive symbol of America's position of world leadership.

Whereas, This is being most strikingly demonstrated in the current Viet Nam emergency in which, as a result of increased shipping needs, our Government has turned to foreign flag ships, not only to fulfill its commercial commitments, but to carry military cargoes as well.

Whereas, The decline of the American flag fleet has taken place largely because the executive departments and agencies of the Federal Governent have failed to implement the Congressional mandate set forth in the 1936 Act, and because budgetary expediencies, rather than national need, have been allowed to dominate maritime programs.

Whereas, The Soviet Union meanwhile—recognizing the importance of a strong merchant marine to its economic, political and strategic objectives—has been moving rapidly to control the oceans and trade routes of the world, and within a few years is expected to surpass the United States as a maritime power in all areas—passenger liners, freighters, dry bulk carriers and tankers.

Whereas, To meet this crisis in U.S. maritime, and to assure that this nation will have an adequate merchant marine, the President's Maritime Advisory Committee—consisting of representatives of labor, management and the public—has proposed a significant expansion of our merchant marine. Meanwhile, however, a so-called Interagency Maritime Task Force report, prepared by representatives of the same Federal departments and agencies which have been largely responsible for the decline of our fleet is being circulated.

Whereas, The Task Force Report outlines a program which is based primarily on budgetary considerations, calls for a restriction of our merchant marine, and the elimination of major existing safeguards of American flag shipping and shipbuilding. Proponents of the report have given strong evidence that they will attempt to have their views adopted by the President and the Congress as the new national maritime program which the President has indicated he will announce, probably some time early next year.

Resolved, the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of a strong U.S. flag merchant marine, citizen-owned, citizen-manned and American-built, adequate to the needs of our country in peace and in defense emergencies and, therefore:

1. Endorses the report of the President's Maritime Advisory Committee, calling for a significant expansion of the American flag merchant fleet.

2. Condemns the report of the Interagency Maritime Task Force as dictated only by shortsighted budgetary considerations and inadequate to the national need.

3. Calls for a Congressional investigation to determine the actual state of readiness of the U.S. naval and merchant fleets.

4. Calls for continued efforts to alert Congress to the Soviet maritime menace and to obtain revitalization of the American-flag fleet as rapidly as possible to meet this threat.

5. Calls upon the State Department to re-evaluate its position and support legislation to bar from U.S. commerce foreign-flag vessels which have been trading with North Viet Nam.

6. Calls upon the President and the Congress to resist and reject pressures to eliminate the requirement that at least 50% of the wheat and other grains sold to the Soviet nations be carried in American-flag ships and to assure strict enforcement of all cargo preference requirements.

7. Calls upon the President and the Congress to reject any "Built Abroad" philosophy regarding the building of American-flag merchant vessels and to preserve and strengthen regulations designed to safeguard American-flag, American-built shipping.

8. Supports a naval construction program in U.S. shipyards to assure our continued superiority as the world's leading naval power.

9. Calls for legislation to extend the jurisdiction of the NLRB to cover the crews of runaway-flag vessels in American commerce.

10. Calls for continued efforts to alert Congress and the public to the need for protecting the passengers and crews from hazardous conditions such as existed on the ill-fated *Yarmouth Castle* and calls on Congress to enact pending legislation to reserve cruise operations out of U.S. ports to American-flag vessels, unless unavailable, and to regulate any participation of foreign-flag vessels in these trades by requiring them to comply with U.S. safety standards.

11. Calls upon Congress and the appropriate Federal departments and agencies to enact and implement such measures as will restore the domestic merchant fleet, including those vessels in the coastwise and intercoastal trades, on the Great Lakes, and on our rivers and inland waterways and reaffirm our opposition to any attempt to destroy the protection afforded to domestic shipping by the Jones Act.

12. Supports legislation presently pending in Congress to protect our fishing industry, by extending our present territorial limits from the present three miles to twelve miles.

13. Urges the Government to exert its efforts to bring about early ratification by such nations as are necessary to put into full force and effect the Convention on Fishing and Conserving the Living Resources of the High Seas, as adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva, Switzerland, February 4, to April 27, 1958.

14. Calls for introduction in Congress of legislation to increase U.S. carriage of our waterborne foreign commerce to the level called for by the Maritime Advisory Committee and support the building in U.S. yards of an adequate number of vessels to achieve this purpose.

15. Affirms our opposition to runaway flag operations and calls for the complete scrapping of the so-called "effective control" con-

cept, and any policies placing reliance on foreign flag ships for the vessel strength essential to U.S. defense and economic requirements.

16. Supports moves to re-establish the Maritime Administration as an independent agency, outside of the Department of Commerce, and to centralize the administration of the cargo preference laws in the Maritime Administration.

17. Supports members of Congress who favor a stronger merchant marine and calls upon the Committee on Political Education of the AFL–CIO to cooperate in this endeavor by including votes on maritime issues in their standards for determining support or opposition to Congressional candidates, and to urge the cooperation of local, central, and state bodies, as well as the various AFL–CIO departments, in order to achieve this objective.

EXHIBIT NO. 3

A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create the Federal Maritime Administration, Maritime Subsidy Board, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That was Act may be cited as "The Federal Maritime Act of 1966".

SEC. 2. Section 201 of title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 201. (a) There is hereby established an agency to be known as the Federal Maritime Administration, hereafter in this chapter referred to as the 'Administration', which shall be an independent agency not under any other department, agency, or instrumentality of the executive branch of the Government or under the authority of the head of any such department, agency, or instrumentality.

(b) (1) There shall be at the head of the Administration a Federal Maritime Administrator who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive compensation at the rate of $28,500 per annum. The Administrator shall be responsible for the exercise of all powers and the discharge of all duties of the Agency, with the single exception described in Section (3) of this Act. In the exercise of his duties and the discharge of his responsibilities the Administrator shall not submit his decisions for the approval of, nor be bound by the decisions or recommendations by any committee, board or other organization created by Executive order.

(2) The Administrator shall be a citizen of the United States, and shall be appointed with due regard for his fitness for the efficient discharge of the powers and duties vested in and imposed upon him by this chapter. Previous employment by or previous pecuniary interest in any business or union associated with the maritime industry shall not constitute a bar to appointment as Administrator.

"(c) There are hereby transferred to the Administration—

"(1) all functions of the Secretary of Commerce conferred upon him by Reorganization Plan Numbered 21 of 1950 and confirmed as being vested in him by section 202(a) of Reorganization Plan Numbered 7 of 1961.

"(2) all functions of the Secretary of Commerce transferred to him by section 202 (b) of Reorganization Plan Numbered 7 of 1961, except as hereunder provided.

(3) There shall be in the Administration a Deputy Maritime Administrator, who shall be appointed by the Administrator under the classified civil service and who shall perform such duties as the Administrator shall prescribe. The Deputy Maritime Administrator shall be Acting Maritime Administrator during the absence or disability of the Administrator. Such Deputy Administrator shall at no time sit as a member or acting member of the Maritime Subsidy Board.

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established the Maritime Subsidy Board, referred to in this chapter as the Board. The Board shall have complete and final authority to pass upon all matters related to construction differential and operating differential subsidy.

(b) There are hereby transferred to the Board—

"(1) all functions of the Secretary of Commerce transferred to him under section 105 (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) by Reorganization Plan Numbered 21 of 1950 and confirmed as being vested in him by section 202(b) of Reorganization Plan Numbered 7 of 1961.

(c) The Board shall be composed of: (1) the Federal Maritime Administrator, who shall serve as chairman; (2) two members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of five years, who shall receive compensation at the rate of $28,000 per annum. Of the members appointed under (2), one shall be appointed for a term expiring on June 30, 1970, and one for a term expiring on June 30, 1971. Their successors shall be appointed for terms of five years except that any person chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member of the Board whom he succeeds.

(d) A vacancy in the Board, so long as there shall be two members in office, shall not impair the power of the Board to execute its functions. Any two of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Board and affirmative votes of any two members of the Board shall be sufficient for the disposition of any matter which may come before the Board.

SEC. 4. So much of the personnel, property, records, and unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, and other funds employed, used, held, available, or to be made available, in connection with the functions transferred to the Federal Maritime Administration and Maritime Subsidy Board by the provisions of this Act as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget determines necessary, shall be transferred to the Federal Maritime Administration and Maritime Subsidy Board.

SEC. 5. Sections 201, 203, and 204 of part II of Reorganization Plan Numbered 21 of 1950, and part II and section 303(c) of Reorganization Plan Numbered 7 of 1961, are hereby superseded by this Act and the amendments made by this Act.

SEC. 6. Nothing in this Act or any of the amendments made by this Act shall be deemed to affect (1) the Federal Maritime Commission established by part I of Reorganization Plan Numbered 7 of 1961, or (2) any of the functions of such commission.

SEC. 7. This Act, and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect sixty days after enactment.

EXHIBIT NO. 4

COMPARISON OF PROPOSED AND PRESENT LEGISLATION: RE STATUS OF MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

BILL PROPOSED BY UNIONS	PRESENT LEGISLATION
1. *Federal Maritime Administration*	1. *Maritime Administration*
A. Autonomous agency (Sec. 2(a))	A. Agency within the Department of Commerce (1950 Reorganization Plan #21, Part II, sec. 201.)
B. Not under outside jurisdiction (Sec. 2(a))	B. Under the jurisdiction of Dept. of Commerce (#21, Sec. 201)
2. *Federal Maritime Administrator*	2. *Maritime Administrator*
A. Head of Federal Maritime Administration (Sec. 2(b) (1))	A. Head of the Maritime Administration (1961 Reorganization Plan #7, Part II, Sec. 201)
B. Appointed by President, by and with advice and consent of the Senate	B. Same (#7, Sec. 201)
C. Salary—$28,500 per annum (Sec. 2(b) (1))	C. Salary—$26,000 per annum (5 U.S.C.A. 2211(e) (89))
D. Responsible for exercise of all powers (Sec. 2(b) (1)) and discharge of all duties of the Administration except those conferred on the Maritime Subsidy Board (Sec. 2(b) (1))	D. Perform those duties prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce (#7, Sec. 201)
E. Final judgment—not bound by the decisions or recommendations of any other group. (Sec. 2(b) (1))	E. Final judgment vested in Secretary of Commerce (#7, Sec. 202)
F. U.S. citizen (Sec. 2(2))	F. No citizenship provision
G. Previous employment by or pecuniary interest in the maritime industry shall not bar appointment (Sec. 2(2))	G. Previous pecuniary interest in, or official relationship with water carrier, shipbuilder, contractor, or other firm, association, or corporation with whom the Maritime Administration may have business relations bar appointment (46 U.S.C.A. 1111(b))
3. *Functions of the F.M. Administrator*	3. *Functions of the Secretary of Commerce*
A. All functions of the Maritime Administration now under the Department of Commerce are transferred to the F.M. Administrator, i.e., making reports and filing accounts, making recommendations to Congress (Sec. 2(c) (1))	A. Same (#7, Sec. 202(a))
B. Maritime Administrator will have ultimate authority over all administrative functions related to the assembling of facts and statistics necessary to enable the Maritime Subsidy Board to consider and act upon applications for construction and operating differential subsidy (Sec. 2(c) (2))	B. Same (#7, Sec. 202(b))

EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

COMPARISON OF PROPOSED AND PRESENT LEGISLATION: RE STATUS OF MARITIME ADMINISTRATION—Continued

BILL PROPOSED BY UNIONS	PRESENT LEGISLATION
4. *Deputy Maritime Administrator*	4. *Deputy Maritime Administrator*
A. Appointed by the Administrator under the classified civil service (Sec. 2(3))	A. Appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, after consultation with the Maritime Administrator, under the classified civil service (#21, Sec. 203)
B. Performs duties prescribed by the Administrator (Sec. 2(3))	B. Same (#21, Sec. 203)
C. Acting Administrator during absence or disability of Administrator (Sec. 2(3))	C. Same (#21, Sec. 203)
D. May at no time sit as member or acting member of Maritime Subsidy Board (Sec. 2(3))	D. Permanent member of the Maritime Subsidy Board (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, D.O. 117, Sec. 2(.02), April 9, 1962)
5. *Maritime Subsidy Board*	5. *Maritime Subsidy Board*
A. Final authority to act on all construction and operational differential subsidy applications (Sec. 3(a))	A. Final decision and review of Maritime Subsidy Board's actions vested in Undersecretary of Commerce for Transportation (D.O. 117, Amendment 2, Sec. 7, Nov. 5, 1965)
1. Administers all phases of subsidy program now under control of Secretary of Commerce (Sec. 3(b)(1))	1. Administers all phases of subsidy program subject to above—does not have final decision (D.O. 117, Sec. 4)
B. Three member board	B. Three member board
1. F.M. Administrator-Chairman. Two other members appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of Senate (Sec. 3(c))	1. Maritime Administrator-Chairman, Deputy Administrator and General Counsel (D.O. 117, Amendment 1, Sec. 2(.02), June 25, 1962)
a. One member with term expiring June 30, 1970; second member's term expiring June 30, 1971 (Sec. 3(c))	a. No provision for length of term
b. Thereafter appointments shall be made for a five (5) year term. Vacancies will be filled only for the length of unexpired term. (Sec. 3 (c) & (d))	b. Vacancy, absence or disability of member filled by Comptroller, as acting member (D.O. 117, Amendment 1, Sec. 2 (.02))
2. Two members needed for quorum (Sec. 3(d))	2. Same.
3. Salary—$28,000 per annum (Sec. 3(c))	3. Salary—not specified—have G.S. civil service ratings
4. Concurring votes of two members shall be sufficient for disposition of any matter which may come before the Board (Sec. 3(d))	4. Same (D.O. 117, Sec. 2(.02))
6. *Federal Maritime Administration*	6. *Maritime Administration*
A. Ultimate control over funds allocated for its operations (Sec. 4)	A. Ultimate control over funds vested in Sec. of Commerce, who may transfer such funds to the Dept. of Commerce (#7, Sec. 303(c))

The 100th Anniversary of Prospect Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, next Sunday will mark the 100th year of Prospect Park—one of New York State's most popular. The park's history is a fascinating one—the development of which was hindered by the outbreak of the Civil War. Despite postponements in the growth and beautification of the land, Prospect Park was completed in 1871.

Today as those of us celebrating the centennial look back over the history of the park, we also look forward because Prospect Park is still growing.

The park will undergo a series of improvements beginning next month.

I would like to present for all my colleagues and particularly my fellow New Yorkers the following article by Sam Rubenstein which appeared in the Herald Tribune capsuling the history of Prospect Park and outlining the improvement program soon to be put into action:

(By Sam Rubenstein)

Prospect Park is 100 years old this year, and the Borough of Brooklyn plans to observe the centennial in a truly fitting fashion.

An executive committee of 29 distinguished men and women, under the chairmanship of Robert E. Blum, philanthropist and business executive, is working on plans for the Centennial Celebration to be held Sunday, May 29—just 100 years after the city of Brooklyn accepted plans for development of the 526-acre park.

The site for Prospect Park was purchased in 1859 from the Litchfield estate for $4 million, and in 1860, just as the Civil War began, the State Legislature passed an act authorizing creation of the park. James S. T. Stranahan was named president of the Board of Commissioners, a position he held until 1882. Lt. (later Gen.) Egbert L. Viele, an engineer associated with Olmstead and Vaux, the landscape artists who designed Central Park in Manhattan, was retained to lay out Prospect Park.

However, because of the Civil War the work was delayed and it wasn't until 1866 that the city of Brooklyn accepted the park plans. Much work still had to be done and it was not until 1871 that the park was completed.

Six of nine planned improvements for Prospect Park will begin next month, according to Borough President Abe Stark, and the other three will be started in March. Total estimated cost of the improvements is $2 million.

Included in the first group is the Children's Farm, to be built in the Prospect Park Zoo area. It contains a barn, a silo with an observation deck, a tree house, a pond spanned by a covered bridge, a poultry house, various animal shelters and a ring in which children may pet baby animals. The Children's Farm is a gift to the city by Abraham & Straus, which last year marked its own centennial.

Designed by Edward Coe Embury, who created the Lehman Childen's Zoo in Central Park, the Children's Farm will be built and maintained by the Parks Department. A & S has agreed to stock the farm with animals and fowl.

Other projects to be started next month and due for completion by summer are:

1. Rehabilitation of the Vale of Cashmere and the Rose Garden. The Vale of Cashmere was once a noted beauty spot of the park, a bower of leafy elegance with an attractive fountain. In recent years the area has been neglected, the fountain is in disuse and the former ornamental balustrades have been replaced by an iron fence. Plans call for restoring the Vale of Cashmere to its former glory.

2. Sprucing up the area east of the West Drive, between Flatbush Ave. and Seventh St.

3. A face-lifting for the Zoo area.

4. Rehabilitating the Parks Department maintenance buildings.

5. Rebuilding the wall of Prospect Park Lake.

Projects to get under way in March are:

1. Rehabilitation of the boathouse.

2. Sprucing up of the Litchfield Mansion, once the home of the family that owned the land where the park was established, and now the Brooklyn headquarters of the Parks Department.

3. Building of a comfort station near the Flatbush-Ocean Aves. junction.

The battle to restore Prospect Park to its one-time role as one of the nation's leading beauty and recreation centers was started about a year ago by civic leaders, with the full cooperation of Borough President Stark. Among those active in the campaign were Marianne Moore, Pulitzer Prize-winning poet, then Parks Commissioner Newbold Morris, Brooklyn Heights historians Maud Esther Dilliard and Clay Lancaster, Christopher Tunnard, Yale professor of city planning, and many others.

These, along with 11-year-old Debra Bostic, a Brooklyn school girl, went to City Hall on Feb. 23 last year to plead for funds for the park's rehabilitation. It was the first day of public hearings on the 1965-'66 capital budget by the Board of Estimate and the City Council Finance Committee.

Robert M. Makla, a trustee of the Park Slope Civic Council and chief coordinator of the campaign to rehabilitate the park, spoke for the group. He urged that funds be provided so that planning could be started immediately to have the improvements made in time for the park's centennial this year.

The city finally agreed to allot the funds and Mr. Stark's office after a survey designated nine projects to be started early this year.

Mr. Blum, who was named by Mr. Stark to head the Centennial Committee, is the son of the late Edward T. Blum, president of Abraham & Straus from 1930 to 1937. Mr.

Blum, who has been active for many years in the cultural and civic life of Brooklyn, selected a committee of distinguised citizens to work with him. He named as chairmen of subcommittees Francis P. Christy, resident of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences; John F. Heyke, president, Brooklyn Union Gas Co.; John C. Hilly, president, Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, and Morris Kirsch, president of Kirsch Beverages Inc. and chairman of the chamber's public relations committee.

Among projects being considered by the Centennial Committee are: Publication of a Prospect Park Handbook; a concert sponsored by the Guggenheim Foundation; exhibits by the Brooklyn Museum and the Brooklyn Public Library; erection of markers along the park's Indian trails; a photographic contest; centennial dinners; a parade and a pageant.

The design of Prospect Park became the model for many city parks throughout the country. Some of America's foremost architects, artists and sculptors contributed to its adornment, including Stanford White, Frederick MacMonnies, John H. Duncan, Frank J. Helmle and Thomas Eakins.

Many important and historic monuments are scattered throughout the park. One of them is the Maryland Memorial Monument, commemorating the stand of 400 Maryland soldiers who held the Hessians at bay to cover the retreat of Gen. George Washington and his army after the Battle of Long Island on Aug. 27, 1776.

The monument, designed by Stanford White, is a tall granite shaft erected in 1895 by the Maryland Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, to honor the 400 Marylanders who were wiped out during the rearguard action that permitted Washington and the main body of his troops to escape.

Another attraction of the park is the Lefferts Homestead, built by Lt. Peters Lefferts in 1777 to replace the house burned by the British. It was presented to the city in 1918 by his descendants and moved to the park from its original location at 563 Flatbush Ave.

Prospect Park has long been familiar to residents of the borough but this year's centennial celebration is expected to focus on it the attention of residents of the city's other boroughs and restore its popularity as one of the finest parks in Greater New York.

Maritime Labor Leader Celebrates National Maritime Day—A Few Days Early

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul Hall, president of both the Seafarers International Union and the AFL-CIO's maritime trades department celebrated National Maritime Day just like everybody else did. Although he started a few days earlier he celebrated like most everybody else did. He outlined the problems which beset the merchant marine of this country, and he sought to make sense out of the cloud of indecision which surrounds the Maritime Administration. A report of his comments before the House Merchant Marine Committee is contained in the May 19, 1966, issue of the Journal of Commerce, which follows:

FOR LACK OF AID FOR SHIPPING: HALL ASSAILS ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON, May 18.—Paul Hall, president of both the Seafarers International Union and the AFL–CIO's Maritime Trades Department, angrily attacked the Administration today for allegedly failing to support the merchant marine.

He singled out especially Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, who has repeatedly refused to offer further national security support for more merchant marine subsidies or assistance. Viet Nam has "exposed the inadequacy of our present merchant fleet," Mr. Hall told the House Merchant Marine Committee, and unless "we can batter past" Mr. McNamara's strongly-held views "we will live to regret it."

VIET POLICIES

"We Americans have something to be afraid of," Mr. Hall added, if the present merchant marine is indicative of the results of the application of other policies of the Administration and Mr. McNamara in Viet Nam.

Speaking nonstop for some two hours in his colorful and graphic style, Mr. Hall covered virtually every facet of the maritime picture, centering on a detailed attack on the government's interagency maritime task force report.

Nicholas Johnson, maritime administrator, and long a target of maritime labor and management attacks, came in for his share from Mr. Hall as well. Some of the Administration's various statistical analysis of the merchant fleet and what should be done, Mr. Hall said, "were not true" and were in other cases "insolent and presumptuous." The type of economics various Administration figures have indulged in, he added, have been an "insult to the Congress."

Mr. Hall—to be followed tomorrow by Thomas C. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, and at future hearings by Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, Shipbuilders Council of America and the Maritime Administrator—ticked off in detail the contrast between the interagency report and the industry-labor-public Maritime Advisory Committee (MAC) which SIU–MTD supports.

"* * * Our studies of the advisory committee and task force reports have convinced us that the advisory committee recommendations would result in a larger and more effective American flag merchant marine while the task force proposals would have the opposite effect."

Both reports were at the White House to be considered when—and if—a new shipping policy is ever formulated.

OTHER MATTERS

On other maritime matters, Mr. Hall commented:

1. British Seamen's Strike—Another example of the "danger" of U.S. reliance on foreign shipping. The work stoppage "could conceivably last for some period of time." He said Prime Minister Harold Wilson, head of the "alleged Labor Party," was taking a tough line against the National Union of Seamen which might prolong the strike.

2. Bulk Carriers—Development of a fleet of modern bulk carriers under U.S. flag was a "must" and only under the MAC program was it possible.

3. Viet Nam Congestion—"Nothing has has been done to correct" the basic problems associated with the extensive delays, despite recent Defense Department testimony. The "situation is still bad."

4. Declining State of Merchant Fleet—Was blamed on "failure to enforce existing legislation."

PUBLIC RELATIONS

5. Maritime-Public Relations—Maritime, including labor, "has probably done the worst job" of any industry in making the public aware of its value to the economy. Attacks upon it the past year have helped bring its usually-warring factions closer together.

6. Fast Deployment Logistic Ships—The costly Navy FDL program "doesn't represent any logic at all." Better to put the money—roughly estimated at $700 million to start with—into building active commercial merchant ships which would be working, earning exchange and be available for an emergency.

His concluding point on Mr. McNamara was that he did not quarrel with Mr. McNamara's activity as an administrator and manager of fact and argument—"he does cut your throat rather nicely"—"my criticism is of his judgment."

The shipping industry has been upset—to no avail—with Mr. McNamara since 1962 when he said there was no further military justification for subsidizing construction of huge new passenger ships.

The 48th Anniversary of Armenian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, May 28, 1966, Americans of Armenian descent throughout the United States and their compatriots all over the globe will pause to celebrate the 48th anniversary of Armenian independence.

After 600 years of foreign domination, the courageous Armenians, although small in number and limited in resources, threw off the yoke of their oppressors and declared their independence from the Ottoman empire. But this precious independence was destined to be short lived, for the newborn Armenian Republic was brutally partitioned less than 2 years later by Russia and Turkey.

Today, historic Armenian lands are in the hands of Turkey and Communist Russia and the independence of Armenia remains an unresolved question.

On April 30, 1966, the delegation of the Armenian Republic, located in Paris, France, submitted a memorandum for the solution of the Armenian case to the United Nations, to the Presidents, the Prime Ministers, the Foreign Ministers, and the Embassies of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, India, and other leading nations in the world.

The gallant Armenians have struggled unceasingly and have died willingly over the turbulent centuries to preserve their nation and their Christianity, and to keep alive the hope for a free and independent Armenia. Their struggle shall continue unabated until the territorial integrity of Armenia is restored, and Armenian independence is recognized and upheld by the freedom-loving nations of the world.

His Eminence, Richard Cardinal Cushing, archbishop of Boston and honorary president of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, delivered an address last month on the occasion of the 51st anniversary of Armenian Memorial Day. In his speech, Cardinal Cushing recognized the Armenian claim as the "oldest unresolved grievance on the agenda of world business" and charged the United Nations to effect a just solution for the Armenians in order to right the wrongs of the past and to demonstrate to the world that international justice is not merely an empty, meaningless phrase.

It is my pleasure to include in the Congressional Record the full text of Cardinal Cushing's remarks, which follow:

Address of His Eminence, Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston and Honorary President of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, on the Occasion of Armenian Memorial Day, April 24, 1966

April 24th is Armenian Memorial Day. On this day in 1915 the Turkish Government began the first genocide in modern times, massacring one million Armenian civilians and driving out of their historic homeland five hundred thousand more under incredibly inhuman conditions. These numbers become all the more appalling when one realizes that this represented virtually the entire Armenian population in Turkey proper. When we add to this wanton sacrifice of human life the billions of dollars of Armenian property confiscated or destroyed, including the invaluable contributions of the oldest Christian civilization in the world, the true enormity of this horrendous crime is revealed.

But April 24 is more than a day of mourning and remembrance. It is the day on which the Armenian people remind the world that its legal and historic right to sovereignty remain violated. The Treaty of Sevres, signed by Turkey on the one hand and by Armenia and their Allied powers on the other, recognized the independence of the Republic of Armenia within the boundaries therein defined by President Woodrow Wilson.

In 1920 the combined military forces of Communist Russia and Turkey, in violation of this Treaty, overthrew this outpost of democracy. Today a portion of Armenia remains a captive nation under Communist Russian domination and the remainder is illegally retained by Turkey.

As Pope John the XXIII said in his Encyclical Pacem in Terris, "The rights of men and governments stem not solely from human consent but from the design of the Creator." Therefore, the crime of 1915, further compounded by the crime of 1920, stand in violation of the design of the Creator and the inalienable rights of the Armenian people.

The United Nations was established as an international instrument to create a climate for world peace through international justice. The United Nations cannot fulfill its world mission unless its encourages the hopes of mankind by proving that it is truly a forum providing a peaceful redress on the legitimate grievances of all people.

The Armenian claims as the oldest unresolved grievance on the agenda of the world business stands today as a test case, the just solution of which will enhance the prestige of the United Nations and encourage all peoples to seek a peaceful consideration of world problems.

It is my earnest hope and prayer that the United Nations, and all people of good will, will join to bring a justice long delayed to the Armenian people, the worthy descendants of an ancient and noble civilization.

Now is the time for all nations of good will to prove that international justice, self determination, and peace are more than words, that they form the sound and sincere foundation of each government's international policy.

Navy League Commends Rear Adm. Herman J. Kossler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my personal congratulations to Rear Adm. Herman J. Kossler, commander, Mine Force, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, as he departs for a new assignment in the Philippines Command.

During his tour of duty in South Carolina, he endeared himself to many of our citizens and especially earned the admiration and affection of members of the Navy League. His distinguished work will be long remembered and he and his charming family will be sorely missed. His warmth and personal attention to detail reflects well on the high standards of the Navy. Typical of the tributes being paid to this outstanding officer is a letter written to Secretary Nitze by the Honorable Joseph P. Riley, Charleston civic leader and president of the Navy League of South Carolina. Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks to the Appendix of the Record, I include Mr. Riley's letter.

May 24, 1966.

The Honorable Paul H. Nitze,
Secretary of Navy, Department of Navy, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C.

Dear Honorable Nitze: I am enclosing a letter that was written this date to Rear Adm. Herman J. Kossler, who is commander, Mine Force, U.S. Atlantic Fleet.

We, in the Navy League, feel that the Secretary of Navy should know our sentiments about Admiral Kossler.

Yours very truly,
Navy League of the United States,
Joseph P. Riley, *President.*

Rear Adm. Herman J. Kossler, *U.S. Navy, Commander, Mine Force, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, Charleston Naval Base, Charleston, S.C.*

Dear Admiral Kossler: As President of the Navy League of South Carolina I would like to express to you the sentiments from the various councils in our State for the wonderful job that you have done for the Navy as head of the Mine Force.

The Navy I know is very proud of having such a distinguished Officer as you in her Navy and South Carolina is certainly going to feel the loss in you being transferred to the Philippines command.

Never in my life have I ever had the pleasure of meeting such a wonderful person as you and such a charming wife and wonderful children. You are an asset to the Navy and a model father and husband.

We in the Navy League of the United States, are looking forward to the day that you will be able to come back to our State in uniform or retired.

Yours very truly,
Navy League of the United States,
Joseph P. Riley, *President.*

Steven Klein's Essay on "Democracy—What It Means to Me"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to revise and extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein an excellent VFW prize-winning essay entitled "Democracy—What It Means to Me," by my young and valued friend, of whom I am so proud, Steven Klein, of Hudson, Mass.

This able young student won this honored prize in keen competition and personally appeared at a representative anniversary dinner and reception of the Hudson, Mass. post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, an event which I attend every year.

I again heartily congratulate this outstanding young man, his parents and family and his teachers and school, St. Michaels High School, for his splendid achievement and wish for him continued good health, every measure of good fortune and success and choicest blessings of happiness and peace always.

He is a fine young American, who well knows the meaning of democracy because he has given time, attention and study to this question. Hence, he is knowledgeable in the things that make for good, loyal citizenship and praiseworthy patriotism based upon solid constructive values and recognition and appreciation of fundamental American principles.

I know this young man is going to be very successful and I want to express my personal pride in him and his achievements. It is young men like Steven Klein, who in this day of confusion, rebellion, and upset in some places, are holding firm to the basic truths of our way of life, and working intelligently and vigorously to reach their goals. I have every confidence that this capable young man will reach his goals.

The essay follows:

Democracy—What It Means to Me

(By Steven Klein)

Unfortunately, democracy is only a word. It has no magical powers nor is it a formula for instant prosperity. It's the conscientious, educated citizen that makes the concept of democracy into more than just a word but a way of life. There are such people in the United States, today. Even though the term patriotism isn't used too often anymore that is exactly what I'd call these people, the true patriots of this age. Without them, democracy, as we know it, couldn't exist. They make it possible for freedom to be passed down from one generation to the next as a treasured heritage.

Along with the great number of rights and privileges democracy makes possible, there is also a certain amount of responsibility that accompanies them. Safeguarding our rights and those of the free world is the most important. Most of us here are too young to pick up a rifle and go off to war. Even so, there is an equally or even more challenging problem facing everyone here in the United States. At least the minority of chronic protestors and the enemies on other shores can be singled out and seen. Within our own nation there is an enemy that is never seen until it is too late. He's the one who turns his back while draft cards are torn up, our flag is disgraced, and peoples' rights are ignored. This person never thinks of himself as an enemy but he IS. The dissenting minority will never be able to affect the course of our nation as long as the rest of the people show we care about our country and don't just hope that someone else cares for us! This tendency to stand by and watch as history is made is the most dangerous obstacle in the way of the progress of the United States and the free world as well.

So you see, our role in democracy is to accept our responsibilities, live up to them, and always be prepared to defend our nation against any group which seeks, like termites, to eat away the very foundation our freedom and rights are based on.

We can best be prepared for our responsibilities as a citizen, now, and as a voter in a few years, by acquiring as much knowledge as we possibly can. This certainly doesn't mean only what we're taught in school. It definitely helps but it's not nearly enough. It's very important that we learn what is happenning in the world around us and even more necessary, why it is happening. Only with an understanding of our swiftly changing world can a person hope to be ready to accept the greatest and mightiest responsibility of democracy, the right to vote. In a few years most of us will be able to vote. The majority will meet the challenge, some won't. I mentioned the person who neglects his responsibility as being a threat to the existence of democracy. Here is why, If more would rather stand by and not be concerned than vote, then it is possible that a minority of extremists could become the majority of voters. The ones who allowed it to happen would finally receive a rude awakening but it would be much too late. Even worse, if a person doesn't understand who he is voting for or why, then his lack of knowledge may cancel the vote of another, more responsible, citizen.

Education is certainly the answer and democracy guarantees it to every person of any age. The problem is to get everyone to take advantage of this tremendous benefit and get the most out of it. Democracy's greatest right is the privilege of being able to vote as to how you want your country run and the man who guides it in its inevitable course.

I intend to be ready to do my part to insure a free, democratic nation, and I am sure all of you will be also!

Sumter Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC, retired, to the Sumter Guard at the Francis Marion Hotel in Charleston, S.C., on May 18, 1966.

General Hittle has a distinguished military career. Among other assignments, he served as Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs under Secretary Gates. In addition to being the Director of National Security and Foreign Affairs for the Veterans of Foreign Wars, he is a noted military writer in his own right.

He paid tribute to the famous Sumter Guard in Charleston, S.C., on May 18, but he also expressed his high regard and admiration for the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, my distinguished colleague and personal friend, the Honorable Mendel Rivers.

I think General Hittle spoke for all military personnel and millions of other American citizens when he said that Mendel Rivers is a man "who serves his country and the cause of freedom well."

I commend his remarks to all Members and I certainly agree that trying to act as a substitute speaker for Mendel Rivers is an impossible assignment. But General Hittle's remarks were appropriate, well considered, and very well received.

The address follows:

Excerpts From Remarks of Brigadier General James D. Hittle, USMC (Ret.) Director, National Security and Foreign Affairs Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Before the Sumter Guards at the Francis Marion Hotel in Charleston, S.C., May 18, 1966

This is, for me, indeed a privilege to be with you this evening. I am glad to be here for at least two reasons:

First, to join with you in paying tribute to the services, the tradition, and the spirit that have characterized the Sumter Guards during its long and exemplary existence.

Second, to be able to pay tribute to a distinguished son of South Carolina, your neighbor, your friend and mine, a man who serves his country and the cause of freedom well—the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives.

However, at the outset of my remarks, I should tell you very frankly that I have one reservation with respect to appearing on this platform this evening. It is this: Although I was indeed honored to be invited to speak after Chairman Rivers regretfully found it impossible for him to be with you, I am realist enough to recognize that the mere fact that I consented to be a substitute for such a national leader, statesman, and orator cannot help but create in your mind at least a shadow of a doubt as to my tactical and forensic judgment.

Never before in my life have I more acutely understood the full meaning of the old adage—"the role of an understudy is not an enviable one."

I know that it is not necessary for me to speak to you people of Charleston concerning the services of Chairman Rivers. I have already, in my short time in your lovely city found out that one does not have to go far in any direction in Charleston to see evidence of the contributions of Chairman Rivers to the betterment of the First Congressional District of South Carolina.

And, I can also tell you from firsthand knowledge that wherever you go throughout this Free World today you will likewise see the contributions of Mendel Rivers to the security of the Free World and the United States in its struggle for survival against Communist aggression.

Last fall it was my privilege, in company with Mr. Andy Borg, National Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, to visit U.S. military activities in the Western Pacific and the battle-fronts in South Vietnam. It so happens that your Congressman from this First Congressional District of South Carolina had preceded us to that area of the world by a few days.

I would like to report to you that wherever we went in the Western Pacific and in Vietnam—from Japan to our great forward base of Okinawa, on down the island chain to South Vietnam, and on into Thailand where another war is now beginning, there was one bit of news that was given us on arrival at each place. It was, "Mendel Rivers was just here."

And, I can tell you also that wherever your Congressman went—whether it was to the headquarters in Saigon or to an out-post in the embattled Delta, to the combat areas of the coastal plains or in the high hill country, he carried with him messages of encouragement and assurances of support for our fighting men. I can say to you in all sincerity, there are all too few persons who can inspire and raise the spirits of our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines as can Chairman Rivers. The reason, in brief, is that they know he is aware of their problems. He knows what they deserve and they know that he will fight for their interests.

They know that Chairman Rivers is the serviceman's friend.

The importance of believing in things and fighting for those things in which we believe requires no detailed explanation at this gathering of the Sumter Guards. The history of your organization is really an object lesson in the virtues and benefits of strong men having strong beliefs for which they are willing to fight and to die.

Such men and such an organization are indeed precious treasures for any nation. They are precious because, like all things of great value, they are unfortunately too rare.

I do not mean to say that we do not have abundant bravery and dedication among our citizens today. The courage of those who are fighting the good fight in Vietnam, manning the ramparts of freedom throughout the world, and those at home who are supporting them, demonstrate that the essential character of the American people is still intact.

But what I am saying is that at a time when U.S. fighting men are dying to protect freedom, when the Free World and the United States are besieged by relentless Red aggression, the sad spectacle of sit-ins, protests, and draft card burners underlines the fact that what we need more of in this country at this time is the spirit of the Sumter Guards.

The long-haired, the weak-kneed, and the faint-hearted who today call for coalition in Vietnam—a withdrawal of U.S. forces—concession to the Soviet Union—admission of Red China into the United Nations—are persuasive proof that too many people talk about rights and privileges and forget about obligations.

Yes, what we do need is more of that spirit of the men who served in the Sumter Guards, men who, in time of trouble, answered the bugle call to duty. In doing so they didn't first interrogate the bugler as to their rights and privileges before they picked up their rifles and marched toward the sound of enemy guns. Rather, they asked only to discharge their obligation and the opportunity, in so doing, to discharge their rifles.

And when the battle was joined they gave themselves totally to the struggle—counting not their difficulties but considering only their purpose.

And, as one looks back to the conditions under which the Sumter Guards fought, it would seem that the South can be thankful that in those days they didn't have war-gaming computers into which white-smocked Phd's could crank in the factors of the battle and announce in advance the victor. Such a computer, calculating the odds facing these valiant men, would have lost all the battles before they were fought. Your valiant predecessors didn't have such modern computers that can calculate about everything except bravery, determination, and spirit. Consequently those Sumter Guards who went into battle under such heavy odds didn't know they should lose. Consequently, they repeatedly won.

And I think, in all frankness, even though a Yankee, I can make such a statement with some degree of authority. My great-grandfather, as a youth, served in the Union Army as a corporal in the 14th Michigan Infantry in its toughest campaigns. One of my treasured recollections of my aged great-grandfather was when, as a child, I can recall sitting on his knee and having him tell of his experiences in that war.

I shall never forget him telling me that he never saw the back of a Confederate soldier. Yet in recalling the past, we must remember that all the battles and the need for patriotism, devotion, and courage are not behind us. By now we should have learned, as a people, the lamentable lesson that each generation in its own time must defend the way of life, the beliefs, and the institutions of government which have been entrusted to its care.

And thus, the struggle in Vietnam today is, in the long view of history, another in the long list of battles that must be fought and won if we are not to lose all that sacred heritage for which men have battled to gain, to protect, and to pass on to us.

And now for a moment, let us turn our thoughts to the importance of South Vietnam itself. Here again we can better understand why we are in Vietnam today and why we must win there if we recall some important points of Asian history. We are, I believe, in South Vietnam because of some very clear and powerful historic forces that were set in motion at the end of World War II.

At that time something happened that affected the course of history in Asia and, at the same time, posed a grave threat to the United States. I refer to the fall of mainland China into the Red orbit. What this did was to give Communism control of the western shore of the Pacific. For many years U.S. strategy in the Pacific had been based upon the China mainland being held by a friendly power.

And so, with the fall of mainland China, the United States had to revamp its strategy.

What happened was this: with great effort, and real foresight, the U.S. created what is known as the "outer defense line" in the western Pacific. That line runs today from South Korea to our base in Okinawa, then southward to the Free Chinese stronghold of Taiwan, then to our base in the western Philippines, and then to South Vietnam. And South Vietnam is the southern anchor of our outer defense line.

There may be some questions in the United States as to why South Vietnam is strategically important, but there are no such questions in the minds of the general staffs in Moscow and Peking. They know that South Vietnam is a strategic pivot in that part of the world. That is why they are so determined to take it over.

This is because South Vietnam is the southern anchor, the southern flank of our outer defense line in the Pacific. If the Reds can get this, as they are determined to do, they will have turned our western Pacific flank. The result will be increasing encroachment and danger to the Philippines, Taiwan, Okinawa, Japan, and, ultimately, South Korea.

And so, if South Vietnam should fall to the Reds, the United States would be faced with taking emergency action. There is no fall-back position short of the central Pacific line extending from Australia through the Hawaiian Islands to Alaska. Thus, the loss of South Vietnam would require us to get on with the fortification of Pearl Harbor, the military build-up in Alaska, sending military forces to Australia, and the strengthening of our West Coast defenses.

The Reds know, too, that if South Vietnam falls, the road is open to conquest of all southeast Asia. Communism would move on Malaysia and the great port of Singapore. Then Communism would be in a position of controlling the Straits of Malacca between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. This would deprive the Persian Gulf oil fields, East Africa, Pakistan, and India protection by our sea power from the Pacific. When this happens Communism will have succeeded in fragmenting the strategic integrity of the Free World.

But South Vietnam has a psychological, as well as strategic meaning. South Vietnam is, in the eyes of the Kremlin, as well as Red China, a clearcut example of what the Kremlin calls a "war of liberation." This is Communism's terminology for wars of aggression through guerrilla action and subversion. In a very real sense, Communism is using South Vietnam as a testing ground of United States determination to oppose Communist "wars of liberation."

If the United States does not stand up resolutely in South Vietnam, utilizing whatever military forces and economic assistance is required to whip Communism in this test, then the Red strategists will conclude, logically from their standpoint, that they are right when they say we don't have the strength of spirit—the moral stamina—to outlast Communism in a battle of wills. Then Red aggression, now pressing so cruelly against South Vietnam, will be duplicated and unleashed in other non-Communist areas throughout the world.

Whether we like it or not, the U.S. is on trial in South Vietnam and the world is the jury.

We can win this verdict, but to do so we must have victory as our goal—not compromise. We must couple with our power both patience and perseverance.

And yet, while recognizing that we can win—and must win—we must also realize that we can lose. All it will take to lose is to heed the fainthearted, the protesters, and the fuzzy-thinkers. All we have to do is falter in our military effort. All we have to do is try to buy peace with appeasement.

I would like to conclude with a short poem, which to me expresses more pointedly the perils of appeasement than could any staff study or detailed analysis. I don't know who wrote the poem, but when you hear it, I am sure you will agree with me it could have been written by any one of those valiant men who have served in the Sumter Guards.

No man escapes when Freedom fails
The best men rot in filthy jails
And those who cry, "Appease! Appease!"
Are hanged by those they tried to please

My Role in the Future of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, since coming to the House of Representatives it has been my privilege to sponsor an essay contest in the junior and senior high schools of my district to encourage student interest in public affairs, government, and the Nation's welfare. This year the theme was "My Role in the Future of the United States." Five outstanding essays were selected by the faculties of each junior and senior high school. Then a citizens' committee chose the outstanding essays in the junior high division, and the senior high division.

I am pleased to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the winning essay of Miss Cynthia Belan, age 14, of 38917 Juniper Tree Road, in Palmdale, Calif., who attends Juniper School who is the winner of the junior high division; and the essay of Miss Christine Conforti, age 18, of 10364 Roscoe Boulevard, Sun Valley, Calif., who attends Villa Cabrini Academy. These fine young students are to be commended for their efforts, and congratulated for their excellence:

MY ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES

(By Cynthia Belan, 14, winning entry, junior high school division)

My role in life is the future of the United States. The youth of today will be the rulers of tomorrow. The years of tomorrow's tomorrows will be based on today and tomorrow. In other words, we and our immediate future will be the foundation of the years to come. In the same sense, today and tomorrow are based on yesterday. What happens now will affect the future(s) of all of us, and it is my responsibility to see that these happenings, seen from the future's point of view, will be acceptable to mankind for their use and done to the best of my ability.

In the future, reference will need to be made to the documents of our democracy, written today and yesterday. Some decisions will be affected by today's documents, just as today's were based on yesterday's. We have already provided for the documents declaring and specifying freedoms, such as the Constitution of the United States, which includes the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. A more complete list would have to include treaties made with different peoples.

The futures of tomorrow will be interested in and need our symbols of democracy. These symbols include the Liberty Bell, which rang for many important happenings in our nation's beginning, and which is preserved in Independence Hall; the Statue of Liberty, a 151 foot statue of a Greek goddess symbolizing both the peace between France and the United States and the liberty in the United States; the American eagle, our national emblem, chosen because of its symbolism of strength and courage, of power and alertness, and its naturalization and place in the United States; our great symbolic American flag, which has a star for every state along with a stripe for each of the original thirteen colonies; and, last but definitely not least, the Great Seal of the United States, representing largely the power and authority of the government of, in this case, the United States.

One of the most important ways in which I can help my country is to preserve and defend these two basic groundworks, symbols and documents, symbolic of the representative democracy in the United States today. These are exemplary of government today and yesterday.

My duty in the future of the United States is to uphold good policies of today and yesterday, improve bad ones to the best of my ability, further fields of knowledge as well as I can, and generally better the United States, in order to furnish a good basis of government for future generations, as well as I am able. This means working, applying myself, and not just relying heavily on the decisions of others, getting by with as little as possible.

Each citizen is a part of the whole group. As an individual, I make up a small but definite and necessary part of the whole class of humans. Therefore what I do affects the whole group of the other citizens and the world. This group, literally, is the world, not materially alone, but also in other concepts. We are the living, thinking human beings, having control over the material things such as earth, air, sea, and also the knowledge of learning. All the people are affected by the actions of this group, and in a way, they are the group.

My role in life is the future of the United States.

My Role in the Future of the United States

(By Christine Conforti, 18, winning entry, senior high school division)

"When I was seventeen it was a very good year, it was a very good year for small town girls and soft summer nights we'd hide from the lights on the village green when I was seventeen. When I was twenty-one, it was a very good year . . ." Maybe only but a song, yet it represents the thoughts of today's youth when they evaluate their past. Yet if one evaluates the past, shouldn't they also think of the present, and prepare for the future? And by combining all three, can't one attempt to formulate an idea of his role in the future? His ambitions, goals, ideals, and purposes for life?

In outlining my role for the future I look at it in many different aspects. I could define my role simply as: my ambition to become a nurse—but would it be profitable to my country in doing just that and not try for the deeper side of life? I'm afraid not. I don't really feel that I can give a definite answer to the challenge—"My Role in the Future of the United States" because that is how I look at it—it's a challenge issued to today's youth so they could stop awhile and think about what they can offer to their homeland.

Nursing appeals to me because it hurts me emotionally to see someone in pain—it affects me to the point that I feel their pain and want to help them . . . perhaps that is a reason why I should not choose this profession—because of the fact that it hurts me, yet looking at in that view it could be termed as selfishness. It means so much to me to be able to give people compassion, to give them understanding—to get across to them that there are people who care and understand in this world, and finally strength to go on living no matter how hard life gets. I love people—to me people are the most expressive objects ever created—from the smile of a small child running with flowers to his mother to the senile expression on the face of an elderly man, unloved by his family.

Also to further "My Role in the Future of the United States" I don't want to always be the person who is taking from life and never contributing to it. Instead I'd like to give to life and to others my ideas on philosophies, religion, ideals, I'm not seeking glory nor do I want to be famous, I'd just like to make life a little better and a little happier for those whom I've come in contact with during my life. I've often wished that I could divide myself into different careers: nurse, teacher, lawyer, social worker, etc. and then I could add an extra person to each profession in life because of the shortage for so many people who specialize in a specific field. But then that is being idealistic yet shouldn't today's youth have a little idealism and optimism about the future? Shouldn't each and every person in this country realize that ". . . And now the days grow short, I'm in the Autumn of my life . . . it was a very good year."

Greater New York Dental Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Address by Congressman John E. Fogarty Before the Greater New York Dental Meeting, Monday, December 6, 1965, at New York City

Before beginning my talk itself, I want to join with those who have preceded me in paying tribute to my good friend, Bob Wagner. According to the program of this 41st annual meeting, we are marking tonight two anniversaries: the 100th anniversary of the College of Dentistry of New York University and the 300th anniversary of the City of New York. I would like to add one more commemoration to this and say we are also marking the 12 years of Bob Wagner's service to this city as its Mayor.

The distinguished quality of that service is symbolized by the action for which he is being specifically honored tonight: bringing the benefits of fluoridation to this city's children. I am proud to say that my home state has for years been one of the leaders of the nation in fluoridation, but even we Rhode Islanders have to take our hats off to a man who can, in one fell swoop, bring it to more than 8 million people. It's quite an accomplishment.

I also make mention of this third commemoration in order to assure Bob that he hasn't really been Mayor of New York for all the 300 years of its existence—it just seems that way to him. For the people he has served so well, his tenure in office has been too short.

I am supposed to address myself tonight to the topic, "A Challenging Era for the Dental Profession." I am particularly glad to do so because I firmly believe I was present at the birth of the era referred to in the title. It is my expectation that when American historians in the future look back and divide our time into its dominant themes, they will say that a new, vital era in health affairs began in January of 1961 when the 87th Congress convened and John Fitzgerald Kennedy was inaugurated President of the United States.

That month and that year marked, I believe, the beginning of vigorous, long needed action in all aspects of our health system, action whose impact is still continuing today. For some years prior to 1961, a number of people both in and out of Congress—I was one of them—had been pointing out that this nation was heading into a period where there would be great need for health services, for health professionals to provide them and for educational institutions to train those professionals. We kept urging that a beginning be made then to enable us successfully to meet those challenges that were surely coming. We had had some success. We got some measures through Congress. But as of January, 1961, we had not really succeeded in moving forward uniformly on all fronts. When John Kennedy brought to our cause the power of the office he then began to occupy, the tide began to turn in our favor. We reaped many of the fruits of that beginning during the first session of the 89th Congress, which met throughout 1965.

As Dr. Hine has already said, more key health legislation was passed in the first session of the 89th Congress than in both sessions of any Congress in the last decade. There is one aspect to this accomplishment that hasn't been sufficiently noted and that I want to call to your attention tonight as forcefully as I can. It is this: the majority of that legislation was passed by the cooperative effort of members of Congress and representatives of the major health professions. The one obvious exception to this, of course, is that aspect of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 relating to health care of the aged but the tremendous amount of discussion of that measure has tended, most unfortunately in my opinion, to obscure the considerable area of agreement between all of us who are concerned with the health field.

There was general support for extension and liberalization of the community health provisions of the Public Health Service Act. There was general support for enactment of a program of grants to assist in meeting the need for library services and facilities for the health professions. There was general support for extension and expansion of assistance in constructing health professions schools and providing loans and scholarships for students of those schools. There was general support for providing operating assistance to these schools. There was general support for establishment of regional complexes for research and treatment in the fields of heart disease, cancer and stroke. There was general support for authorization of a new administration of aged care and a five-year grant program for community aged care projects. I was proud to have sponsored this last piece of legislation as well as being able to help the other measures I have mentioned find their way to enactment.

And finally, let me note, that the Social Security Amendments of 1965 did not merely enact health care for the aged but also brought into being or improved a number of programs directed toward crippled children, toward needy children, toward the blind, the disabled and the mentally retarded. There is much in these Amendments that has, I know, the strong approval of the dental profession and much that will be of great assistance to your profession in the years to come. Dentistry, of course, has as well a strong stake in a number of the other measures I have been enumerating.

There is, I think, a common thread running through all this legislation. It is a thread with two strands, one of recognition and one of commitment. By recognition, I mean that we are now beginning to take into account some of the changes that have been taking place in our society over the past decades, changes which we have been observing for sometime but whose significance we have not recognized with sufficient clarity.

The great advances made by the health professions in recent history, for example, have led not merely to saving lives that would have otherwise been lost, but to a changing character of the population. We are today a nation of 195 million people, of whom some 77 million are under 21 or over 65. In other words, these two groups, with their somewhat special health needs, constitute nearly 40 per cent of our total population, a higher proportion than ever before. We are now taking this fact into account.

The distribution of our population is also continuing to change as fewer and fewer people are to be found in rural areas and our urban communities become more and more the centers of population. The increased mobility of our people, very much a postwar phenomenon, also has significance for our pattern of health services. We are now taking these facts into account.

And then, there are all of the changes inherent in the rising levels of education achieved by our fellow citizens, the rising incomes of the vast majority of our families and the increased levels of expectation that such improvements naturally bring.

Finally, in this decade of the Sixties, we have become more acutely conscious than ever of the extent to which poverty, hunger and disease still dwell among us and of what they cost not only in terms of productive capacity but, more to the point, in terms of human anguish and misery. One family in five in this nation has an income of less than $3,000, surely poverty by anyone's definition. Of the children in such families, incidentally, about 55 per cent of them have never in their lives been to a dentist.

Now, all of these facts have to do with the first aspect of the common thread running through the legislation passed by the 89th Congress, that of recognition. The second strand of that thread, as I have said, is commitment.

As a nation, I believe we are committed today to a threefold health goal: to prevent as much disease as possible; to control and cure that which we can't prevent and, third, to have a supply of highly qualified health personnel adequate enough that services are accessible to everyone in need.

Our society today is one that believes good health to be not just a precious heritage or a pragmatic goal, but a basic human right. And I think most of us acknowledge that both the public and private sectors of the nation have a role to play in making that right a realtiy for every citizen, though there are sometimes differences among us as to the nature of each sector's role.

There can be no question that the role of the public sector—specifically that of the Federal government—has grown sharply in the past 15 years. Take the field of health related research, for example. In 1965, some $1.8 billion was spent on health related research. Of this total, 25 per cent came from private industry, 15 per cent came from private philanthropy, voluntary health agencies and miscellaneous sources, and the remaining 60 per cent came from the Federal government.

There is, I know, some concern among many thoughtful people about the extent of the Federal government's role. I do not criticize such concern—indeed, I welcome it—when it is properly founded on accurate information and logical thinking. But there is one great myth current on the subject that I think we all ought to try and avoid. It is the myth that leads some of us to talk about the American people as "we" and the Federal government as "they," as if the Federal government were something entirely apart from and alien to the nation. This is, flatly, nonsense.

The legislative branch of the Federal government is headed by men and women who must, every two years, present themselves to the electorate to be re-hired or fired. Much the same is true of the Executive branch. The President, every four years, must come before the people personally to have his mandate extended or ended. Every two years he goes before the people in a very real if not personal sense when the Congressional elections are held. The Federal government, I would submit, is as much a part of the nation as, say, the steel industry, and has perhaps a surer finger on the public pulse than, say, the television business.

Perhaps this sounds to you as if I'm belaboring the obvious. Frankly, I hope it does because that would mean you are free from the delusions this myth causes. This myth has two types of adverse effect: In some instances, it causes what is called the Birch syndrome, the main symptom of which is foaming at the mouth when the word "government' 'is even mentioned. I'm not concerned with that type at the moment. The other one, with which I am concerned, affects people who think in favor of Federal action and understand its logicality, but don't like to say so out loud. When the chips are down, they mumble. They tend to apologize for favoring Federal action, to talk around the issue, apparently wanting to mask their support. I see no reason to be so shy. The federal government springs from the people and is part of the people. Its resources are the people's resources and they ought to be taken into account when we talk about solving problems that afflict the people. To favor Federal action in some area or other is nothing more than saying it is sometimes necessary for all our people to act together at one time and with one purpose.

There can be no clearer application of this than in health. I have never seen a study claiming that the people of Georgia are immune from oral cancer or that the people of New Hampshire have no arthritis or that heart attacks are unknown in Kansas.

Albert Sabin happened to do most of the laboratory work on his oral vaccine against polio in Cincinnati and a good deal of the testing took place in Russia. But I don't recall anyone saying it wouldn't work in South Dakota or Tennessee. Most of the work related to the transmissibility of dental caries has taken place in Maryland but if a vaccine results, I think it safe to assume that every state in the nation—probably every nation in the world—will use it.

All of this argues toward the conclusion, inescapable in my opinion, that the Federal government has a strong and positive role in the health field.

This is not to say, of course, that the role of the Federal government is without rules or boundaries. There are stringent rules and whatever abstract worries there may be about the government abiding by them, I have not yet heard of concrete incidents in health that would lead me to believe the government isn't doing so.

Having said this, let me return to what I earlier characterized as thoughtful concern on the part of some people as to the nature and extent of the Federal government's role in health. Let me first make the point that the bulk of the government's effort has been in the fields of research and, more recently, education. In these instances, the traditional division of labor has been that the universities and research institutions of the nation supply the ideas and the workers. The Federal government, for its part, supplies the coordination to block duplication to the degree desirable, reviews applications to see that high national standards are kept in force and, finally, supplies much of the funding. There are exceptions, but by and large this is the way it is being done in research and education. The system has, in my opinion, worked well: it has worked to the benefit of the people and to the benefit of the health professions. I think most observers who are conversant with the facts will agree with that conclusion.

I don't believe, then, that this is the root cause of the concern to which I am referring. I think Dr. Hine, in his remarks, put his finger on the root cause when he spoke of what often seems to those in the private sector to be the great difficulty in mustering the initiative and momentum needed to tackle the challenges that remain to us. I don't disparage that concern. I understand how it arises and how it can sometimes paralyze action.

But it is a serious error, in my opinion, to say that the reason for this difficulty is the activity of the government. I don't believe it is. The difficulty, I believe, is in the very complexity and immensity of the problems we are talking about.

This is a huge nation. We occupy a great part of one of the continents of the world. We have nearly 200 million people. We have a gross national product of nearly $700 billion a year. Consequently, our problems are not small, not easily contained, not readily remedied.

But they must be remedied and they must be remedied in great part by the actions of the private sector, by hundreds of thousands of concerned citizens coming together to plan solutions and plan methods of putting those solutions into effect.

In a sense, I am saying these things to the wrong audience because the dental profession has a remarkable record of foresight in spotting problems and laying plans to meet them.

One example of such activity on your part is in the area of extending accessibility of care. The principle of pre-payment came to medicine some years ago. Its introduction into dentistry is of more recent origin. But its very introduction is a tribute to the foresight and consistent effort of the American Dental Association. Your Association believed the pre-payment principle to be a fact of life, believed that dentistry should take it into account and believed that it was an economically and professionally sound method of extending dental care to more citizens.

By the mid-Fifties, pilot programs incorporating this principle got underway, primarily on the West Coast. Based on their experience, commercial insurance companies came to understand that the American Dental Association had been right all along and began to take action. In addition, the Association began to encourage the development of the dental service corporation. This last action seems to me to be one of the most encouraging and imaginative examples of private sector initiative to be found anywhere in the health field.

I don't mean by that to say that it is an easy road or that no difficult problems will occur in the early years of this movement. But the principle is sound and realistic and I think your profession is most wise in persevering in this effort.

A second example of the dental profession's sense of initiative is the action taken at the recent annual session of the American Dental Association. I had the pleasure of attending some of the deliberations of the ADA House of Delegates this year, as I have in some previous years. As always, I was most impressed with the efficiency and thoughtfullness that characterizes your policy-making body.

The action it took this year to which I am referring—and to which Dr. Hine has already alluded—is the one that pledges a national program of dental care for children. You don't need me to tell you that this is an immense undertaking. But neither do you need me to tell you that it is a necessary one and that if it is not tackled by you, it will be by someone else. Personally, I prefer to see you take the lead; you have the experience, you have the professional competence, you have the commitment.

Again, as with dental service corporations, this program starts you down a road that will have a good many rough spots and detours in the early stages: the matter is simply too complex for this not to be true. But I do want you to know that I—and a good many of my colleagues in Congress—are actively interested in this effort and are anxious to help you succeed in it in whatever way we can.

The point, then, is that the role of the private sector is not shrinking in the health field, no matter what some doomsayers might want you to believe. There are plenty of fields left to conquer, plenty of goals left to be achieved. Dentistry and its sister professions will remain in the vanguard of this nation's effort to bring our health standards to an even higher level than today.

You will especially remain in that vanguard so long as you continue to show the foresight, responsibility and commitment that you have in the past. That is the real challenge facing the dental profession in this new era. My money is on you to be as successful in the future as you have been in the past. Thank you.

A Great Leader, a Great Humanitarian

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, each morning a familiar sight greets the commuters on the Westside Burnside bus in Portland as the senior archbishop of the United States, Edward D. Howard, steps on for the ride to work at the chancery office on Portland's East Side.

Archbishop Howard, now 88, has been a priest for 60 years and the Archbishop of Portland for 40. And for all these years this great pastor has been as close to people as he is each morning to his fellow commuters on the crosstown bus.

Wednesday in Portland, the seat of the second oldest Roman Catholic See in this country, the people of Oregon and the Northwest whom he has loved for 40 years, will honor him in ceremonies observing the 60th anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood and the 40th anniversary of his appointment as Archbishop of Portland.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD two articles about the archbishop and the events in his honor:

[Northwest, Apr. 17, 1966]

No man, they say, is without sin; yet if there was ever sin in him, it must be worn away now by the goodness and the prayer upon prayer upon prayer so that he stands, at 89, a good man in the sight of God, praying still.

And you wonder if it comes to pass that any man "has it made" with God, certainly this old priest, strong, quick, simple, sure and good, should be such a man.

There is a church joke that for a priest to hear the confessions of a nun is tantamount to being stoned to death by popcorn; and the memory of the joke helps you bring the Archbishop Edward D. Howard into the realm of men more common, such as you and me. But he isn't, though once upon a time he was young as any man.

Sin is a complicated matter for the very good. The obvious, unhealthy, bad, sour, casual, belly-aching sin is not theirs. Theirs is a sensitive sin that takes an alertness to feel and it surprises you when they point it out.

"You have been remarkably healthy, your grace, 89 years and in such good health . . ."

And he looks up from his folded hands to reply: "Yes. I am a bit overwhelmed when I consider it, that I am able to do what I do. Yet when the final days of accounting come, I will have to give an accounting of these extra days and years. I will have additional responsibilities to account for." The question set him to examining what he had accomplished with the extra time and in a moment he added, very seriously: "I have yet so much to do."

It was Sunday, minutes after 12 noon and the priests were dressing him in the sacristy of St. Mary's Cathedral for a special mass, robing him layer and fold in vestments as he closed himself to everything; to the drenching shower of bells that broke losse above us, to the incense, to the fidgety altar boy who held the book in his hands for the archbishop to read from by the light of a candle held by another fidgety boy.

"Heaven? Our Lord made very definite promises," the archbishop had said before this work began: "If one makes a reasonable, earnest effort. Of course, He is just, too. But a consistent effort, year after year, never running away from a problem. Facing it every day. It is amazing how well they work out, not always the way we want, but they do work out.

"Heaven? It should be a place of eternal rest and happiness, a world of perfect order, don't you think? St. Augustine tells us 'Only in order is there peace'."

"We have never learnt that the human soul was made of course for God and it will never rest until it rests in Him."

This is an old church, the church of Rome, unchanged in the 40 years Edward Howard has been archbishop, and that is since before I was born; unchanged in the 60 years he has been a priest, and that is since before most any of us were born. So it is that he can read the Latin now, even from a moving page and by candlelight that is not steady.

It is a spring Sunday with the sun creasing in beneath the open window warming the air that is already heavy with incense and the muzziness of fresh linen and whispers of the sacristy so that you catch the altar boys wandering with their eyes out into the spring even while the bishop prays. They are small boys and you try to cast the bishop into the days when he was serving a priest at mass and you wonder if any of these could make archbishop. Not likely.

"My father died when I was a little past 13," he had said, "I had already the call to be a priest.

"Yes, I can remember when it happened, very definitely. I think I was in the eighth grade, about 12 years of age. I don't think any boy of that age is capable of being sure. But my parish priest counseled me. 'Do just what you feel you should do, Eddie'."

He had reached for a picture from a ledge that runs the parlor wall. "This is Father McCarthy of Cresco, Iowa, 4,000 people, over 40 years a priest. Father McCarthy baptised me and prepared me for my first communion," he explained, then set the picture alongside another, this one of Don Ameche.

The mass lasted more than an hour and a half, catching the late Catholics in an hour of pageantry some had not expected, bringing the neighbors out in curlers and dressing downs to watch the procession from behind lace curtains, leaving the children nervous and noisy and the archbishop ready to sit down, though he said he was not.

There is a small prayer bench for him in the sacristy and he knelt there and prayed, then drank two small glasses of orange juice before getting to his feet. In an hour, when he was driven to his residence at NW 20th Ave., and Johnson St., he was refreshed and only the benediction of his smile, falling on everything it met this sunny afternoon, reminded you of the pious man at work in the church.

The house is a red brick with white trim in colonial style. It had been built for the late A. L. Mills of the First National Bank then traded to the church. The walls inside have not been painted nor papered since and in its pristine, academy-like atmosphere there is a denial that a house must be a home, though the priest brings life to it now, leading us into the study at the rear.

"Do you smoke? There are cigars or cigarettes in the box. I am still accused of keeping my ordination cigars for guests," he said and laughed breaking open a cigar to see if it was indeed as stale as his callers claimed. It was. The archbishop does not smoke, never has; but then you expect that of a priest who was head of a boy's school and college and disciplinarian as well.

"Discipline was never corporal punishment. The penalty was to write history, ancient history, then hand it in to me," he said, the memory tracing a light smile from across the years as he looked back. "I remember a very eminent speaker at the college telling the boys, 'today you are just students, but tomorrow you will be writing history.' And the laughter could not be stopped for a very long time. The speaker was flabbergasted until we told him what 'writing history' meant at Columbia College. Then he laughed with us."

The talk of school had brought a "Mr. Chips" cast to him now and he began methodically explaining the pictures in the room, Don Ameche, an ex-student who still calls; his mother, 40 years a widow, who died in Portland and was taken home to be buried by the grave of her husband in Cresco, though the archbishop says the family plot will end there: "I want to be buried here, among my priests and the people I have tried to serve."

The study is a room of books and rose tapestry that rises from shoulder height to the ceiling. It, too, has been there since the beginning of the house and years have turned it dark so that the archbishop turned on the lights in mid-afternoon and sat again now, his fingers bridged and trying not to chuckle when you ask if he does not already have a good claim on that orderly "heaven" he thinks of.

"I don't think you can ever say, 'it's made.' There is always more to do, and if you do not meet the needs at the time, you will never meet them adequately," he said, slipping in a list of churches to be built, schools to be improved, thinking aloud the programs for the years he has left beyond 90, which comes in November of next year.

No, he says, Catholics have not changed since the days of his father's cattle farming in Cresco, Iowa, days when you met in the parlor over family games with neighbors: "Only temptations change. Human nature never changes much. But I'm concerned, yes, certainly. I am concerned with the lack of individual responsibility, but not with changing beliefs. That never changes.

"One of the greatest dangers in the world is the decline of personal responsibility."

He was studying the bishop's ring sent to him by the Pope, a flat shield like ring of gold, searching for the root of his concern and it came to him slowly: "That sense of responsibility seems to be declining in the home, in our industry and in our international relations. The greatest danger is to delegate individual responsibility to groups.

"Parents are prone to delegate to the schools. Don't you think that is true also of legislative matters? We criticize mercilessly, but we don't co-operate nor keep in touch nor encourage our legislators.

"In industry, capital and labor could have a much greater sense of responsibility. They could sit down on the principles of justice and meet their responsibilities. We all have personal responsibilities, and we cannot delegate that."

And so he talked through the afternoon and it was not until almost early evening that we came again to the serious problems of the shepherd, and then again it turned on the question of heaven, and hell.

"I don't think we have a positive idea of hell," he said. "We have the most consoling doctrine of purgatory, preparing the soul for heaven and union with God. The fact remains, we cannot judge. God alone can judge. There will be punishment for those who will transgress God's law. But hell-fire-and-brimstone? It used to be the missionaries who made a point of that.

"Just exactly what punishment will be, we don't profess to know. God's mercy is infinite, of course, but he is a just God."

The archbishop recalled a very learned explanation from a scientist on life. "And when the scientist had finished his explanation he was asked by a student: 'What then is death?' And he gave what I thought was a very candid answer. He said: 'All we know is that when life ends, death begins'."

Then suddenly, turning to look squarely, personally, into your thoughts, the archbishop said in a tone he must have used on others before: "We must have vision. You must have a vision to work toward and to fulfill. Our founding fathers, when they gave us this free nation, told us every generation would have to work to retain that freedom. It was and is not self sustaining."

The legal attack on prayers in public schools, the removal of the "In God We Trust" as part of a federal code, these he said, are the removal of God's laws for man's laws: "And I am afraid of it."

"The average life of any great civilization is 200 years. We ought to be on our guard. Toynbee made a case of 21 great civilizations in the world, all gone now. Nineteen of the twenty one came to an end through moral decay from within, Greece, Rome. This can set in on the life of any individual as well as in a nation."

There was no concern here for an end from guided missiles. "This end will come through moral decay; through the spiritual forces in the lives of men floundering until they have given over to animal appetites.

"We don't learn from history. You know that is the trouble. We don't learn," he said and mused a moment on the Lord's prayer, turned out of the public schools. "The seven petitions of this prayer mean so much," he said and was silent as he reflected on those petitions, waiting for you to do the same.

At breakfast the next day after his private mass in the oak-lined chapel next to his bedroom in the upstairs of the house, the archbishop was less serious, in the dark business suit of the office, he sat over two poached eggs and looked the day in the eye, much in the fashion of any patriarchal businessman, circa 1926.

"Life is such a queer thing for us, such an utter mystery," he said, easing up from the depth of his Sunday thoughts. "Of course we miss out so often, the distractions of the world, the pleasures. We are never satisfied. Everybody is always reaching out for something new. We are sure if we acquire certain things they will give us certain pleasures. Then we get them and they become just another bauble.

"We have never learnt that the human soul was made of course for God and it will never rest until it rests in Him."

And with that the senior archbishop in the United States thanked the cook and put on his homburg and we walked to the bus stop together, stopping to look the daffodils an incredible stare, to sniff hard for the japonica on the wind, to step into the spring-green grass of one more spring.

He caught sight of boys running into the street and remembered Bob Hope's crack for careless kids: 'What's the matter kid, don't you want to grow up and have troubles?' And turned to see if the seriousness had escaped you as well as it had him this moment.

Slowly, watching the life in him flow to everything and everyone where he moved, it came to you again what he had said in the evening of the day we met, echoing in your mind. He had been standing in the hallway of the Abbott house in the dusk of evening looking at the architecture of the stairs in the main hall.

"How it is," he said, "at evening, and just twilight, that the shadows seem to bring out the character of the work, you can see more clearly the work of the architect, when the light begins to fade."

(Gerry Pratt has been with The Oregonian since 1956 and has been business editor since 1961. In this capacity he has followed business news all over the world, including the Orient, Europe and Russia. He recently returned from Viet Nam. An unusually talented interviewer, he is usually able to elicit from his subjects as much about themselves as their their business.)

[From the Oregon Journal, May 24, 1966]

Ceremony Wednesday Honors Archbishop Howard

(By John McWilliams)

Forty years ago, a 49-year-old Roman Catholic bishop arrived in Portland to assume jurisdiction over the vast archdiocese of Portland, the nation's second oldest See.

Come Wednesday, this same man—Archbishop Edward D. Howard, now 88 and senior archbishop of the United States—will be honored in rites marking his 60th anniversary as a priest and his 40th as archbishop.

The ceremony is scheduled to begin at 10 a.m. Wednesday at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (St. Mary's). A noon banquet will follow at the Hilton Hotel. Speakers at the latter event will be Bishop Francis P. Leipzig of Baker and former Justice Hall S. Lusk of the Oregon Supreme Court.

A native of Iowa, Archbishop Howard was graduated from St. Paul Seminary in Minnesota and ordained a priest on June 12, 1906. He was first an educator and later president at St. Joseph College in Dubuque, Iowa. He was appointed auxiliary bishop of Davenport in 1924, and on April 30, 1926, he was appointed to the archdiocese of Oregon City, which had some years before become centered in Portland.

Ever since he came to this archdiocese as successor to the late Archbishop Alexander Christie, Archbishop Howard has been identified with the liberal movement within the Catholic church. And his pronouncements always have reflected his respect for the dignity of man:

"Harmony and good will among all classes of citizens."

He has stressed the importance of the "spread of true culture and Christian civilization . . . and for the "education of the whole man."

As spiritual father to approximately 240,000 Catholics in this Western Oregon archdiocese which covers 21,398 square miles, the archbishop has seen great development and growth of his church. And when he came here, the religious climate for Catholics was not good, but Archbishop Howard went on working quietly but with shrewd business judgment to consolidate and streamline the heritage left him by his predecessors.

Breaking down of prejudices and working for a genuine understanding among men of all creeds has been a major objective of Archbishop Howard, and this, too, will be reflected when men and women from many walks of life pay him honor Wednesday.

Present at the ceremony will be 10 Catholic bishops and three abbotts, plus representatives of Protestant, Orthodox and Jewish faiths. And this is as it should be.

In 1932, he joined Jewish and Protestant leaders at the public auditorium here to speak on behalf of the Geneva World Disarmament Conference, citing basic morality and common sense and deploring what he called "perverted patriotism" and the "baneful spirit of lawless nationalism. In 1935, he established archdiocesan study clubs with the goal of creating an "active, enthusiastic lay apostolate."

In 1945 he issued a key pastoral letter on "The Social Implications of Our Religion." To charge that Christianity has failed, he contended, "Men and nations have rebeled against Christianity . . . and in its place have fashioned a Christianity to their own liking . . . a mass of dead Christianity without the spirit of Christ." He condemned both socialism and capitalism as "departures and exaggerations, in opposite direction, from the correct means of the reconciliation of individual liberty with social solidarity."

Even before the recent Ecumenical Council sessions, Archbishop Howard's archdiocese was in the forefront of the liturgical movement. Demonstration Masses with priest facing the people were being held in the cathedral here as long ago as 1944. And after a national liturgical conference here in 1947, Archbishop Howard signed its recommendation that English be permitted in certain portions of the Mass.

Reflecting the expansion of the archdiocese since the coming of Archbishop Howard to Oregon are these statistics: In 1926 there were 81 parishes in the archdiocese, today there are 108; In 1926 there were 17 priests, 80 diocesan and 94 belonging to religious orders. Today there are 440 priests, including 199 diocesan and 241 religious.

Behind both innovation and physical expansion, the guiding force remains similar to what it was 30 years ago, when the archbishop dedicated a mobile chapel unit designed by the Catholic Church Society to reach Catholics in Oregon's sparsely populated hinterlands. It was a two-ton truck with altar and furnishings, movie projection and stereoptican, plus an attached tent auditorium, which Archbishop Howard called "an extraordinary means of preaching the gospel."

This noble, humble man of God has had numerous honors, including his appointment as assistant at the Pontifical Throne by Pope Pius XII in 1939, the annual Brotherhood Award presented to him in 1959 by B'nai B'rith for outstanding leadership in work for Negroes and other minority groups in Western Oregon.

Today, as he recalls the past he says:

"Of course, there have been many, many changes, all very decidedly for the better. It is gratifying to see the growth, difficult sometimes to keep pace with it. There have been no changes whatever in the fundamental doctrine. Our Divine Savior established the teaching of the Church very definitely. But we are using modern facilities in helping to make the teachings of the Church better known. Naturally there is some confusion, but I am pleased the people in general have accepted the changes and seem to appreciate them. The whole purpose is to draw into more active participation . . .

"I have often said the great danger in the world today is the breakdown in personal responsibility. God had a special plan when he created each one of us—He does nothing in vain, He has given to each person all the means, the faculties necessary to fulfill his mission. We can't delegate this personal mission to others."

Archbishop Howard considers walking as the best of exercises and adheres to this belief religiously. He has the spryness of a man much younger than His Grace. And one of his many pleasant recollections is that when the late Pope John XXIII, upon learning the archbishop was older than he, said, "Bravo! You are older than myself."

Military Draft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, complaints about the justice of the military draft and its inequities have brought forth suggestions for new concepts in national service.

An analysis of one aspect of this is contained in an article by James Reston in the New York Times of Sunday, May 22, 1966.

While the situation involving the draft must be remedied, the thoughts contained in this article deserve careful consideration and discussion on the question of a peacetime concept of universal community service on a national basis.

WASHINGTON: THE COMPUTER THAT TURNED PHILOSOPHER

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, May 21.—The military draft is now a major source of controversy in Washington, thanks to Secretary of Defense McNamara. He has no authority to change it, but he has opened it up to scrutiny and revision, and the Congress is now talking about the possibilities of change.

In the short run, very little is likely to be done. Few college students will be drafted this year unless the monthly draft call goes up from 28,000 to about 40,000, which is not likely. Also, the politicians are neither prepared nor eager in an election year for a major debate on a new system of national service.

Yet nobody is happy with the system as it is. A bright boy working as a clerk in a hotel may be drafted, while an equally bright boy going to the hotel management school at Cornell is exempt. One draft board may run out of single men and start calling up married men, while another draft board may still have plenty of bachelors loose on the town.

THE INEQUITIES

The inequities are obvious. It pays to be stupid under the present system and it pays to be smart and rich. Of the 1,850,000 18-year-olds who will become eligible for the draft this year, about 600,000 will fail to pass the Selective Service tests. This means that a third of them cannot measure up to a ninth-grade level.

A boy of average intelligence may rank in the top quarter of his class in an inferior college and thus be exempt, while a boy of equal intelligence may rank in the bottom quarter of his class in a really good university and be drafted. The ranking systems clearly discriminates agaist the poor who cannot afford to go to college and the Negroes who manage to get to college but are not quite able to overcome inferior early education and stay high in the grade-ranking system.

At the other end of the scale, one bright student may spend two years of Peace Corps service in a jungle in Nigeria and be drafted when he comes home, while his twin brother may avoid the draft by writing monographs on jungle life in Nigeria at Harvard or Wisconsin.

M'NAMARA'S PROPOSAL

"It seems to me," Secretary McNamara told the editors in Montreal (in a speech read several days before delivery by Secretary of State Rusk and Bill Moyers in the White House) "that we could move toward remedying that inequality by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps or in some other volunteer developmental work at home and abroad."

This startled Washington, which is a funny town, and thinks of McNamara as the mechanical man who always defines Administration policy with geometrical accuracy, which is both true and wildly inaccurate. He is a philosophical computer, and the philosopher in him is stronger than the computer.

"Who is man?" he asked, which is not a bad question for computers. "Is he a rational animal? * * * Mutual interests, mutual trust, mutual effort—these are the goals. * * * If he is [rational] then these goals can ultimately be achieved. If he is not, then there is little point in making the effort * * * I, for one," he concluded, "would not count a global free society out. Coercion, after all, merely captures man. Freedom captivates him. Thank you very much."

Thank you indeed. Something is happening here. This is news, which almost all the newspapers missed but all the protesters on the campuses should not misunderstand. The headline conflict between power and prinicple, between the present and the future, between the old and the new generations, between the political and intellectual communities of the nation, may not be as hopless or irreconcilable as it seems.

THE FUTURE

McNamara is reaching beyond the draft, beyond the Pentagon, beyond Administration policy, beyond the present, even beyond the concept of sovereign nation-states, and certainly beyond Vietnam and the present inequities of Selective Service.

He is searching for a unifying principle between power and principle, between the restless, defiant generation on the campuses and the harassed and distracted policymakers in Washington, between the one-third who can't qualify for the draft, the one-third who are financially and intellectually above the draft, and the one-third in the middle who are caught in the draft; and even between the poor nations that need help and the rich nations that need, for their own security and even serenity, to give help.

In this search, McNamara is actually nearer to people like Kingman Brewster at Yale and Clark Kerr at the University of California who are trying to understand and mobilize the yearnings of the coming generation than he is to the politicians here in Washington who are merely complaining about the campus demonstrations and the rumbles and knife warfare in the cities.

At Montreal McNamara was not thinking about present policy or present politics, or even about the present inequities of the draft. He was going beyond these things. He was supporting what Harris Wofford, the associate director of the Peace Corps, calls "the politics of service," and thinking about a new concept of national service in which all young people in America can acquire a sense of purpose and an opportunity for service at home and abroad.

McNamara will probably not last long enough here to see much progress toward his ideals. He is not the symbol but the critic of Pentagon power. He has fought too many battles against the military interests, the commercial interest, and the political interests—the generals, who want more guns and planes, the manufacturers who make the guns and planes, and the politicians and communities who benefit from the manufacture of guns and planes—to be popular or even to endure.

But he has opened up by his speech in Montreal some fundamental questions, and these will, or should, be debated seriously on Capitol Hill and in the newspapers and on the university campuses long after he is gone.

Critical Maritime Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in Baltimore, the week during which Maritime Day occurs is celebrated as World Trade Week and is observed with appropriate ceremonies every day of that week. On Tuesday of this week, the Rotary Club of Baltimore held a luncheon in observance of this special week, and had as its speaker, the Senior Senator from Maryland, DANIEL B. BREWSTER.

As a member of the Merchant Marine Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, and the Senator from a State which includes the second largest port on the east coast, Senator BREWSTER has intimate knowledge of the entire maritime situation and therefore is well qualified to speak on that subject.

His address should be read by all Members, because the facts he has brought out must be given careful consideration and prompt attention by all who have any authority to take action in this matter and I am inserting it in the Appendix:

REMARKS BY SENATOR DANIEL B. BREWSTER BEFORE THE ROTARY CLUB WORLD TRADE WEEK LUNCHEON, TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1966

Gentlemen: I am grateful for the opportunity to speak to you today.

We are now in the midst of activities celebrating World Trade Week. It is trade which built our Port and our Port which built our City and our State. Every Marylander is proud of this Port and of the associated industries and skilled labor which make Baltimore a center of international trade.

But we must never let our pride cloud our vision. We must never let the past replace the future.

We are assembled here during World Trade Week at a time when the United States is carrying only 8 percent of its foreign commerce in American ships—at a time when the United States has sunk to 14th place in commercial ship construction.

I am confident that all of you who are here are familiar with the deterioration which has characterized our maritime industry in recent years. I am confident that all of you recognize the dangers to our security, our economy, our industry and our Port which are inherent in runaway flags, slashed budgets, idle shipyards, and decreasing numbers of skilled operators and laborers.

These weaknesses in our current maritime posture have not developed suddenly, but they have suddenly taken on an urgency which requires our immediate attention.

The emergency which we face in Vietnam has had at least one positive value—it has highlighted for the public what many of us have known for a long time—that a vital factor in the equation of national power, namely sea power, has been shockingly neglected.

Our present dilemma has many causes but among these, Government policy, or lack of it, is most at fault.

Any one familiar with ships and the sea knows that the essential tools of seamanship are the anchors, the rudders, and the engines. A ship which has none of these is destined to drift aimlessly—to drift toward the rocks and shoals—to drift toward inevitable disaster.

In the simplest analysis, it is drift that has characterized United States maritime policy. We have had no anchor in policy, no seamanship at the wheel, and no propulsion to move us forward.

A few illustrations will highlight the rocks and shoals onto which we have drifted. 1. By 1970 we will have only 200 dry cargo liners under 25 years old. 2. Our tramp and independent fleet currently averages between 23 and 26 years old. 3. The American shipbuilding program is now 90 ships behind. 4. The Soviet Union has 612 vessels on current order but the Bureau of the Budget has cut new American construction to 11 ships. 5. Our reserve fleet is a paper tiger of overaged, obsolescent, snailpaced or unseaworthy craft. 6. The average American seaman is 50 and our skilled maritime work force ashore continues to dwindle.

The impact of this disaster is twofold. First, in its consequences for our security and, second, in its effect on our economy and our balance of payments.

Our current active and reserve fleet is inadequate to meet the demands of even the Vietnam conflict. The government has currently under charter for the handling of military cargo about 100 American commercial vessels. It has reactivated 111 reserve ships and it is currently seeking 25 additional commercial vessels for charter before July 1st.

It would simply be impossible for the United States to meet the contingency of the secondary conflict anywhere in the world with our present merchant fleet.

The seriousness of this situation can be best understood when one realizes that 98 percent of all supplies for Vietnam are carried by ship and that nearly 50 percent of the cargo in every American berth line vessel is currently military cargo.

The glaring danger to our security inherent in this situation is clear. What is less obvious is the impact of this situation on our commercial trade.

The United States has been locked in a fierce competitive struggle with foreign carriers for the shipment of ocean cargo. The 8 percent of overseas shipments now carried in American bottoms testifies to this. Our present lack of a shipbuilding program and the current diversion of commercial vessels to the handling of military cargo could well spell the end of American shipping in free world trade.

With no surplus of operating vessels, whenever the government must charter a ship, that ship must be withdrawn from its commercial route. Those of you involved in foreign commerce here in Baltimore know that cargo cannot wait. Another ship must be found. The only ship you can find will fly a foreign flag.

The foreign flag operators have not missed the opportunity which this situation presents. They have endeavored to render good service at reasonable or even cut rates in an effort to attract and hold new customers.

The American operators tell me that once they have withdrawn a ship from the commercial route, it is virtually impossible to recover the trade when the government releases the ship.

The lesson should be clear. It is even clearer when we realize that United States berth line and tramp vessels currently contribute 1 billion dollars to our annual balance of payments, while 73 cents on every freight revenue dollar is carried from our shores when foreign flag vessels carry our trade.

The latest figures available indicate that in 1963 our deficit in freight charges on export and import cargo amounted to 55 million dollars. This was the 5th consecutive year of net deficit. We can only imagine what the war in Vietnam will have done to the 1964–1965 figures.

If the situation is this bad today—and it is—what will it be like in 1973? We can only imagine, but we can be sure of one thing—since it takes seven years to build a ship, the decisions we make this year will determine our maritime posture in the early years of the next decade.

When the President created the Maritime Advisory Committee in June 1964 he said it was to seek long range solutions. When he delivered his State of the Union message to the Congress in January, 1965, the President promised to submit a new maritime policy. We are now approaching June, 1966, and there is still no policy.

No one knows when we will get one and whether it will reflect the recommendations of the Inter-Agency Maritime Task Force or the President's Maritime Advisory Committee. The danger in this situation lies in the fact that we may well be sinking our ships while seeking consensus.

If the policy recommendations are confusing, the record of statements by responsible public officials are even more so.

In recent months, the Federal Maritime Administrator has told the American Merchant Marine it should begin to rely on "competition fairly fought and won." He has explained this position with the most glorious oversimplification, "I simply refuse to believe it can't be done."

I do not believe we can afford irrational experiments with our security. The risks, and the consequences of being wrong, are far too great.

In recent months we have seen other agencies of the government begin to fill the policy vacuum created by the failures of the present Maritime Administration.

The Department of Defense has announced a program of construction of at least 20 fast deployment logistic ships at a cost of 40 million dollars each.

More recently the same Department has announced that it would open all contracts for the carrying of military cargoes overseas to competitive bidding.

I firmly believe that we must develop a plan for a modern maritime fleet and that we must do so quickly. We cannot allow the independent, uncoordinated decisions of a variety of government agencies, acting without consultation, to determine in a random way what our maritime policy shall be.

The Defense Department announcement is that kind of decision.

Senator Magnuson, Chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, and I have discussed this problem in detail. We have agreed that the many issues which currently characterize the maritime scene must receive thorough examination by the Senate Commerce Committee.

Three weeks ago, I opened our hearings. We have already developed a great deal of useful information. And we have raised serious questions which must still be answered: 1. Should the Department of Defense plans to implement a cost effectiveness program be allowed to depress maritime rates to non-compensatory levels? 2. How can a rate war benefit an industry which is already suffering from foreign competition. 3. Isn't the fast deployment logistic ship program a serious misallocation of funds? Couldn't this one billion dollars be better spent on a merchant shipbuilding program for vessels available to the military when needed but otherwise paying their way on the trade routes of the world?

I am hopeful that the testimony that we develop can lead to the formulation of a series of inter-related policies and objectives aimed at a stronger American Merchant Marine built in American shipyards, manned by American seamen, carrying the bulk of American trade, and ready to answer any call as a vital element of American defense.

This brings us up-to-date. There is no shortage of challenges to be met.

Normally the President proposes and the Congress disposes. But on this critical matter there is no more time to wait. Too much time has been wasted already and the Congress is now beginning to act.

If I may close with a personal note: Baltimore is my home and this Port has made this City great. So long as I am privileged to represent the people of Maryland in the United States Senate, the needs of the maritime industry will have a hearing before the Congress and the public.

Cape Cod National Seashore—A Dream Come True

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the formal establishment of Cape Cod National Seashore will be marked this Memorial Day weekend with appropriate ceremonies at Eastham, Mass. The main dedicatory address will be given by our good friend and former colleague, the Honorable Stewart L. Udall, who as outstanding Secretary of the Interior took a most active part in helping to establish this memorable addition to the national park system.

This event is particularly pleasing to me, because it is just a little more than 9 years ago that I introduced on April 8, 1957, the first bill in Congress calling for the creation of a national park on Cape Cod. I was prompted to introduce this bill, numbered H.R. 6720, largely as the result of the special National Park Service study, "Our Vanishing Shoreline," which showed that out of the 3,700 miles of Atlantic and gulf coasts shoreline only 240 miles were held by the State or Federal Governments for public recreational use.

H.R. 6720 specified no special boundaries or specific acreage. It was introduced to get more detailed studies from the Department of the Interior for review and action by the Congress on a national park at Cape Cod. With the friendly and effective help of the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Honorable WAYNE N. ASPINALL, the Department of the Interior was requested to prepare the needed legislative reports for committee review.

As primary objective, H.R. 6720 sought to preserve for the people an unusual historical, biological, and geological treasure trove on Cape Cod—truly a variety of significant attributes not found in any other part of the country. H.R. 6720 sought to protect the scenic beauties of Cape Cod and make available for the people its recreational features and quiet charm. H.R. 6720 sought to prevent some of the deterioration which had become all too evident in recent years along some parts of Cape Cod.

More than a century ago, Henry David Thoreau in his timeless eulogy to the cliffs on the Great Outer Beach of Cape Cod's forearm, wrote of its wonders:

> There I had got the Cape under me, as much as if I were riding it barebacked. It was not as on the map, or seen from the stage coach; but there I found it all out of doors, huge and real, Cape Cod! as it cannot be represented on a map, color it as you will; the thing itself, than which there is nothing more like it, no truer picture or account; which you cannot go farther and see. * * * What are springs and waterfalls? Here is the spring of springs, the waterfall of waterfalls. A storm in the fall or winter is the time to visit it; a lighthouse or a fisherman's hut the true hotel. A man may stand there and put all America behind him.

Our beloved President Kennedy saw Cape Cod with the eyes of Thoreau and when he was Senator sponsored in September 1959 with Senator SALTONSTALL and the able distinguished Member representing Cape Cod in the House, the Honorable HASTINGS KEITH, legislation setting out specific boundaries for the Cape Cod National Seashore.

Truly, it must have been a great moment when President Kennedy signed the Cape Cod bill in August 1961. I well recall his words at the White House signing ceremony when he said:

> This act makes it possible for the people of the United States, through their Government, to acquire and preserve the natural and historic values of a portion of Cape Cod for the inspiration and enjoyment of people all over the United States.
>
> This is a wise use of our natural resources, and I am sure that future generations will benefit greatly from the wise action taken by the members of the Congress who are here today.

And now, Mr. Speaker, with the formal dedication of the Cape Cod National Seashore on Memorial Day, 1966, there will be preserved forever for the people of this Nation the glory of sea and sand, history and tradition, beauty and charm of an area of Cape Cod which the philosopher-poet. Thoreau in his century and our own great President Kennedy in our own time saw and loved.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the full text of my H.R. 6720, introduced on April 8, 1957.

The material follows:

H.R. 6720

A bill to provide for the establishment of the Cape Cod National Park, in the State of Massachusetts

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Interior shall acquire by gift, purchase, condemnation, transfer from any Federal agency, or otherwise, such lands (together with any improvements thereon) as he shall consider necessary or desirable for the purpose of establishing the lands in the vicinity of Cape Cod, situated in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as a national park.

(b) Any Federal agency is authorized to transfer, without consideration, to the Secretary of the Interior any lands (together with any improvements thereon) which are excess to the needs of such agency for use by the said Secretary in carrying out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) The lands acquired under the first section of this Act shall be set aside as a public park for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States, and shall be designated as the Cape Cod National Park. The National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall administer, protect, and develop the park, subject to the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535).

(b) In order to provide for the proper development and maintenance of the park, the Secretary of the Interior shall construct and maintain therein such roads, trails, markers, buildings, and other improvements, and such facilities for the care and accommodation of visitors, as he may deem necessary.

SEC. 3. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Daily Digest

HIGHLIGHTS

House passed the minimum wage bill.
See Congressional Program Ahead.

Senate

Chamber Action

Routine Proceedings, pages 11004–11032

Bills Introduced: Six bills were introduced, as follows: S. 3415–3420. **Page 11003**

Bills Reported: Reports were made as follows:

S. 985, proposed Fair Packaging and Labeling Act of 1966, with amendment, and with minority and individual views (S. Rept. 1186)—reported during adjournment on May 25 under prior authorization; and

H.R. 14122, proposed Federal Employees' Salary Act of 1966, with amendment, and with individual views (S. Rept. 1187.) **Pages 11001, 11003**

President's Communication—Election Laws: Communication from President transmitting draft of proposed Election Reform Act of 1966—referred to Committee on Rules and Administration. **Page 11003**

Disaster Acreage Crops: By unanimous consent, H.R. 15151, to promote planting of alternate crops on acreage unplanted because of a natural disaster, was read the first and second times and then placed on calendar with the understanding it is not to be considered until next week. **Pages 11001–11003**

Senate Schedule: By unanimous consent it was agreed that when Senate concludes its business on Friday, May 27, it will adjourn until 10 a.m. Tuesday, May 31, when without transaction of any business, it will immediately adjourn until noon, Wednesday, June 1.

Authority was granted after adjournment of Senate on Tuesday, May 31, until noon Wednesday, June 1, for (1) Secretary of Senate to receive messages from the President and from the House, (2) for Vice President and President pro tempore to sign enrolled bills, and (3) for all committees to file reports. **Page 11040**

Program for Friday: Senate met at noon and adjourned at 1:46 p.m. until 10 a.m. Friday, May 27, at which time the program of the Senate is undetermined. **Pages 11040, 11041**

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

APPROPRIATIONS—INDEPENDENT OFFICES

Committee on Appropriations: Subcommittee continued its hearings on H.R. 14921, fiscal 1967 appropriations for independent offices, receiving testimony from Joe E. Moody, Acting Administrator, General Services Administration; Manuel F. Cohen, Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission; and Lawrence E. Hartwig, Chairman, Renegotiation Board.

Hearings continue on Monday, June 13, on funds for the National Science Foundation.

FOREIGN VESSEL CARGO RESTRICTIONS

Committee on Commerce: The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee held and concluded hearings on S. 2600, to prevent foreign vessels from carrying cargoes restricted to vessels of the U.S., after receiving testimony from Nicholas Johnson, Maritime Administrator, Department of Commerce; Lane C. Kendall, Military Sea Transport Service, Navy; Alvin Shapiro, American Merchant Marine Institute; Henry R. Dowd, Trans Ocean Petroleum Carriers Association, Inc.; A. E. King, Isthmian Lines; and Samuel Wang, American Bulk Carriers.

D.C. BAIL AGENCY

Committee on the District of Columbia: Subcommittee on the Judiciary, in executive session, approved for full committee consideration with amendments S. 2721, to establish a fact-reporting bail agency in the courts of the D.C.

FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATIONS

Committee on Foreign Relations: Committee resumed its executive consideration of S. 2859, fiscal 1967 authorizations for the foreign aid program, and S. 2861, proposed Military Assistance and Sales Act, and announced

Appendix

Symposium on Rheumatic and Coronary Heart Disease

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN E. FOGARTY AT THE SYMPOSIUM ON RHEUMATIC AND CORONARY HEART DISEASE, SPONSORED BY ST. BARNABAS HOSPITAL, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 10, 1965

Dr. Bailey and honored guests, it was both a pelasure and a privilege to be invited to speak tonight before this distinguished group of internists and cardiologists.

Today, and for the next two days, you will be considering clinicial problems posed by rheumatic and coronary heart disease and discussing established, improved, or altogether new approaches to the prevention, diagnosis, and clinical management of these diseases. It is quite likely that the development and clinical evaluation of many of the techniques, tools, and drugs that will be covered here have been aided to some extent by research grants awarded by the Federal government to scientists and clinicians like yourselves.

In fact, some of you may now be grantees or may have been in the past. But, whether or not you have ever received a nickel in Federal support for your own research or clinical activities; yet all of you have benefited, directly or indirectly, from Federal programs in support of health research and so have your patients. The increases in our fund of basic knowledge and the clinical advances that have stemmed from Federal investments in health research are available to you and are frequently used in dealing with the health needs of your patients.

And, by the same token, it is physicians such as yourselves who are ultimately responsible for whatever success crowns any Federal program in medical research. A new heart valve, drug, or surgical procedure developed in the laboratory—whether it be merely a slight improvement or a major advance—becomes of consequence only when it is taken out of the laboratory or medical library and into the wards. Only then does the investment in funds and effort expended in its development begin to pay dividends in the relief of suffering or the saving or prolonging of human life.

As cardiologists and internists, you are key participants in our Nation's battle against its most serious health problem. As casefinders and diagnosticians, you bear the primary responsibility for detecting treatable or potentially curable congenital or acquired heart disease and for bringing the best in current methods of treatment and rehabilitation to bear on cardiovascular problems of the individual and on problems prevalent in both large and small communities.

It is a heavy responsibility and you have borne it extremely well. That today, the medical care available to our citizens suffering from cardiovascular disease is second to none in the world is largely your doing.

That, in providing medical care to our citizens, you be provided with the best diagnostic, therapeutic, and preventive techniques that research can provide is a goal of Federal programs of research support. That there be sufficient numbers of highly trained research manpower to refine and improve existing methods and devise new ones and that there be sufficient numbers of highly trained clinicians to utilize these techniques fully against our Nation's disease problems is a goal of Federal programs in research and clinical training.

Today, our country commands more highly skilled medical research manpower than ever before in its history. And, thanks in large measure to the heavy outlay of Federal funds for health research and training, we have been able to launch and sustain a research assault of steadily increasing scope and intensity on our Nation's major crippling and killing diseases. I am proud that I have been privileged to help in mounting this great offensive.

But when did this great effort against the killing and crippling diseases actually begin and how did it get started? I think we would have to go back to World War II. Medicine, as usual, made great advances in that war: advances born out of horror, death, destruction, and fear. A young Army surgeon, for example, might encounter more varied examples of trauma as a result of one battle than in five years of a peacetime residency and a physician at a military base might see more cases of rheumatic fever in one year than in a life-time of private practice.

And with the war there was also a great need to aid these battle-pressed physicians with better drugs, diagnostic equipment, and greater knowledge on which to base treatment. This led, in turn, to a change in the philosophy concerning the proper role of the Federal government in the support of research and training in the biomedical sciences.

After the war, many leaders in medicine as well as public-spirited citizens wondered whether the great progress made in the exigencies of war could not be carried over into an even more significant effort in peacetime. The answer was obvious. Such an effort could be made—and it was made.

As early as 1944, the Public Health Service Act has consolidated and revised existing public health legislation and provided the legislative basis for postwar programs of the (then) National Institute of Health. Then, between 1948 and 1950, an epoch-making series of Acts authorized the creation of six new institutes. Each was charged with establishing National programs of research and training; developing more effective methods of prevention, diagnosis, and treatment in specified disease areas; and assisting States and local communities in the fullest application of these methods. In effect, the goal was to mobilize our Nation's health resources in massive, co-ordinated attacks on its pressing health problems.

However, in developing these programs, the enlightened policies adopted by the various agencies of the Public Health Service have also safeguarded the freedom and initiative of recipient investigators and institutions. Through review mechanisms permitting a cross section of top-flight, non-Federal scientists and public leaders to determine the most effective use of Federal funds, the Public Health Service has consistently received excellent returns on its health research and training investments while also eliminating for the recipient of Federal aid much of the red tape which many still seem to think is synonymous with Federal administration.

But let us look at some of the results of these federally-aided programs over the past years. It is a fact that over the past 10–15 years, more has been learned about the cardiovascular system and its diseases than had been learned in all the previous years of medical history. Enough has been learned about the factors that increase the individual's risk of developing coronary heart disease to construct a "coronary profile" that is now helping you physicians spot the coronary candidate early and to initiate measures to reduce his risk. Further, it is now possible for you to do something about many of these risk factors, such as elevated blood levels of cholesterol and other fats, high blood pressure, and others.

For example, elevated blood levels of cholesterol and other fatty substances can now usually be reduced by dietary changes or by certain drugs and hormones. High blood pressure of all degrees of severity can be controlled with any of a number of effective drugs or combinations of drugs. These drugs have reduced by 50 per cent the death rates from hypertension over the past decade and have also reduced mortality from such common complications of hypertension as heart attacks, strokes, heart failure and kidney failure.

Today, victims of heart attacks have a much better chance of riding out the attack, recovering sufficiently to return to their former occupations and activities, and enjoying many more years of life and health than they would have had only 10 or 15 years ago. Anticoagulants, improved resuscitation measures, more effective drugs for countering circulatory crises, assisted circulation techniques to tide the heart over until it is able to assume its circulatory duties: all these increase the victim's chances for life. And clot-dissolving agents, such as Urokinase (uro-KYN-ace) may provide even more effective means of treatment in the near future.

Many stroke victims can now be cured or substantially improved by surgery to remove or bypass clots or atherosclerotic deposits obstructing blood flow to the brain. Others are now benefiting from anticoagulants, drugs that dilate cerebral blood vessels, and other forms of therapy not available just a few years ago. Modern rehabilitation procedures now help crippled stroke victims regain lost bodily function and allow many of them to return to work and to lead more useful lives.

There is probably nothing so heart-rending as a child deprived of anything resembling a normal life, and often sentenced to an early death by congenital heart disease. Fortunately, modern techniques of open-heart surgery can now completely correct or palliate most forms of congenital heart disease. It has been estimated that, with currently available methods of surgery, over 80 percent of the 30,000 or more infants born in the U.S. each year with congenital heart disease could be saved.

Furthermore, with currently available methods of prevention and treatment, another scourge of the young—rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease—could also be eliminated as an important cause of death and disability. Prompt and adequate treatment of strep infections can prevent most rheumatic fever attacks. Even when rheumatic fever does strike, crippling damage to the heart can often be avoided by vigorous treatment with steroids and other drugs. And recurrent attacks can often be prevented by continuous treatment with penicillin or other antibiotics. These measures, coupled with improved surgical techniques for repairing or replacing heart valves damaged by rheumatic fever, have reduced death rates from rheumatic heart disease among children and young adults from 30 per 100,000 population to about 2 per 100,000. This year alone, over 300,000 people are leading normal, active lives who would have died from this condition if the death rates of a generation ago had prevailed.

An area in which further clinical progress is most urgently needed is coronary heart disease. Whereas during the past decade mortality rates for most major cardiovascular diseases have decreased, mortality from coronary heart disease has continued to climb in most segments of the population. However, with intensification of present programs, hopes are high that substantial reductions in mortality from coronary heart disease may be achieved in the foreseeable future.

A major phase of this overall program will be an intensified effort to develop a dependable, artificial heart for the total and permanent replacement of hearts hopelessly damaged by disease or injury. During the past decade, research progress has been so great in this field that development or such a device is predicted within the foreseeable future.

To achieve this goal in the shortest possible time, present Federal programs are being supplemented with a diversified program of grants and negotiated contracts to universities, engineering firms, and other elements of private industry. These will be aimed at solving specific problems in developing materials, pump specifications and designs, power sources, and control mechanisms to be incorporated into the final model for installation in humans. Also being expanded is research and development of assisted circulation techniques and booster pumps to provide temporary support to a failing circulation. This temporary respite may enable the patient's damaged heart to recover sufficiently to resume business as usual. Later, when artificial hearts become available, such a pump could provide hearts damaged beyond recovery with enough circulatory assistance to sustain the patient until an artificial heart could be installed.

It is impossible to predict with certainty how many American lives might be saved each year if an artificial heart were available, but estimates have ranged from 60,000 to hundreds of thousands. With stakes as high as this, can we afford to proceed at less-than-maximum speed toward the attainment of this goal? With the goal now apparently in sight, dare we relax our efforts when the cost of each month's delay may be counted in thousands of lives lost that might have been saved?

I think not, and so do my colleagues in Congress: During the House hearings this year, the immense potential and urgency of this program was underscored by the testimony of numerous distinguished witnesses, many of them scientists who have made major contributions to past and present progress in artificial-heart research. Accordingly, we provided an additional $2.5 million for artificial heart research and development over the amount originally requested by NHI.

As a result, during this fiscal year alone NHI will spend nearly $4 million on the artificial heart program.

Expensive? Indeed it is; and, in all probability, it will get steadily more expensive during the "big push" of the next 5–10 years. We do not yet know how much the development of the artificial heart will ultimately cost. But we are convinced that the potential return in human lives more than justifies any effort and expense that may be required.

Still another major goal during the next five years is an intensified clinical research program relating to the acute phase of heart attacks. As you well know, among patients hospitalized for acute heart attacks, many who appear to have "hearts too good to die" nevertheless succumb, often to complications that might possibly be forestalled or corrected by available methods. However, these complications often develop so swiftly, I am told, that the patient may die before anything can be done.

Evidence is accumulating that mortality among hospitalized heart-attack patients may be reduced through intensive coronary care units combining electronic monitoring of these patients with full utilization of presently available resuscitation and therapeutic techniques. Encouraged by reports from the few units currently in operation, the Public Health Service is assisting in the establishment of such units at additional hospitals and clinics. The goal is to determine whether mortality can be reduced sufficiently to justify and encourage the establishment and operation of similar units in medical centers throughout the country.

Drug evaluation studies will also occupy an important place in the heart program during the next five years or more. Two large-scale studies currently underway are both concerned with evaluating the effectiveness of currently available therapeutic measures in reducing mortality among heart-attack victims.

One is assessing the effectiveness of various lipid-lowering drugs and hormones in reducing recurrent heart attacks and increasing longevity among men who have survived one or more attacks. This study is off to a modest start, but present plans call for the gradual expansion of the study to include up to 55 co-operating institutions and more than 8,000 patients during the next three years. The other is concerned with the clinical evaluation of Urokinase, the most promising clot-dissolving agent developed thus far, against various thromboembolic complications of cardiovascular disease. Hopes are high that Urokinase may turn out to be a major breakthrough against a number of crippling, often lethal complications of atherosclerosis.

Another important study, completed very recently, developed from epidemiological research which suggested that the high-fat, high-caloric diet habitually consumed by most Americans is an important factor in the high prevalence of heart disease among our adults and that our heart-disease mortality might be reduced by dietary changes acceptable to many Americans.

The present study sought to determine whether more than 2,000 volunteers would faithfully adhere to a modified diet over a prolonged period and to determine its effects on plasma levels of cholesterol and other lipids. It will not tell us whether dietary modifications can affect mortality from heart disease; but it should tell us whether a long-term, massive population study that would be required to test this hypothesis is likely to justify the enormous expense and effort involved in such an undertaking. Thus the findings may have an important bearing on future PHS program planning in heart-disease prevention.

Thus far, the dividends resulting from the heavy Federal investment in medical research have been substantial: An enormous store of basic knowledge about the cardiovascular system and its diseases has been accumulated, and an impressive array of clinical advances have stemmed directly from that knowledge. But only when this knowledge and these clinical advances are widely applied by men like yourselves to meet the needs of individual patients do research investments pay more gratifying dividends in terms of human lives saved and salvaged.

Last year, the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke studied the problems still confronting us in these three disease areas and recommended means for reducing the heavy toll in death and disability presently exacted by these disorders. The Commission concluded that this toll could be substantially reduced if advanced diagnostic and therapeutic techniques, already developed and clinically proven, could be made more widely available to our citizens.

The major recommendations of the Commission for bringing this about form the basis for the Heart, Cancer, and Stroke Amendments of 1965. The law authorizes a three-year, $340 million program of grants for the planning and establishment of regional medical programs. These grants would provide support for cooperative arrangements linking major medical schools and their affiliated teaching hospitals with clinical research centers, local community hospitals, and practicing physicians serving that region.

The specific design of regional plans and programs would be dictated by the relationships established among these resources. However, such a design might encompass such aspects as coordinated referral of patients, interchange of medical and research personnel, programs of continuing education for physicians, the provision of advanced research and clinical equipment and training in its use, and the development and support of medical teams highly trained in the latest techniques of diagnosis and treatment.

Grants will be made for planning, for feasibility studies, and for pilot projects to assess the value of these co-operative regional arrangements and to provide a base of experience for further development of the over-all program.

The emphasis throughout will be on local initiative in planning and developing programs most suited to the health needs and health resources of a particular region. The success of a regional program will require co-operation of practicing physicians, medical center officials, hospital administrators, and representatives from local chapters of appropriate voluntary health agencies. Each grant applicant, therefore, must designate a group of such representatives to advise him, together with the participating institutions, in formulating and implementing plans for establishing and carrying out the regional medical program.

In developing the over-all program, the Federal government will studiously avoid interfering with patterns or methods of financing patient care, with professional practice, or with the administration of hospitals.

The impact of Federal programs for research and health on the practice of medicine has already been great; and, during the years to come, it is likely to be greater still. Federal funds have helped to support the development of many of the diagnostic, preventive, and therapeutic techniques that many of you use every day; they have assisted in the training of countless new research workers and clinicians; and they are helping to provide this body of highly trained scientific manpower with the weapons needed in the continuing research asault on our major health problems.

You may recall how, in the early days of World War II, America served primarily as the Arsenal of Democracy. In a sense, today we in Congress, through our appropriation of public funds to augment the contributions of private health agencies, industry, and private citizens, help to supply the weapons for the war on disease. We do not tell you how to wage the battle. In fact, in this area as in no other, the Congress relies on the medical profession and biomedical scientists to provide the direction, the formulation as well as the execution of Federal programs.

During House and Senate hearings each year, the testimony of private citizens, physicians, eminent authorities in biomedical research, and directors and staff members of health and welfare agencies is collected, then painstakingly sifted and weighed. On the basis of this counsel, the results of existing programs are evaluated, earlier programs may be re-shaped or abandoned, and new programs formulated as the current needs of clinical and laboratory research dictate.

In essence, then, it is you, more than my colleagues in the House and in the Senate or myself, that indicate the direction that Federal programs in health and research will take. Our job in Congress is never to tell you what to do, but rather to find out what you need in order to do your job, try to supply it, then leave you alone to get on with it. For only in this way will Federal programs in research and health have significance in aiding you in your life-long dedication to bettering the health and welfare of our people.

War Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, increased concern of our Nation's policy in South Vietnam comes daily from various parts of our country and continuing contributions are made to the national dialog that is being generated by what we are doing in southeast Asia.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in my remarks an editorial appearing in the distinguished West Virginia newspaper, the Wheeling Intelligencer, edited by Thomas O'Brien Flynn, a newspaper that was completely devoted to the candidacy and election of Barry Goldwater as President of the United States so that my colleagues may have the benefit of the thinking of this distinguished newspaper and journalist:

WAR POLICY: IT'S NOT THE LEGALITY BUT THE WISDOM OF OUR ACTION THAT'S PERTINENT

The Viet Nam debate has shifted emphasis from the wisdom of the policy that led us to armed intervention to the legality of the engagement itself.

Secretary Rusk, turning up for another session with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—which presumably was considering the $3.4 billion foreign aid bill—came armed with a legal brief supporting the validity of our armed participation.

Our commitment to Viet Nam, according to Rusk and the brief, had its origin in the post World War II period when Mr. Truman was President. Throughout that time, Rusk said, it was the American position that "we had an important stake in the security and stability of Southeast Asia."

"Military actions of the United States in support of Viet Nam," the Secretary continued, "including air attacks on North Viet Nam, are authorized under international law by the well-established principle of collective defense against armed aggression."

He added that there is nothing in either American or international law that requires a declaration of war to authorize American military action in Southeast Asia. Legally, he asserted, this country is on firm ground.

Rusk's position was challenged immediately by Sen. WAYNE MORSE, Oregon Democrat, who is perhaps the most severe and persistent critic of our Viet Nam activity.

As with most arguments involving a legal point the case, no doubt could be decided either way. As a matter of fact most wars can be challenged from one side or the other on legal grounds. Fault must lie somewhere or there would be no war, and any belligerent could make out a good case in support of his position. So, little is to be accomplished, it would seem to this newspaper, by trying to establish the validity of our engagement from a standpoint of international law, although it might serve a good national purpose to explore the point made by Rusk that there is nothing in American law to require a declaration of war to justify armed action by American forces in Southeast Asia. If this is true it will come as quite a surprise to the American people, who had nurtured the belief that only Congress has the authority to declare war.

But the legality of our involvement, it seems to this newspaper, is the less serious consideration. What is serious is the wisdom or necessity of it from a standpoint of national welfare.

If we are theoretically committed by treaty—and this is a moot question—to do what we are doing, was it incumbent on us to assume in the first place the obligation of resisting aggression all over Southeast Asia, all over the world for that matter? Was it necessary to our national security? Is it possible for us to do what we undertook to do?

These, it seems to The Intelligencer, are the important questions. And the answers, to our way of thinking, are perfectly clear. We had no such obligation. We do not have it now. Our security was in no way threatened. Finally—what is happening in Viet Nam would seem to furnish sufficient proof of this—we have assumed an assignment quite beyond our ability to deliver.

Why, then, go on with the war?

Teachers Corps in Disguise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great alarm that I received a press release from the Office of Economic Opportunity which all but announced that they are setting up a teachers corps in disguise.

The announcement said the OEO has concluded a contract with the National Education Association to enable teachers and counselors to work in Jobs Corps centers and then spend a year introducing new teaching methods in their local public schools. This is the same type of program which was rejected by Congress only last month when both the House and Senate refused to appropriate funds for the Teacher Corps program.

This is a deliberate and intentional violation of the wishes of the American people and the intent of Congress.

The OEO's own press release announced that the new program "will make it possible to spread the methods used in the Job Corps centers through local communities." It went on to quote OEO Director Sargent Shriver as saying:

The new contracts would make it possible to start feeding the educational innovations of the Job Corps program into the public school system.

The new OEO venture smacks of Federal indoctrination and Federal control with identical "internships" and work-study programs only rejected a few weeks ago.

This dangerous and deliberate thwarting of the intent of Congres must be exposed to the American people and must be directly stopped by special legislation if necessary.

Conduct of the War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I feel certain Members and others who read the RECORD will be interested in an editorial written by Clelland Cole, publisher of the St. John News, St. John, Kans.

Millions agree with the thoughts expressed so articulately by Mr. Cole. Visits with Kansans and mail from my district lead me to believe people are confused, frustrated, and in basic agreement with the thoughts expressed in the editorial.

SHERMAN SAID IT ABOUT WAR—REMEMBER?

Rumblings over the conduct of the war in Viet Nam are growing louder and angrier.

As more and more wives, and parents, and families are told the sad news that "He died a hero's death," in the far off muck of an Asian jungle, the queries become more and more insistent: "Why do we piddle around? Why don't we win this war?"

As shortages of bombs are denied and the ones denying are proven to be bald face liars, as fighting men send the word back home that they lack sufficient equipment, as military leaders fret and fume and bash their fists against trees in utter frustration, as taxpayers are bled white, wondering what manner of insanity could possess men that they should pour untold billions in the war with one hand and scatter many times more billions into the bottomless maw called "foreign aid," with the other, the rumblings become grumblings and the public temper arises.

Wouldn't it be wonderful if this war could be ended now—at once?

It just cannot be.

We may as well prepare for a long, bitter, trying, expensive, bloody conflict.

We must not overlook the fact that we are fighting an enemy which has proven to be far, far tougher and more stubborn than we had imagined. (By "we," I mean the leaders of this nation who have directed the war, and who are solely and completely responsible for the U.S. policies in this war.)

This enemy is going to take at lot of convincing.

He is immune to reason, and outpourings of blood and lives and resources affect him not at all.

But he must be taught that no matter what the cost in American lives, no matter how many oceans of American blood are spilled on the battlefield, no matter how many planes, and helicopters, and men we lose, no matter how many billions we wring from the struggling taxpayer, we will not be swerved from our goal.

This enemy must learn, once and for all, that we will pour whatever lives are needed, whatever billions are required, and take whatever time is necessary to show him, emphatically, decisively, and unequivocally, that he cannot lose!

He still seems to have some doubts about it. He still seems plagued by an uneasy suspicion that the United States might decide to unleash one teency fraction of its military might and blast him into kingdom come by nightfall.

He still seems fearful that our fighting men just might ignore the battle plans from Washington and really go on the warpath and hammer the living daylights out of him and all he owns.

He is tremendously hard headed, this enemy.

We may be years on end finally convincing him that we simply will not let him lose. With the record of the Korean war and the Cuban fiasco, it seems ridiculous that the Viet Cong should require so much convincing. He needs but to look at those episodes to see that we do not intend to win, and we do not intend for the enemy to lose.

Once we have him firmly convinced that he cannot lose, perhaps we can get him to the conference table where history proves beyond doubt that he can't possibly lose.

Fighting a war is tough enough when, with the wherewithal and the desire and the loyalty of home folks, victory is the goal. But when the aim is to deny our fighting men the chance for victory, and the fool enemy just won't be convinced, then war really gets to be hell.

Right, Mr. McNamara, HHH, LBJ, et al?

The Purpose of the Cape Cod National Seashore Is Conservation

SPEECH

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the legislation establishing the Cape Cod National Seashore specifies that the seashore's primary purpose is conservation of the unique natural, historical, and scientific features of the area. The congressional sponsors of the legislation intended recreational uses of the seashore to be secondary and restricted to those specifically permitted in the act.

The Secretary of the Interior has placed the seashore, for administrative purposes, in the category of recreational areas. Although we are confident that it is the Secretary's intention to administer the seashore according to the provisions of the legislation, we fear that in future years this categorizing of the seashore could make conservation secondary. In the light of the fact that last year the number of visitors to the seashore increased by nearly 500,000 over the previous year, the problem cannot be ignored.

To prevent perversion of the purpose of the legislation, the Senate committee in its report on appropriations for the Department of the Interior, H.R. 14215, included the following statement:

> The committee believes that even though the Secretary of the Interior has included all national seashores in a recreational category, the purpose of the Cape Cod National Seashore should continue to be one of conservation as set forth in the legislation authorizing its establishment.

I applaud the reaffirmation of the original intention of Congress and trust that in future years the seashore will be administered in accordance with our purposes.

The following editorial from the Cape Cod Standard-Times expresses my feeling in this matter very well:

> GUIDELINE OFFERED
>
> Three cheers for the Senate Appropriations Committee!
>
> In a statement after acting on funds for acquisition of more land for Cape Cod National Seashore the committee noted that it was the understanding of Congress and others involved with the Cape Seashore that it was established to conserve the dunes and beaches of the Lower Cape.
>
> It was not, the committee statement said, to be used for recreational purposes.
>
> The committee said that while all the National Seashores were listed by Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall as recreation areas, this was just for classification sake and did not mean they were to be used for recreation purposes primarily.
>
> Thus the senators have put the Interior Department and the National Park Service and those lawmakers and others who are so anxious to develop the Cape Cod Seashore as a recreational area on notice that this is not to be done, this is not what was planned.
>
> For many Cape Codders who have been saying this for so long, and who appeared to be doing nothing but talk into the wind, the senators have provided a big boost.
>
> The idea of preserving the Lower Cape areas is favored by most, but the idea of developing these sites to be recreational areas for the millions who live in the Northeast is not favored by many Cape Codders.
>
> That these beautiful natural areas will be saved for posterity is fine.
>
> Let us hope that the recreation forces won't disregard this warning from the Senate Appropriations Committee and try to make the Lower Cape a giant recreational area open to one and all at the expense of the resort business that supports a growing Cape.

U.S.S. "George Washington Carver"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 1966, I received a letter from Vice Adm. H. G. Rickover, Deputy Commander for Nuclear Propulsion, Naval Ship Systems Command, Department of the Navy, telling me of the successful first sea trials of our 37th Polaris nuclear submarine, the U.S.S. *George Washington Carver*.

In this communication Admiral Rickover included an outstanding biographical sketch on Mr. George Washington Carver, for whom the submarine was named. So that many more Americans will have the privilege and opportunity to read what I consider an outstanding letter and a very fine biography of a great American, I am including his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

> U.S.S. "GEORGE WASHINGTON
> CARVER" CSSBN–656),
> *At Sea, North Atlantic, May 8 1966.*
> The Honorable THOMAS G. MORRIS,
> *Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.*
>
> DEAR MR. MORRIS: We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of our 37th Polaris nuclear submarine. The USS George Washington Carver was built by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, Newport News, Virginia. We also have in operation 22 attack type nuclear submarines, making a total of 59.
>
> This ship is named for George W. Carver, a botanist and chemurgist renowned in the annals of American scientific agriculture. The child of slaves, he did not know the day of his birth. Even the year is not certain, but he thought it was 1860. Where he was born, however, is not in doubt. In 1943, shortly after he died at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, both houses of Congress passed, without a dissenting vote, a bill authorizing erection of a national monument at his birthplace in Diamond Grove, Missouri. In fourscore years, George W. Carver had come a long way and accomplished a great deal.
>
> None of it had come easy. His start in life was most inauspicious. A sickly infant, orphaned before he was a year old, it seemed unlikely he would survive. He lost his father in an accident and was soon after kidnaped, together with his mother and sister, by marauding nightriders. Those were lawless times. Stealing slaves for sale to plantations in the Deep South was not uncommon. But George Carver was such a puny baby that the kidnapers had no use for him, and so his master was able to get him released in return for a race horse valued at $300. Of mother and sister nothing was ever heard.
>
> Hard as it was to be a slave child without kith or kin, by great good fortune his master Moses Carver (from whom he took his surname) was not a typical planter but a plain farmer, one of the so-called "Black Republican abolitionist Germans," or "lop-eared Dutch," as they were contemptuously called, who had migrated to Missouri in the 1830's. He was opposed to slavery, but he and his wife were childless and middle-aged; they needed help and servants were not to be had. So Moses bought a slave girl from a neighbor for $700. After she had been abducted, he took it upon himself to raise her small son. Slavery ended when the boy was four years old but he remained with the Carvers and was treated much as any other farm boy. There was a lot of work to be done and George was expected to do his share. He was an especially apt pupil in all the domestic chores around the house and showed early that he had a way with growing things. People called him "plant doctor" for he could cure any ailing plant; he seemed to know instinctively what it needed in order to grow.
>
> The boy was born with a keen mind, fantastically clever hands and so great a thirst for knowledge that no obstacle could bar him from obtaining an education. Of rebuffs he suffered many, but he was also often given a helping hand. The free school nearby was barred to him, whereupon Mrs. Carver gave him an old blue-back Speller and with her help he taught himself to read and write. Thereafter he was hardly ever without a book in his hand. He would prop it up while he washed and ironed, these being some of the chores that earned him a living while he gradually accumulated school credits.
>
> At 10 he decided he must find a school and so he left the Carvers, all his possessions in a small bundle over his shoulder. Thus began an Odyssey that was to take him in short stages northward geographically and upward educationally. At several critical times during his 30-year quest for an education, luck or his pleasing personality, or perhaps a combination of both, brought him into contact with warmhearted childless

couples who gave him the concern and care usually found only in one's own family. With a few he stayed but he was never a burden. He earned his keep for he was a prodigious worker, determined never to accept charity.

George Carver literally inched himself up the educational ladder, working his way not just through college but through grade and high school as well, working all the time to support himself. He was 20 before he got to high school, 25 when he graduated. Highland University accepted his credentials but when he presented himself, he was told negroes were not admitted. He was 30 when he finally entered Simpson College in Iowa. A year later, he entered Iowa State University, graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1894. Invited to become a member of the staff in charge of systematic botany, the bacteriological laboratories and the greenhouse, he continued his studies and received a Master of Science degree in 1896. That year, he was invited by Booker T. Washington to organize and direct a new agriculture department at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. There he remained the rest of his life.

From earliest childhood, Carver had the habit of rising at four and walking about the countryside for an hour or two. Soil, plants and trees interested him intensely; he wanted to know how they were put together, what made them fruitful. Nature was both a consolation and a challenge. In Tuskegee, he found the land exhausted from one-crop cotton culture, robbed of its mineral content, eroded from lack of plant cover, treeless and sun parched. The campus was bare earth, dusty in dry weath, a sea of mud when it rained. He went about looking for ways to restore the overworked earth and found it in green manure and the growing of nitrogen-producing legumes—pod bearers such as vetch, peas, clover, peanuts—plants which enriched the soil. Crop rotation which European peasants had practiced for a thousand years had to be relearned by Southern tenant farmers who knew no other crop but cotton. Carver went among them preaching diversification. He urged them to grow peanuts and sweet potatoes; those who heeded his advice rode out the disastrous invasion of the boll weevil.

On the experimental farm he developed at Tuskegee, he evolved a cross between the short-stalk and the tall-stalk cotton known as "Carver's Hybrid," besides three other new strains. With green manuring, he grew enormous potatoes, cabbages, onions, watermelons and cantaloupes. He instituted a visiting day each month for neighboring farmers to show what could be grown with scientific methods. They were most impressed with his new cotton strain which carried 275 huge bolls on a single bush, and yielded nearly a bale and a quarter per acre, in contrast to the usual one third of a bale most tenant farmers produced.

To bring the message of scientific agriculture to those who could not come to Tuskegee, Carver loaded a wagon with tools, boxes, jars and packages of seed and set out every Friday evening after class to give demonstrations to meetings of farmers. In 1906, with money donated by Morris J. Jesup, a member of the Slater Foundation, he designed the so-called Jesup Wagon which served as a movable farmers school and was adopted in other countries.

Carver's skill as soil scientist and plant breeder was to him but a means to help raise the standards of the Southern farmer, not just in productivity, but in his whole way of life. It was obvious to Carver that the prevalent diet of pork, meal and molasses lacked the vitamins and minerals necessary for good health and stamina. So he urged farmers to grow more vegetables and fruits, showed them that many common weeds, properly cooked, were edible and nutritious, taught their women how to prepare them. His own boyhood had been spent on a multipurpose farm where everything the family needed was grown and processed, only sugar and coffee being bought. He called this "living at home" and preached it throughout the land. By avoiding store purchases, a little could be saved each week and eventually a piece of land bought. This, he said, was the way out of poverty. Tenant farmers lived in drab cabins. Noticing the beautifully colored clay in which Alabama abounded, Carver developed a simple method for making color wash and demonstrated how much even the shabbiest cottage could be improved by a paint that cost not a penny.

Carver is best known as a pioneer "chemurgist"—a word, coined by Dr. William J. Hale in 1934, which means chemistry at work. In his book *Pioneers of Plenty*, Christy Borth called Carver "the first and greatest chemurgist." Carver made paper from Southern pine "at least a quarter of a century before Dr. Charles H. Herty tackled the problem," and synthetic marble from wood shavings "years before a rocklike plastic made from wood waste became a chemurgic promise." He saw promise in the peanut when it was still a lowly weed growing along fences and tolerated by farmers only because their children liked its taste. From the peanut and the sweet potato, Carver developed more than a hundred different products, including plastics, lubricants, dyes, medicines, ink, wood stains, face creams, tapioca and molasses. He developed these in his laboratory at Tuskegee which he had put together out of odds and ends salvaged from scrap heaps.

When he first arrived to take up his post, he discovered there was no money to equip a laboratory. In the course of his life, necessity had made him a genius at making do out of nothing. He and his students made the rounds of the rubbish heaps on campus and in town. They collected bottles, cut their necks off evenly and turned them into beakers. A thick, chipped teacup became a mortar, a piece of pipe the pestle. An old ink bottle with a wick made of string stuck through a cork became a Bunsen burner. Pieces of tin were punched and became sifters. Reeds served as tubes to transfer liquids. Carver had brought with him the one indispensable and costly thing not to be found on scrap heaps: a microscope. It was a parting gift from colleagues at Iowa State.

The products of his laboratory made his name known and brought him tempting offers of positions in industry, and checks for advice that had been sought from him. He politely declined the positions and returned the checks. He had no interest whatsoever in money and could not be bothered with the problem of marketing his inventions. His head was too full of ideas for new products. Advice, he thought, should always be free. He hoped it would reflect favorably on people's attitude toward his race, if he helped others with their problems. His own needs were minimal. Indeed, out of a salary of $1,500 a year at Tuskegee, he saved $33,000 which he donated to the Carver Foundation for creative research in chemistry.

Many people from all over the world sought out this shy and retiring man, wanting to talk to him and to observe his work. Edison, Henry Ford, Theodore Roosevelt and other important men became his friends. Honors and honorary degrees came his way. One was the Roosevelt Medal for distinguished service in the field of science (1939). He was introduced to the dinner guests in Theodore Roosevelt's New York home with these words which are a summing up: "I have the honor to present not a man only, but a life, transfused with passion for the enlarging and enriching of the living of his fellowman."

Respectfully,

H. G. Rickover.

The Auto Critics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, recently it has become quite popular to blame the automobile for the great number of traffic accidents that occur every day in this country. But let us not lose sight of the other factors that contribute to the increasing death rate on our streets and highways. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which recently appeared in the Blair, Nebr., Enterprise:

AUTO INDUSTRY NOT DESERVING OF CURRENT CRITICISM

The nation's auto industry has been on the receiving end of a lot of criticism from government circles of late regarding automobiles and the accidents in which they are involved. That criticism, auto makers say, has had a lot of effect on the sale of new cars and it has, indirectly, been to blame for the cutback in production schedules at the auto factories.

Government circles claim the auto industry does not make cars "safe" enough and that the industry is to blame for the great number of wrecks and accidents.

Speaking from our own long experience in the newspaper business, we would like to say that we feel that the criticism is unfounded. The cars being sold today, in our opinion, are the best and the safest that have ever been offered and the industry is making constant improvements.

In the newspaper business it becomes part of our job to cover as many of the auto wrecks as possible. We go to the scene of the accident to see, first hand, just exactly what actually happened. And we can say that the time when a mechanical failure has caused an accident is rare, indeed. The percentage is very small when cars lose a wheel, a tire blows out, the steering mechanism jams, or headlights black out.

Almost without fail, the cause of an auto accident is with the driver. He drives too fast; he uses poor judgment in a turn; he has been drinking; he is racing; he is showing off and not tending to business; he is driving in a difficult place when he is still inexperienced; he goes to sleep; his attention is distracted.

As a nation we are quite slack and quite generous in the giving of permits to drive an automobile.

A youngster, either boy or girl, who knows nothing about mechanics or even what makes a car run, can procure a license to drive. And it's perfectly legal for a new driver to push his car right up to the speed limit, the same as the man who has driven a half million miles.

The arrogant, defiant "go-to-hell' type of driver can get a license. So can the soft-spoken, timid little soul who gets into a tight traffic situation and loses his head. The selfish individual who rams his way through heavy traffic is treated just the same when it comes to getting a license, as the driver who is courteous and considerate.

Moreover, under our present licensing laws, a man can lose an arm or leg, or both, and still retain his license. His eyesight can go bad and other cars may be little more than a blurr, but he still retains his license—until such time as he is involved in a serious wreck.

Today's cars have the best headlights ever invented—but failure to dim has caused lots of wrecks.

Today's cars have the finest of hydraulic brakes—but using them in the wrong manner has thrown many a car into a fatal skid.

Many of today's cars are equipped with signal lights and buzzers which sound when the car gets to going faster than a selected speed—but drivers turn the gadget up high so it won't sound and disregard it.

Today's cars are equipped with powerful engines; with power enough to provide quick passing and a return to the proper lane for safe driving—but drivers squeeze in too closely and get involved in head-on collisions.

Today's cars are equipped with seat belts—but what percentage of the time are they in use?

Like the safety on a gun, it is helpless to prevent accidents unless it is used. And increases in safety equipment on a car will be useless, too, unless it is put to use by the driver.

We think the government is accusing the auto industry unjustly. It's the drivers who are to blame for most accidents.

George Washington Had Lesson for Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the complexities of today's life frequently mask some of the basic concepts on which this Nation was founded and has thrived.

George Washington recognized one of these concepts nearly 200 years ago when he referred to the "invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men."

An eloquent reminder of the importance of this principle was delivered May 20, 1966, when my distinguished colleague, the Honorable Billie S. Farnum, journed to Indianapolis to address the prayer breakfast at the annual meeting of the Indiana Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Under unanimous consent I place Mr. Farnum's remarks on that occasion in the Record at this point:

May 20, 1966.

"Be not forgetful of prayer. Every time you pray, if your prayer is sincere, there will be new feeling and new meaning in it which will give you fresh courage, and you will understand that prayer is an education."

This passage struck me when I read it, not only because it says so very much to us in these troubled times, but because I found its source so interesting. It appeared in some very non-religious reading I was doing, coming from the pages of a book written, not by a minister, or even a man of the church, but by Dostoyevsky, the Russian writer, in his novel about brotherhood, the Brothers Karamazov.

Dostoyevsky was a man who spoke passionately for the brotherhood of man all of his life. He saw Christian brotherhood as the only factor that could possibly save the world from the destruction that he saw thundering toward him and his countrymen. This was in 1880, some thirty-five years before the hammer and sickle fell across the backs of the people he had written for. His vision of brotherhood, the brotherhood of which he dreamt, was one that could only be reached by prayer and charity, and, as history has tragically shown, was not reached at all.

Now I am not telling you anything when I say that prayer, in the complex world of the 20th century, has come to be regarded as an archaic pattern of thought, something not quite socially correct, an anachronism hardly acceptable to the enlightened space-age man.

Yet, it is easy to remember, as children we thought nothing of casting eyes heavenward at the least suggestion or thought of a divine favor. We cajoled, pleaded, bribed and begged the Heavenly Throne for all manner of things. Yet somehow we feel that "putting away the things of a child" should include prayer and its frequent use. How can brotherhood grow into the body of strength needed if we turn our back toward the very source of the bond?

George Washington acknowledged the answer.

In his first inaugural address, Washington, with no blushing, no social embarrassment, made "fervent supplication" to the "Almighty Being who, presides in the Councils of Nations." He prayed that the "Great Author of every public and private good would consecrate the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States."

"No people", he continued, "can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been disinguished by some token of providential agency."

Washington knew his words to be accurate. He had seen, in his lifetime, the "providential agency" in action. He had seen the odds at Concord but he had seen the colonies' first success there, too. He had seen 1,000 British casualties fall before a handful of Americans fighting together on Bunker Hill. and had seen the British twice driven from that hill. He had seen the overwhelming problems of waging war of independence, and still he saw the sword of victory placed in his hands by the defeated Cornwallis at Yorktown.

So Washington spoke easily and at first hand of the memories he had of Divine Providence in the affairs of this new country. He could not see, nor could he have dared to hope that the same good fortune would be America's deep into our century, to the present day.

We can see the hand of Divine Providence in nearly every decade as we continue to bathe in the beneficence of the Creator.

Just over a hundred years ago we were torn and wracked in a civil strife that could have been the dissolution of our fraternal spirit, but from the pain of the final battle came an improved state, with the brotherhood of man more powerful than it had ever been before, for we built on the agony and despair that had torn us apart. We built, until the next conflict loomed fierce on the horizon. This time a global conflict, for us, on foreign soil. But our willing nation, without conquering or possessing, again claimed a righteous victory. And in our own times, against a two-headed aggressor, in Europe and Asia, we fought, vanquished and reconstructed until the world could again resume the sanity of a peaceful life. Today, up to this very morning, we continue to keep the spirit of democracy alive around the globe. Our banner, "In God We Trust" has never dipped to an alien power, never been scarred or bloodied by a force more powerful than we, and the "invisible hand", as Washington chose to call it, "which conducts the affairs of men", has never deserted us.

Now, at a time of maximum danger, as we face tasks and challenges never before shouldered by man, now, at this crucial time, can we afford to let prayer, our only communication with the agency that has made us great, go out of our lives? Can we afford to cut the life lines by assuming that prayer is not really worthy of expression by a clear-thinking, hard-hitting modern man?

We are now burdened by the responsibility of leadership, burdened by the necessity of exemplary conduct wherever we go in the world, simply because we are Americans. For America is something more than just a country to our friends around the world. We are expected to set a good example because we are something special.

We can do this, and do it with no problem. We are 190 million strong. And the great majority of that 190 million are pulling their own weight, and more. This is the example we have set for the world. We have shown the world that looking out for oneself is not enough. 20th century America calls for more communal efforts.

This is evident in all fields.

Our sports are characteristically team-oriented: baseball, football, basketball. In the motion picture industry an enormous team effort is necessary to produce a single film. It takes teams, scores of teams, to prepare our Gemini shots. Individuals must work together.

With the prodigious increase in the body of knowledge necessary to produce 20th century products, the group effort is a prerequisite for progress. It is curious that America, the melting pot, should give rise to "group effort." Men of widely different backgrounds, of tremendous philosophic differences, of unique racial variants, came together and somehow their differences were woven into a new strength. Their variations contributed to a new kind of understanding, a new power, a new use of the resources of manhood that that made all the combined empires of history seem pale and hollow in comparison.

They listened to Psalms: "Except the Lord build the House, they labour in vain that build it."

This nation of immigrants learned to work together because they had learned to pray together. This prayer was, for the pioneers of our country, an education. An education in the belief, in the trust, in the confidence of their colleagues, their campanions, their co-workers. So they heeded Washington's decree to "acknowledge and adore." And this nation took shape.

They listened to Psalms. Psalms leaves no doubt about the direction that they needed to take, that we must take, to keep America the world's envy, the world's hope. Nor does the Bible leave us any room to ignore the importance of the rest of our fellow-citizens in their drive for advancement. In the sixth chapter of Galatians, we read: "Bear ye one anothers burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ."

Helping others to help themselves to help make a nation great, is, in itself, an act of nobility. It came home to me with special force the other day as I walked in under the magnificent gold and white dome of the Library of Congress, near my office on Capitol Hill. There way up in a corner, too far away really, were these especially moving words: "As one lamp lights another, *nor grows less*, so nobleness enkindles nobleness."

We cannot lose. Each step we take to help our brother is a step toward enlightenment. We cannot falter. Each day we spend to increase our tolerance is a day closer to complete Christian understanding. We cannot fail. For each time "two or three are gathered together" in His name, there is He, in the midst of them.

Billie S. Farnum.

Taxation—Report of Smaller Business Association of New England

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, it is my privilege to enter the third in a series of four area proposals submitted in a very able presentation to the Congress by the Smaller Business Association of New England. The legislative suggestions below which concentrate on the area of "Taxation" were drawn together by Mr. Henry J. Griswold, of Lybrand, Ross Brothers & Montgomery:

TAXATION

1. Carry-back or forward of surtax credits.
2. Increase exemption from surtax credits.
3. Deductions for reinvested earnings.
4. Flexible depreciation.

As a partial solution to the tax problems of small firms, this year, SBANE offers the following program.

1. CARRY-BACK OR FORWARD OF SURTAX CREDITS

Our present tax structure penalizes small businesses when their earnings vary widely from year to year. Because their products and services normally are not well-diversified, their earning are extremely susceptible to the ups and downs of the market place; they may exceed $25,000 one year and be nonexistent the next. Under current provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, serious inequities are common.

Present law

	Company A		Company B		
	Earned	Normal tax (22 percent)	Earned	Normal tax (22 percent)	Surtax (28 percent)
1964	$25,000	$5,500	$10,000	$2,200	0
1965	25,000	5,500	20,000	4,400	0
1966	25,000	5,500	30,000	6,600	$1,400
1967	25,000	5,500	40,000	8,800	4,200
Total	100,000	22,000	100,000	22,000	[1] 5,600

[1] Tax inequity: $5,600.

Proposed law

	Company B			
	Earned	Surtax credit available	Tax	Surtax
1964	$10,000	$15,000	$2,200	0
1965	20,000	20,000	4,400	0
1966	30,000	20,000	6,600	0
1967	40,000	15,000	8,800	0
Total	100,000	0	22,000	[1] 0

[1] Tax inequity: None.

As an example, let's take the case of two companies that we shall call Company "A" and Company "B," using 1964 rates. (Figure 17.) In a four-year period, Company "A" earns $25,000 per year, so it pays the normal tax of 22% only, so that its tax bill is $22,000 on total earnings of $100,000.

On the other hand, Company "B's" earnings vary from year to year. In 1964 and in 1965 it pays the normal tax of 22% only; but in 1966 it pays a 28% surtax on $5,000 and in 1967 pays a 28% surtax on $15,000. As a result, although the two companies' earnings are identical for the four-year period, Company "B" is penalized by a tax inequity of $5,600.

In 1964, for the first time, individuals were permitted to use income tax averaging. Companies, as well as individuals, are subject to fluctuations in income from year to year, so that a method of income averaging would be greatly beneficial to them, particularly to small businesses and new firms. We propose that the Internal Revenue Code be amended to permit small businesses to average unused surtax credits, through a carry-back for three years and a carry-forward for five years. Under the terms of our proposal, here is how Company "B" would compute its tax: (Figure 17).

It would carry-forward $15,000 in unused surtax credits from 1964, and another $5,000 from 1965, for a total of $20,000. It would then use $5,000 of these carry-forward surtax credits in 1966, and would pay no surtax; $15,000 in surtax credits would be left to apply against earnings above $25,000 in 1967. As a result, it would pay normal taxes only of $22,000 for the four-year period—the same as the tax for Company "A."

Fair enough, isn't it? We urge your serious consideration of this proposal.

2. INCREASE THE INCOME EXEMPTED FROM THE SURTAX TO $50,000

In 1941, Congress recognized the need of small business to retain sufficient earnings to operate efficiently, purchase new equipment and expand, by establishing a surtax exemption on the first $25,000 of earnings. This figure has not been changed since the law became effective on January 1, 1942; yet the dollar of 1942 is now worth only 53 cents in terms of the General Wholesale Price Index, 47 cents toward purchase of Machinery and Motive Equipment, and 41 cents toward purchase of Machine Tools.

We propose the Congress reaffirm its consideration of small business by recognizing the effects of inflation through an increase in the surtax exemption from $25,000 to $50,000. Our suggestion is that the increase be implemented over a two-year period—$15,000 the first and $10,000 the second year—and limit this increased exemption to small businesses as defined by Congress.

Benefits of surtax exemption increase

A. Provide needed working capital for expansion.

B. Provide incentives for new businesses.

C. Help the efficient small company.

D. Minimize tax loss to Government.

But no matter what plan Congress devises, an increase in the $25,000 surtax would produce the following benefits:

a. Provide needed working capital for profitable small businesses, permitting them to expand and provide more jobs.

b. Provide additional incentives for formation of small businesses.

c. Benefit the efficient small company . . . the type of company which should be encouraged to grow.

d. Minimize the tax los to the Government by avoiding across-the-board tax deductions that would benefit large, as well as small, corporations.

To prevent individuals from taking advantage of these tax exemptions by forming several small companies, corporations could be required to disclose stock ownership, in order to qualify for the higher surtax exemption. In this way, the number of companies in which one individual could participate would be controlled, as is now done in apportioning the surtax exemption between commonly owned or related corporations.

FIGURE 21.—*Small business percentages by occupation*

	Percent
Manufacturers	6.4
Unclassified (construction, etc.)	23.7
Wholesalers	7.0
Services	20.4
Retail	42.5

3. PROVIDE TAX CREDITS FOR ADDITIONS TO ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE AND INVENTORIES

As an incentive to manufacturers and processors to increase their investment in machinery and equipment, in 1962, the Congress provided for a 7 percent Investment Tax Credit plan now in use. It was a wise move. It assisted in the rapid stimulation of capital expenditures.

But most small businesses are not manufacturers, processors or converters. (Figure 21) Nearly 70 percent of all small businesses are either retail, wholesale, or service firms. They do not own or use machinery.

As a result, the 7 percent investment credit has brought tax relief to only an estimated 6 percent, or 282 thousand out of an estimated 4.7 million small business taxpayers.

For years, many Congressmen have supported the plough-back principle, that is, the doctrine that the small business segment of our nation should be assisted in its great need to acquire and retain capital by granting it a tax credit, based not just on increases in additions to machinery, but also on increases in its *Accounts Receivable* and *Inventories*. These two factors, receivables and inventories, represent the only important financial elements to most small business enterprises.

SBANE again asks that the Congress provide legislation to grant a tax credit to small businesses based on the annual increases in inventories and receivables of such taxpayers. This credit would assist small business in its need to acquire additional working capital to permit it to compete against the supermarkets, the chain stores, the publicly-owned or manufacturer-owned wholesalers, and the service activities operated by large, national companies.

Adoption of the plough-back principle will assist small business in its need to increase after-tax earnings. It will provide the incentive and financial assistance needed to enable small business to survive.

SBANE believes this remedial legislation is a must for all small business and urges your support.

4. FLEXIBLE DEPRECIATION

Our industrial research efforts are producing technological advances so rapidly that machinery is frequently obsolete long before it begins to wear out. "Useful lives" of machines are shrinking at an accelerated rate. The Treasury Department's 1962 Depreciation Guide-Line Rules recognized this trend by permitting businesses to reduce the "useful lives" of machinery and equipment in computing depreciation. It has been our experience, however, that these rules have not significantly helped small businesses in allowing increased depreciation rates. Furthermore, the guide lines are so complex that it is often too difficult for both large and small business to understand and apply them.

We contend that set formulas for "useful lives" cannot possibly be applicable to each individual industry or situation. Only the individual company concerned can establish with certainty when a machine has reached a point where it should be replaced by more efficient equipment. For this reason, we urge consideration of a completely flexible depreciation policy, subject to regulation, through which a business would be allowed to write off its investment in machinery or equipment over the useful period.

SUMMARY

There have been many instances in the past when increased attention toward deficiencies and weaknesses in a particular area stimulated corrective action. SBANE hopes that a stronger SBA will emerge because of the concern shown over:

1. The lack of an Administrator since August 1965.
2. The depletion of the loan fund because of natural disasters.
3. The rumored shift of the Small Business Administration to the Commerce Department.

These circumstances have led to a renewed interest among all of us in this important agency. Many Senators and Congressmen have focused attention on this Department and reviewed how vital it is to small business.

The William Black Medical Research Building: New Resource for Columbia Presbyterian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

The William Black Medical Research Building: New Resource for Columbia Presbyterian

(Congressman John E. Fogarty, dedication, William Black Medical Research Building, New York City, Jan. 3, 1966)

I would like to begin these brief remarks by expressing my pleasure in being invited to attend these ceremonies, and to offer my congratulations and those of my associates in Washington on your accomplishment here. We share your happiness in seeing this fine new structure, the William Black Medical Research Building, come into being as one more strong base from which our never-ending fight against disease and disability will move forward.

Mr. Black needs no tribute from me, but I would like to add my own praise for his open and purposeful generosity in this instance. In his desire to help solve the "riddle of Parkinson's disease and other mysterious afflictions of mankind," he has made available funds totaling over $5 million for this project—the largest single contribution by a living person to Columbia University in its long history.

Mr. Black is a native Brooklynite, who took his engineering degree at Columbia 40 years ago and shortly thereafter, in a move that could have been called "Operation Bootstrap," went into business for himself. Demonstrating those qualities that were to set him apart as a business executive, he quickly adopted the high principles that have since prevailed in his relations with his employees and built up a multi-million dollar business from scratch.

The same principles are evident in his philanthropic activities, whose beneficiaries—in addition to the University—include the Parkinson's Disease Foundation, several other New York City Hospitals, and his home town of New Rochelle.

Mr. Black is one of the new breed of philanthropists, who are deeply convinced that to be useful, philanthropy must be meaningful . . . who would rather see the results of their good intentions with their own eyes than to be memorialized, no matter how discreetly, after their passing. I recall that he has long contended that too much money is spent on unessential things when "we don't have the facilities to take care of all human suffering."

This new research facility will do much to help correct that deficiency and will stand as a monument to his philosophy of life and serve as a permanent reminder of the degree to which not only Columbia, but the main body of American research and medical science is indebted to him.

At the same time I would be remiss if I did not note the assistance of the major foundations, the University Trustees and Trustees of Presbyterian Hospital, the members of the professional staff of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and the many other friends of Columbia Presbyterian who saw fit to contribute to this most worthy project.

Your new scientific resource is so attractive in appearance that one does not initially realize that it is also as modern and as functional as the skills of its designers could make it. As one who has not only had some experience placing one brick on top of another but also has served as one of the architects of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, passed earlier this year, I can say that this building enhances the charm of the Center's older buildings, and yet detracts nothing from the overall dignity of the Center's panorama. And it marks one of the final steps in a sentimental—yet practical—journey that began some 6 or 7 years ago when the Medical Center embarked in its long-range $50 million development program. Here we have an example of urban development at its best—the development of a city within a city—and I understand that a faculty apartment house and a new doctor's private practice building are still to come.

But this is only one side of the coin. More than bricks and mortar, more than gleaming instruments and shining laboratories, this new medical research building represents the determination of your leaders to keep the Center in the vanguard of this country's forward thrust in medical research. It is a physical representation of what can be achieved when dedication and competence are cross-pollinated.

The very quality of your research scientists and their work, your outstanding medical school, and its most able faculty are all factors that have made your research program so productive. In addition, as a leader in the field, the Center has a responsibility in training research personnel and in providing leadership in research which inevitably take it into newly-developing research areas.

It was natural that much more space in which to carry on this kind of promising research and research training would be necessary. It was imperative that it be furnished.

From my long experience as Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, I can almost sense the agonizing consideration the Trustees must have given to the alternatives presented by the possibilities of space rearrangement, by renovation and rehabilitation of existing laboratories, and by additions to the present physical plant. I know, from the same source of experience, that they finally realized that the changing character and exacting requirements of today's medical research made this new building essential.

Presbyterian is the largest voluntary nonprofit hospital in America, which for all practical purposes probably makes it the largest in the world. From its very beginnings, it has been well in the forefront of contemporary social and scientific advancement. For all who visit the Center today, its story—almost a century old—is epitomized on the original tablet which expresses the purpose from which Presbyterian's humanitarian traditions sprang. The tablet states that the hospital exists "for the poor of New York without regard to race, creed or color—supported by voluntary contributions."

In a day when we like to consider ourselves enlightened, many people may have some difficulty in grasping how revolutionary this idea was when James Lenox and his friends transcended the racial and economic segregation of their time and opened Presbyterian to all who might need its assistance.

It was 98 years and one day ago, on January 2, 1868 when Mr. Lenox addressed a circular letter to "such gentlemen in the City as might sympathize with its objects," proposing the establishment of the hospital. He received such a gratifying response that within a month a Board of Managers had been named and Presbyterian was on its way to realization.

That year was to see a great deal more than the beginnings of Presbyterian. On the national scene, President Johnson, trying to carry out Lincoln's policies without Lincoln's political skill, got into trouble with Congress. The conflict culminated with Johnson's impeachment trial for attempting to remove his disloyal Secretary of War in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act. He was tried by the Senate which, after weeks of charges and countercharges, failed of impeachment by a single vote on May 26th.

Four days later, the nation officially celebrated its first Memorial Day.

In 1868, Alva Edison joined the Western Union Telegraph Company, beginning at 21 an inventive career that would gain him more than 1,000 patents.

Admiral Farragut, who had said "Damn the torpedoes!" at the Battle of Mobile Bay, was leading his Eastern Squadron on a goodwill tour of continental ports.

And Christopher Sholes introduced the first commercial typewriter.

There were mileposts for Medicine in 1868, too.

The infectiousness of tuberculosis was demonstration by the talented Frenchman, Villemin, who transmitted the disease in animals.

Dr. Neumann first described the blood-forming role of the bone marrow.

And Julius Cohnheim, the most distinguished pupil of Virchow himself, assumed a professorship at Kiel, beginning an illumination of the functional and experimental study of disease that would make him the greatest experimental pathologist of the modern era. In turn, Cohnheim had brilliant pupils: Ehrlich, Neisser, and an American named William Welch.

Here in New York, its organization completed, the site donated and the necessary funding assured, Presbyterian moved swiftfly ahead in the next few years and, on October 10, 1872, the new hospital was formerly opened. One particularly astute observer sized it up nicely at the time when he said that "in the light of the then existing conditions a high degree of perfection had been attempted and attained."

In retrospect, these early days of Presbyterian are so intriguing that one is tempted to linger with them. The "First Medical Board," for example, fairly bristles with names of the outstanding physicians and surgeons of the day. But there is not time today and there are more able historians.

One of these was the eminent Dr. D. Bryon Delavan. Most Center people are familiar with his little volume on the hospital's origin; I commend it to all of you who may not have read it. Dr. Delavan's sketches of the giants who labored here are minor masterpieces of observation and objectivity.

Presbyterian Hospital and Columbia University were among the first institutions to pursue the imaginative concepts of men like Dr. Abraham Flexner, who envisioned the dynamic possibilities of academic medicine. Some 45 years ago, the two institutions concluded an agreement whereby Presbyterian became a teaching hospital and the services of Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons became available to its patients.

Presbyterian and Columbia were most fortunate in their relationship with men like Edward S.' Harkness, whose support enabled the vision to be realized. Aware that the most efficient operations are only a means to an end—a means to give the doctor, the teacher, the research scientist, the nurse the opportunity to do their utmost—Mr. Harkness formed a band of true visionaries in the 1920's to devise a practical method of integrating Presbyterian's eleven general and specialized hospitals, institutes and clinics and the Columbia medical school into a single working unit . . . . a Medical Center.

There is some minor controversy even today as to the origin of this grand concept, but it is a matter of cold fact that Columbia-Presbyterian was the first to realize the concept within a group of buildings specifically designed for the threefold purpose of patient care, teaching, and research.

Since that time, there have been changes of many kinds. Yet, during all these years—through World War II and the temporary fitful calm that followed—through the Korean conflict—through the cold war and in our present involvement in southeast Asia—Center physicians and their associates have continued to compile a proud and significant record of contributing to advances in medical science, medical education, and medical care.

The expansion and further development of a huge medical complex such as this is always an uphill struggle. Today, the Medical Center comes over the brow of one of those hills, and there is no doubt in my mind that the vista coming into view is a most promising one. For, in the scheme of things to come, the new William Black Medical Research Building will provide much critically-needed space for important medical research.

This is as it should be. After World War II there was a tremendous surge in research support—support that continues to grow with each passing year. But only in the last ten years has there been any clear emphasis on support of research construction.

In 1956, page after page of testimony before our Congressional committees overwhelmingly confirmed the conviction that was uppermost in the minds of some of us at the time—that expansion of facilities was essential to any further growth of our national research effort. As a result, Congress passed the Health Research Facilities Act that year, for the purpose of raising the quality and capacity of our research environment, and provided matching funds for construction in both public and non-profit institutions.

The results of this program have been most gratifying. The latest available figures indicate that in its first eight and a half years of existence, it has made 1,263 grants totaling approximately $320 million. The value of the "matching funds" concept is apparent when one learns that the overall cost of the research laboratories financed in part by PHS grants is more than $800 million, and the total cost of the buildings containing these laboratories and other facilities exceeds $1.5 billion.

One of the many key health measures passed by the first session of the 89th Congress extended the life of this fruitful program for another three years, and authorized a substantial increase in its appropriation. Passage of this Act was particularly satisfying at a time when expansion of physical plant for research is so urgently needed throughout the nation.

All of which is central to our ceremonies here today. By providing a suitable area in which your dedicated scientists can perform their research unimpeded, who can tell what impetus may be given to the solution of some of the many problems that face us today in our efforts to prolong the lives and maintain the health of our citizens.

There must be no slackening of pace in this effort. The 89th Congress having established itself as the "Health Congress," certainly intends that there be no slackening of the pace. More key health measures were enacted in the first session of the 89th Congress than in both sessions of any Congress in the past decade. All of these measures—programs for strengthening our supplies of trained manpower in medicine and professions related to health, Medicare, the community mental health programs, the Appalachia regional program, the regional programs for heart disease, cancer and stroke, the vocational rehabilitation amendments, the strengthening of manpower resources through assistance to both the schools and their needy students—had the active support of a public-spirited Congress. All of this we in Congress have been enabled to do because of one thing: the express will of our people. These steps have been taken with a full realization of what this nation could afford—in relation to the Gross National Product and international commitments—to preserve and enhance the strength of its people.

I am frankly concerned at the stories I hear about the possibility of a curtailment of progressive programs for our people because of an increasing commitment in the international area. If we must cut back on domestic spending I would suggest that it be done in some areas other than medical research, where our programs have been built on a very solid base of support for facilities—such as this one—for projects, and most important for the training of fresh scientific manpower. Any cutback in the rate of commitment to this war on disease will have serious longterm effect on the strength of this Nation.

In this age of commitment, I am committed to the pledge I have made to the American people to do all in my power to see to it that our citizens are not denied the waiting opportunities for a longer, happier, and more productive life.

I know that this commitment has the support of this audience and informed citizens throughout the country. I need not ask your continued support; I will simply try to continue to reflect it.

VFW Asks Hard Questions and Makes Sound Request

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the VFW commander in chief, Andy Borg, has furnished me with a copy of his letter to the President of the United States, together with a copy of the President's reply, in regard to his request that a thorough restudy of U.S. foreign policy be made by a panel of distinguished citizens.

The President reports that steps are being undertaken in this direction, and it is my hope that the preliminary steps will be followed through, as the events of the past few months indicate the great necessity of such a reevaluation. I would like to urge further that this group be nonpartisan and that its report be made available to the Congress and to the people.

The President also answers succinctly Commander Borg's questions on Vietnam, and it would be helpful if the dissenters, who would have us pull out of Vietnam without reaching an honorable conclusion, would study these comments.

Commander Borg also asked about our military preparedness, and I regret that the President did not go into more detail here. The contradictory statistics in this area that have been revealed in recent weeks cannot help but cause concern. I quote the words of the mother of one of the boys from my district, who was killed in Vietnam earlier this month:

> Please see that our boys have the very best of everything to fight this war with.

This we must do.

I include here the VFW news release and the complete correspondence on this matter:

[From Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States News Release]

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 18.—A thorough re-study of U.S. foreign policy by a panel of distinguished citizens has been suggested to President Johnson in a letter made public today by the Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Andy Borg, of Superior, Wis.

"The American people are daily becoming more baffled and confused," Borg wrote. "With contradictory statements being made by individuals in authority, a paralysis of the will is spreading and I don't think it is overstating the case to say that people are slipping into a national neurosis about our foreign policy."

The veterans' leader said four basic questions should be answered:

1. Are we at war with North Vietnam and Red China or with the Communist ideology?

2. Can the U.S. economy sustain our fighting forces and our other world-wide commitments?

3. Is our military establishment adequate to achieve our goals or are we overextended?

4. Has our system of world-wide alliances become outmoded?

Borg's letter to the President dismissed recent suggestions for a citizens' committee review of our Red China policy as "worse than futile." He said it would only increase national confusion by isolating one part of a larger problem. "How can we know what our policy should be toward China when we are not even certain of our national goals?" he asked.

Public confusion about U.S. foreign policy has been brought about by "a small but vocal minority of influential citizens," according to the V.F.W. Commander-in-Chief. "The American people have offered up themselves and their sons over and over again, risking death to defeat their country's enemies. They are doing so now, but as they go into battle they are hearing men in high places reiterate that they are shooting at the wrong foe. Our own military leaders are being compared with war criminals of the past."

Borg's letter said the people have built a mighty military force and "they have the right to know if it is sufficient to preserve their nation's security, what it is to be used for and whom it is to be used against." He concluded by stating, "Nothing here should be construed to mean that we have in any way altered our policy calling for total victory in Vietnam."

TEXT OF A LETTER DATED MAY 17, 1966, FROM COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ANDY BORG TO PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I write to you today out of a sense of obligation and a deep feeling that our nation is entering one of its most critical periods in history. You are known to be receptive to the observations and recommendations of your fellow citizens and it is out of my sincere desire to offer service that I humbly make the suggestions that follow.

In my capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, I have had the opportunity this year to travel hundreds of thousands of miles and speak with thousands of American citizens from all walks of life. It is my observation, Mr. President, that the American people are daily becoming more baffled and confused. With contradictory statements being made by individuals in authority, a paralysis of the will is spreading and I don't think it is overstating the case to say that the people are slipping into a national neurosis about our foreign policy. The two questions uppermost in their minds are: (1) Who is the real enemy of the United States and freedom loving people everywhere? and: (2) Is our military establishment powerful enough to defeat all of our enemies, whomsoever?

The reason that these questions are being raised, as I am certain you understand, is that a small but vocal minority of influential citizens is using its influence to sow discord and confusion. Under our system of government I recognize the right of that group to speak, although it is my personal belief and the belief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars that when American soldiers are being killed, it is too late for academic policy discussions.

I know that you are keenly aware, Mr. President, that the American people have offered up themselves and their sons over and over again, risking death to defeat their country's enemies. They are doing so now, but as they go into battle they are hearing men in high places reiterate that they are shooting at the wrong foe. Our own military and governmental leaders are being compared with war criminals of the past.

Considering their record of sacrifice, I believe the American people deserve to be told who the enemy is and what is required to defeat him. They have built this mighty military force and they have the right to know if it is sufficient to preserve their nation's security, what it is to be used for and whom it is to be used against.

I suggest, Mr. President, that you impanel a blue ribbon committee of distinguished American citizens to study our foreign policy. Give them access to all documents, classified and unclassified, that they may require to make a thorough analysis. This must be a searching review that is both non-partisan and non-political and must concern the present political, economic and military posture. More specifically, some of the questions they should answer are:

1. Are we at war with North Vietnam and Red China, or are we at war with Communism? This answer must be clearly defined. If Vietnam is merely the powder keg in the overall struggle against Communism, I am certain the people of this country will understand the need to carry on. On the other hand, if our government now feels that the central struggle has now been reduced to Red China, then the American people should also be told this. There is an urgent need that the people of the United States be told exactly what the national goals are.

2. Are the economic conditions in the United States such that we can continue to sustain our fighting forces in the field and our other economic commitments around the world?

3. Having answered these questions, is our military establishment adequate to achieve our goals or are we overextended? What modifications or extensions should be made to insure that it is fully adequate?

4. Finally, has our system of world alliances become outmoded?

It has been suggested recently that a distinguished citizens' committee be appointed to investigate our policy in Red China. In my view this would be worse than futile. Such discussions would only confound the national confusion by an artificial isolation of one part of a larger problem. How can we know what our policy should be toward China when we are not even certain of our national goals?

In closing, Mr. President, let me assure you that you have the full support of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States during these trying days. Nothing here should be construed to mean we have in any way altered our policy calling for total victory in Vietnam. We shall continue to lend our full support to those proud men wearing the uniform of our nation, but we sincerely believe that if you are to maintain the confidence of so many of our citizens here at home, the time has come for a redefinition of our national goals and policy, and of our state of readiness in meeting the challenges of present and future.

ANDY BORG,
Commander-in-Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO VFW COMMANDER IN CHIEF ANDY BORG (DATED MAY 24, 1966) IN REPLY TO THE VFW CHIEF'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT, DATED MAY 17, 1966

DEAR COMMANDER BORG: I have received many letters since becoming President. Few have been as clear, thoughtful and helpful as yours of May 17.

Through every line I could feel the depth of the patriotism which led you to write me.

I understand well that the conflict in South Viet Nam is confusing for many of our people. There are two reasons.

First, the external aggression does not take the form of organized divisions marching across frontiers, as was the case in Korea. It takes the form of men and equipment coming down on foot or on trucks through the jungle trails of Laos and by other routes. The aggression is just as real and just as dangerous for the freedom and independence of the people of South Viet Nam as was the attack on South Korea in June of 1950. But what our people see—and the citizens of other countries around the world—looks, on the surface much more like a civil war than external aggression.

There is a second source of confusion. The people of South Viet Nam are now at a stage in their history where they are trying to form, for the first time, a constitutional and representative government. The country has deep in its history strong regional feelings as well as religious groupings which have sometimes been in conflict. As they seek to set up a constitutional system, these differences come to the fore and create turbulence.

These two sources of confusion are, of course, systematically exploited in their propaganda by the communists.

You ask two earnest and proper questions: Who is our real enemy? Is our military establishment powerful enough to defeat all our enemies?

Our enemies in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, are those who use the method of aggression to try to expand their power and influence. If aggression can be deterred or defeated I am confident that the methods of freedom will triumph peacefully over the methods of communism.

Right now our enemy is the aggression organized and supplied from Hanoi backed and encouraged by others. A few years ago it was the aggressive attempt to throttle West Berlin and place missiles in Cuba.

As for our military establishment, I am sure it is powerful enough to defeat our enemies, whomever they may be. The danger now is not, strictly speaking, a military danger, so long as our military strength and the cohesion of our alliances are maintained.

I know of no time in our history when our military men have performed with greater skill and courage than our forces fighting in Viet Nam. They entered combat in a difficult climate, against a thoroughly professional enemy, in an unfamiliar kind of war. From the first days of combat they demonstrated their superiority.

Elsewhere in the world also our military forces are capable of dealing with aggression, should it be undertaken.

Our problem in Viet Nam is a problem of understanding what the aggressors are trying to do and having the subborn persistence and patience to see it through. They know that they cannot defeat our forces in the field, fighting alongside the Vietnamese, Koreans, Australians, and New Zealanders.

Their hope is that our people will not be able to stand the strains of this difficult engagement and that at some stage we will give up and withdraw.

It will be essential, of course, that the Vietnamese keep their own differences within bounds as they take their first steps toward constitutional government.

I have noted and I shall consider further your suggestions about bringing to bear distinguished men from outside the government to examine and make recommendations about our foreign policy. We are undertaking steps in this direction which, I trust, will commend themselves to you when they are announced.

Again let me thank you for taking the trouble to share your thoughts with me in these difficult times.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

Import Curbs Needed Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the spirit of the 1964 import agreement is being violated by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Commerce in their refusal to impose import controls on the increasing flow of beef and veal from foreign sources.

The American cattlemen must brace themselves for another bust in prices and break in the market if the present tide continues. Beef and veal imports for the first quarter of 1966 are up more than 20 percent over the first quarter of last year. All red meat imports are up more than 34 percent for the first 3 months of this year.

The 1964 quota established by law will not be triggered in 1966 until imports reach 110 percent of the base figure which is 890 million pounds. This means the quota would not be imposed unless imports reached 980 million pounds. Essentially, this means our quota has been set too high for effective control. It is incumbent upon Congress that we legislate specific relief for the American cattlemen by lowering the present quota formula.

Investigate FAA and Airlines

SPEECH
OF

HON. PAUL J. KREBS

OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAHILL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KREBS. Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleague for taking the initiative to call this to the attention of the Congress.

I too have been suffering the needless inconvenience and inadequate service that many people flying the airlines between Newark, N.J., and Washington, D.C., have been suffering for a long time.

The service is fit for cattle in most cases. The question of equipment leaves much to be desired. Eastern Airlines has been running shuttle planes between Newark and Washington, and the equipment gets older and older. Half the time passengers cannot see out of the windows for the filth on them.

The planes are completely inadequate and antiquated.

What is more serious is the attitude of the company. It seems to care little about providing service to which the people are entitled.

I also believe the FAA ought to look into the practices of the scheduling of airlines. I have here the current schedule between Newark, N.J., and Washington, D.C., for a 24-hour period starting at 12:30 a.m. and ending at 11:45 p.m. We find three flights between Newark, N.J., and Washington, D.C., on airlines other than Eastern Airlines. All the others are on Eastern Airlines. There is no competition. There is no free enterprise.

I submit that this is one of the reasons why service is so inadequate.

People have to pay $18 fare on the shuttle planes, when the other couple of airlines, with a couple of flights, provide what amounts to first-class service for less. They provide a hot breakfast on United Airlines, for $16.12, and Eastern Airlines will not give a person a glass of cold water, and charges $18.

One of the reasons why they are able to get away with this is that there are not any other airlines providing service between Newark and Washington, D.C.

The question here is one I have wanted to bring to the attention of the House. I am grateful to my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL], for doing this. I join him in petitioning the Congress to investigate the Federal Aviation Agency, because I am fearful that if we ask the FAA to investigate the airlines we will wind up in precisely the same spot we are now.

(Mr. KREBS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Col. James L. Conrad: Eminent Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it is with mingled feelings of real regret, gratitude, and gladness that I recently learned of the approaching retirement of my friend, Col. James L. Conrad, as president of Nichols College of Dudley, Mass., an outstanding school in my district.

His has been a most remarkable career devoted to youth and education and while I am happy that Colonel Conrad after 35 years of devoted service to his school will have the chance to get a well-deserved rest, I feel a sense of special loss because his rich experience and great abilities will no longer help direct Nichols and its capable staff of instructors.

That Nichols has taken its present high position of esteem among the small colleges of the Nation is largely due to the monumental efforts of this man. In fact, it was in 1931 with the arrival of a young teacher from New Hampshire named Conrad that Nichols entered into an era of growth and ever-growing responsibility that continues today.

While Nichols had its beginnings in 1815 as Nichols Academy, it was in 1931 that Nichols Junior College was established with Colonel Conrad as president. Nichols had a student body of 11 and 3 old buildings, and the future looked far from promising. However, under the direction of this dedicated teacher and able administrator, the school has grown to become a fully accredited 4-year college known today as the Nichols College of Business Administration and School of Forestry.

The large and spacious campus comprises some 200 acres with modern buildings and facilities, a large fieldhouse and swimming pool, modern dormitories, athletic fields for lacrosse, football, track, baseball, and a nine-hole golf course.

From the 11 students of 1931, Nichols has grown to a student body of nearly 700 and a faculty of 42 members and degrees are now conferred in accounting, finance, management, and marketing. Forestry students are awarded degrees in forest management and park management. There is also an evening division.

The name, Col. James L. Conrad, has and always will be synonymous with Nichols College. In fact, Colonel Conrad is known today as "Mr. Nichols College." This is quite understandable because Colonel Conrad not only built from the small beginnings of 1931, but again in 1946 rebuilt Nichols when he returned from the war. A captain in the Army Reserve, he entered on active duty in 1941 and 2 years later the college closed its doors. At the end of the war, Colonel Conrad returned to rebuild in 1946 the school a second time.

Designing most of the new buildings, Colonel Conrad has carefully preserved the New England colonial style and today there are 33 buildings spread over the beautiful Nichols campus. The newest addition is the modern fieldhouse with a large sports hall and indoor swimming pool.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to extend my heartiest congratulations to Colonel Conrad upon the tremendous contributions he has made to the community, State, and Nation which have become enriched by the enviable record of achievements and accomplishments he has made in training and molding our youth into capable, respected and useful citizens in communities all over the land.

His has been a truly dedicated life whose good works and effective contributions will remain an inspiration to us for many, many years to come for truly Nichols is a living monument to the vision, capabilities, and magnificent achievements of Col. James L. Conrad.

I am very proud of Colonel Conrad's brilliant record. It is one of distinctive achievement marked by the spirit of true dedication. Such loyal service exemplifies the best traditions that we have in America. I wish for him many happy years in retirement and hope and pray that he may enjoy all choicest blessings of continued good health with the satisfaction that comes from finest achievements, and every measure of success, happiness, and peace.

Tribute to Harvey S. Firestone, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I have read in the Nation's press that Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., having attained the age of 68, was automatically relinquishing his duties as chairman of the board of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., the post he has held since 1948.

I would like to pay tribute to Mr. Firestone as one of America's outstanding leaders in business and public service.

The long career of Mr. Firestone has been exceptionally notable. While still in his twenties, he went to Liberia and leased the land for the Firestone rubber plantations which became an important asset to the company and which were extremely valuable to the United States as the only source of natural rubber available to the West during World War II.

Mr. Firestone, eldest son of Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, founder of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., became actively associated with the company in 1920, having been elected a director the previous year. In 1922 he was made vice president and manager of the Firestone Steel Products Co., a position he held until 1926.

Meanwhile, Mr. Firestone was elected a director and vice president of the newly organized Firestone Plantations Co. and placed in charge of its activities. In 1926 he made a tour of the Far East and Liberia to study the growing of rubber and to ascertain the most suitable region for its production. As a result of his investigations, Liberia was selected as the country in which an American rubber plantation could be established to best advantage. In the fall of 1926, Mr. Firestone completed negotiations in Liberia for a 99-year lease of up to 1 million acres of land from the Liberian Government. He became president of the Firestone Plantations Co. in 1932 and chairman in 1956; and has visited the plantations in Liberia numerous times to direct their rapid development.

He was elected a vice president of the parent Firestone company in 1929; president in 1941; and chairman in 1948. In 1953 sales of the company exceeded $1 billion for the first time. In 1951 Mr. Firestone was awarded the distinction of being adjudged one of the 12 most outstanding business leaders in America, as the result of a nationwide survey conducted by Forbes Magazine of Business. In 1960, the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. was named one of the top 10 best managed companies by a special panel of 171 U.S. corporation presidents.

In addition to the Liberian plantations, Mr. Firestone has been particularly active in other foreign projects of the Firestone company interests, starting with the establishment of the manufacturing plant of the Firestone Tyre & Rubber Co., Ltd., in Brentford, England, in 1928. Since then he has opened numerous foreign plants and has made frequent inspection trips of foreign operations.

During World War II 58 Firestone factories turned out a continual flood of war materials. Hundreds of products of the plants—from lifebelts and gas masks to airplane wings and gliders—saw service in every theater of war from Oran to Okinawa, in defense of our country.

Today, in addition to tires and tubes for automobiles, trucks, airplanes, farm tractors and implements, earthmoving equipment and industrial trucks, the company has widely diversified interests and operates in the fields of rubber, metals, plastics, synthetics, textiles and chemicals, with 93 plants in 26 countries.

While directing the affairs of the expanding Firestone company, Mr. Firestone has given generous support, both in time and funds, to a tremendous number of civic, governmental, welfare and cultural activities.

His special feeling for the men and women of our Armed Forces has been manifested for many years through his valuable work with the United Service Organizations, Inc. Active as a volunteer for USO since its founding in 1941, he was recently elected to his 16th consecutive term as national chairman. Mr. Firestone also was accorded the highest honor which can be given to civilians outside of Government by the Department of Defense. He received the "Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service," an award which can be conferred only by the Secretary of Defense and since 1947, when it was originated, has been awarded to only approximately 50 persons.

The award was given to Mr. Firestone "for exceptionally meritorious civilian service to the Armed Forces of the United States while serving as national chairman of United Service Organizations." The citation called Mr. Firestone "an extremely gifted and resourceful leader" who has "served at considerable personal sacrifice and inconvenience as the senior volunteer official under four honorary chairmen: Presidents, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson."

Mr. Firestone served as member of the International Development Advisory Board from 1950 to 1959. He has been an adviser for the International Rubber Study Group, and a member of the National Security Policy Committee of the Rubber Manufacturers Association, the Industries Advisory Committee of The Advertising Council, the board of trustees of the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce.

He was national chairman of the United Community Campaigns of America for 1954 and vice chairman for 1955, 1962, 1963, and 1964. He is a member of the National Citizens Committee for the United Community Campaigns. He is also a member of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association and the board of directors of the American Society of the French Legion of Honor, Inc., and is a trustee of the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation, Inc.

Mr. Firestone has always been active in religious affairs, having served as a member of the Presiding Bishop's Committee on Laymen's Work for the Episcopal Church, trustee of the Episcopal Diocese of Ohio, member of the National Committee for the Washington Cathedral, director the Episcopal Church Foundation, member of the Business and Finance Committee of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and vice president of the American Bible Society. In 1956 he was national chairman for Brotherhood Week sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, for which he had been cochairman in 1951 and 1952.

Mr. Firestone has a special interest in the education of young people, giving strong support to the university where he prepared for his own career, Princeton University, and to numerous other schools and educational foundations at all levels.

While he is stepping down from the chairmanship of the Firestone company, Mr. Firestone will continue to be active in the business as a director and a member of the executive committee. It is certain that he also will continue to give the benefit of his experience and interest to many fields of public service, as he has in the past.

Mr. Firestone was my consituent. I do know that his interest was always for the greatest good for all of our citizens.

His Nation and his Community are better places because of his dedicated work. I am most pleased to know that we shall still be able to turn to him for guidance in national and international affairs.

As the Akron Beacon Journal expressed it in an editorial on May 18, 1966:

> We hope that he may have many years to continue to enjoy wide opportunity for travel and for service to the many organizations which value his counsel.

John F. Barr

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARCH A. MOORE, JR.

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, the city of Fairmont, W. Va., so very recently lost one of its distinguished citizens, former U.S. Marshal John F. Barr. His lifetime was devoted to giving his very best to every challenge which was thrust upon him, and he over the years, together with his family, have contributed immeasurably to the betterment of the city of Fairmont and Marion County, W. Va.

The high esteem which John Barr, a Republican, was held by his community is best expressed by the following editorial which I include with my remarks, written by Mr. William D. Evans, Jr., editor of the Fairmont Times and an outspoken and distinguished members of the opposition party:

> JOHN F. BARR
>
> John F. Barr, who was buried here yesterday, was a well-liked man. In addition to his business affairs, he was active in a wide field of interests to which he gave unstintingly of his time, and his wise counsel will be missed by his associates.
>
> In Marion County political history, he was the only Republican able to crack the unbroken line of Democratic sheriffs extending from Jan. 1, 1925 to the present time. The late Jim Charlton, elected in the Harding landslide of 1920, shared with Barr the distinction of representing the GOP in the sheriff's office over the last half-century.
>
> Barr was nominated after a stiff primary contest. In the general election he faced Homer C. (Sandy) Toothman, who already had served one term. The combination of his popularity and the unwillingness of Marion County voters to break a tradition against the election of a former sheriff put him into office.
>
> Later, during the Eisenhower years, he became United States marshal following the death of his business associate, Irl E. Thomas.

He ran, those familiar with Federal Court always said, a "good office," and there were many Democrats who would have been willing to see him remain after the change of national administrations in 1961.

He had a deep and abiding affection for his family, and keen concern for the underprivileged and disadvantaged. One of his chief interests—and a subject on which he liked to talk at any time—was the Union Rescue Mission, on whose board he served for many years.

Barr also played a leading role in local veterans' circles. He was rightly regarded as one of the most influential members of the American Legion, for example, and until very recent years was a participant in its affairs at the state and national level as well.

Above all, John Barr was a kind and friendly soul. His last illness came on so suddenly that news of his death created an unexpected shock in the community where he had made his home all of his adult life. He will be greatly missed.

A Resolution by the Florida Fresh Citrus Shippers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the House Special Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce held extensive hearings on H.R. 11798, a bill to regulate and foster commerce among the States by providing a system for the State taxation of interstate commerce. Sharp criticisms were raised against the bill. It was pointed out, for example, that it will interfere with the sovereignty of the States to legislate their own tax structures. This and other undesirable consequences that will result from enactment of the bill were discussed by Mr. Fred O. Dickinson, Jr., comptroller of Florida, as well as most of the other States spokesmen. Many business leaders also opposed the proposed legislation.

Testimony presented to the subcommittee demonstrated that many of the States revenues would be adversely affected. Besides, the legislation would result in inequitable shifts in the tax burden of businesses in many of the States. Even though some of the States estimated that they might experience a revenue gain, they opposed the legislation on more crucial principles, since it is an undue interference by the Federal Government in the internal affairs of the States.

Another serious objection raised to the bill is that it permits many multistate businesses to avoid certain State taxes by merely shifting their business location. Also, the proposed legislation ignores the more commonly accepted methods of allocating multistate business income among the States.

In My State of Florida, the revenue effect of the legislation would be intolerable. On this point Mr. Dickinson, the Comptroller of Florida, stated:

> Should Florida be coerced into participation in this federalized foolishness, it will cost my state an estimated $100 million a year.

Mr. Dickinson also stated:

> Florida taxpayers would be hit with additional taxation of more than $72 million a year by the removal of exemptions written into the so-called "model" bill of this federalized plan.

At this point of the RECORD, I include a resolution of the Florida Fresh Citrus Shippers Association in opposition to H.R. 11798. The resolution lists the effects that the Comptroller of the State of Florida has testified will have on the present Florida sales and use tax if Florida adopts the model law and joins the Federal system proposed by the bill.

The resolution follows:

A RESOLUTION

Whereas, the members of Florida Fresh Citrus Shippers Association who handle more than 85 percent of the fresh citrus fruit shipped out of the State of Florida, are appalled at the tenor and purport of H.R. 11798 introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States, October 22, 1965, which, while purporting to be a bill to regulate and foster commerce among the States by providing a system for the taxation of interstate commerce and to be cited as the "Interstate Taxation Act," is, in truth and in fact, nothing less than an insidious attempt to further intrude upon the sovereign powers of the individual States; and

Whereas, the Honorable Fred O. Dickinson, Jr., Comptroller of Florida, in his testimony before the Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce, February 2, 1966, after pointing out that Florida taxpayers would be subjected to additional taxation of more than $72,000,000.00 a year by the removal of exemptions written into the so-called "model" bill of this federalized plan correctly asserted that should Florida adopt the model bill and join the federalized system, the obvious adverse effect on the present Florida Sales and Use Tax law would be as follows:

(1) Tax all fuels, including gasoline, kerosene, crude oil, fuel oil, diesel oil, natural and artificial gas, coal, coke, cordwood, electric power or energy.

(2) Tax at 3% all motor vehicles and self-propelled farm machinery and equipment, now taxed at 2%.

(3) Remove present $5,000 limitation on industrial machinery and equipment, taxing all such transactions at the standard 3% rate.

(4) Remove present $5,000 limitation on machines, equipment and parts and accessories therefor used in furnishing communications, transportation or public utility services, taxing all such transactions at the standard 3% rate.

(5) Tax at 3% the exemption of nets and ships used in commercial fisheries.

(6) Impose cumbersome and costly administrative procedures, in order to allow exemption to farmers on feeds, seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, etc.

(7) Remove, restrict, or impose burdensome administrative controls on present exemptions allowed religious, charitable and educational institutions.

(8) The present limitation or exemption of tax on vessels and vehicles engaged in interstate and foreign commerce would be left in considerable doubt.

(9) Numerous other transactions now exempt, including certain purchases by newspapers, radio and television stations, probably would be taxed or have prohibitive control conditions imposed; and

Whereas, it is not only of great importance to the Florida citrus industry and to the State of Florida as a whole but to all the people in all the States that this legislative incongruity be overwhelmingly defeated in the Congress of the United States.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the members of Florida Fresh Citrus Shippers Association in regular meeting duly assembled:

Section 1. That we hereby respectfully request the distinguished Florida representatives in the United States Senate and House of Representatives to vigorously oppose passage of H.R. 11798.

Section 2. That a true copy of this resolution be transmitted to our United States Senators from Florida and to each of the members of the United States House of Representatives from Florida with the assurance that the members of the said Florida Fresh Citrus Shippers Association are unanimous in their conviction that the subject matter hereof is one of the most important matters facing the nation today.

A true copy:

W. G. STRICKLAND.

Balance of Payments and the Dangers of Doing Business Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED REINECKE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, for many months American businessmen, economists, importers and exporters, and prominent leaders in the administration have been warning us about the balance-of-payments problem. The President has urged Americans to stay in this country to vacation, and thus avoid spending money overseas. The business community is trying every means of increasing American exports to create a more favorable balance of trade. The crisis in this Nation's merchant marine even affects the balance of trade, and major changes are urged to increase our commercial shipping.

It has come to my attention, through the unfortunate experiences of my constituent, Mr. Sid Coolidge of North Hollywood, Calif., that businessmen selling exports to customers in other countries often have difficulties getting paid for their products. Mr. Coolidge sold some aerial photo equipment to a French firm. The firm, Guy Robert & Cie, of Paris, accepted the equipment as satisfactory, and resold it to the French Air Force. The agreement was for the Robert firm to pay for the equipment in installment payments, as each shipment arrived in Paris. After the firm received the equipment they refused to pay for it, claiming that it was unsuitable for use by the French Air Force. However, the air force was already using it. Mr. Coolidge agreed to accept the equipment back and to pay for its reshipment back to the United States. To date, the equipment is still in France. The Paris firm has resold it to the French Air Force, and Mr. Coolidge has still not been paid his money.

Mr. Speaker, if we want to encourage American businessmen to venture overseas to increase our international trade we must offer them every reasonable protection and support. We must seek through legislation and international treaty agreement to set firm standards for the conduct of commerce between individuals in different nations. There must be clear standards for quality of products; and there must be set standards for credit purchases. We must offer our businessmen every encouragement; every protection; and every assurance possible that this Government will stand by them. Through the commercial attachés in each of our embassies around the world we must seek every means of justice for American businessmen in the international marketplace. The case of Mr. Coolidge is still undecided. I trust that this Government will not fail one of our citizens in distress in another country. We will be watching the outcome of this matter in France. And I trust that fairness and justice and the standards of good business will prevail in Paris.

June 1966 Calendar of the National Gallery of Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following calendar of events at the National Gallery of Art:

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JUNE 1966

MONDAY, MAY 30, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 5

* *Painting of the week:* Giovanni Bellini *Orpheus* (Widener Collection) gallery 10 Tuesday through Saturday 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: The Art Historian's Vocabulary. Rotunda, Tuesday through Saturday 1:00 Sunday 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Monday, 1:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: Paolo Veronese. Guest Speaker: Teriso Pignatti, Director, Museo Correr, Venice. Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday concert: Twenty-third American Music Festival. Jean and Kenneth Wentworth, Piano, Four-Hands. East Garden Court 8:00.

MONDAY, JUNE 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 12

**Painting of the week:* Tiepolo *Apollo Pursuing Daphne* (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 37, Tuesday through Saturday 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: Art Treasures of Turkey: Anatolian Art before 800 B.C. Central Lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: Ancient Egypt between East and West. Guest Speaker: Bernard V. Bothmer; Curator of Ancient Art Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn. Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday concert: Twenty-third American Music Festival: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, *Conducter.* East Garden Court 8.00.

MONDAY, JUNE 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 19

*Painting of the week: Domenico Veneziano. *Saint John in the Desert* (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 4, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Art Treasures of Turkey: Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Art.* Central Lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *The Early Arts of Anatolia. Guest Speaker:* Machteld J. Mellink, professor of Classical and Near Eastern Archeology Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr. Lecture Hall 4:00.

Sunday concert: Malinee Peris, *Pianist.* East Garden Court 8:00.

MONDAY, JUNE 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 26

*Painting of the week: Degas. *Mademoiselle Malo* (Chester Dale Collection) Gallery 88, Tuesday through Saturday, 12:00 and 2:00; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Art Treasures of Turkey: Islamic Art.* Central Lobby, Tuesday through Saturday, 1:00; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11:00 and 3:00; Sunday, 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Turkish Art in the Seljuk and Ottoman Periods (1200–1700 A.D.). Guest Speaker:* Richard Ettinghausen, Curator of Near East Art Freer Galley of Art, Washington, D.C. Lecture Hall 4:00.

New exhibition: Art Treasures of Turkey. Ground Floor. June 5 through July 17. Circulated by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.

New publication: Catalogue, Art Treasures of Turkey. 240 pages, 9'' x 9½'', with essays by Machteld Mellink, Rodney Young, Paul Underwood, and Richard Ettinghausen, 3 color plates, and 120 black-and-white illustrations. $3.50 postpaid.

New reproductions: Color Collotype Reproductions (unframed): Boudin, "The Beach at Villerville", 17⅝'' x 29⅞'', $16.00; Cézanne, "Still Life", 24'' x 29⅞'', $18.00; Chase, "Chrysanthemums", 21½'' x 36'', $18.00; Courbet, "Beach at Etretat", 24¼'' x 36'', $18.00; Henner, "Alsatian Girl", 10 11/16'' x 7⅜'', $6.00; Monet, "Palazzo da Mula, Venice", 24½'' x 32'', $18.00; Monet, "Rouen Cathedral, West Façade, Sunlight", 28'' x 18½'', $12.00; Renoir, "Girl with a Hoop", 29⅜'' x 17⅝'', $16.00; Rubens, "Tiberius and Agrippina", 25¾'' x 22¼'', $18.00; Stuart, "George Washington" (Vaughan Portrait), 24'' x 19'', $10.00, and 14'' x 11'', $3.00; Turner, "The Dogana and Santa Maria della Salute, Venice", 23'' x 26'', $18.00; Whistler, "Little Girl in White", 14⅛'' x 10 1/16'', $7.50.

Lectures: Two Sunday lectures on the Art Treasures of Turkey will be given on June 19 and 26.

Concerts: The Gallery's Twenty-third American Music Festival will conclude on June 12. After the June 19th program, concerts will be discontinued until the fall.

Gallery hours: Extended Hours. Through September 5: Weekdays 10:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. Sundays 12:00 noon to 10:00 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Cafeteria: Extended Hours. Through September 5: Weekdays, Luncheon 11:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.; Snack Service 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.; Dinner 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. Sundays, Dinner 12:00 noon to 7:30 p.m.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office, 737-4215, extension 272.

All concerts, with Radio Picture of the Week intermission talks, are broadcast by Station WGMS–AM (570) and FM (103.5).

Sea-Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the Palm Beach Post, one of Florida's leading newspapers, recently carried an editorial concerning sea-grant colleges, a new concept in training the necessary manpower this Nation needs to compete against Russia in the wet space race.

Oceanography is fast becoming a matter of vital national concern. As the sponsor of H.R. 15192 which proposes a program of sea-grant colleges, I am pleased with the growing support for such a program.

In order that the concept of sea-grant colleges may receive the broadest possible coverage and readership, and that Florida Atlantic University's unique program of ocean engineering may receive even more recognition, I insert the Palm Beach Post editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Palm Beach (Fla.) Post, May 6, 1966]

SEA GRANT COLLEGES

Florida in general, and the lower east coast in particular, is regarded by many responsible people in government, industry and education as the ideal location for a comprehensive program in the ocean sciences.

Only in very recent years has the farreaching importance of ocean studies become recognized. And even today that branch of the science called ocean engineering is little understood by the public.

Importance of the subject is reflected in expressed convictions of learned men that the day will come when man will find it necessary to turn to the sea to provide for his basic needs—foods, minerals and chemicals.

Oceanographers have long been aware of the vast resources in and below the sea waters. There has been less awareness of the means for putting this knowledge to work—through ocean engineering.

Now a program of action has been initiated. Congress has before it a bill which would provide for federal sea grant colleges. For Florida, for Palm Beach County, this could open up scientific and economic vistas surpassing even the scope of our space program.

At present the bill (S. 2439) is being considered by a Senate-House conference committee to iron out differences in legislation passed by each house. Rep. PAUL ROGERS, who is serving on this committee, is an author of the House version.

Favorable action by the Congress is devoutly to be hoped for. It could give solid impetus to and sustain the first meaningful program in exploration and exploitation of the oceans. The gigantic task could hardly be undertaken without federal help.

But Florida, too, has an obligation. As a state, we should now recognize the God-given geographical position we hold as it relates to the sea around us, by announcing to the nation that we are ready to accept a major role of leadership.

The rising interest in environmental engineering—weather control, beach erosion, air and water pollution, biological engineering and ocean engineering—calls for Florida to accept a challenge.

We have the natural resources, including more than 1,200 miles of shoreline bordering on hundreds of thousands of square miles of clear, clean salt water. Combined with our interfacing fresh water canals and lakes, these comprise the finest natural laboratory in the free world for basic and applied marine research.

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*11'' x 14'' reproductions with text for sale this week—15¢ each. (If mailed, $1.00 for 4; orders under $1.00, 25¢ each, plus 25¢ mailing charge.)

We also have some excellent oceanography programs in operation, notably at Florida Atlantic University and at the University of Miami. These need continued and augmented support.

The real challenge facing Florida, however, is early recognition of the opportunities presented by courses in the ocean sciences now being offered at FAU—the first undergraduate ocean engineering program in the free world.

The program is in being because there is an evident need for trained engineers in marine science. Industry needs it. Government needs it. The public needs it.

The state should respond by establishing an ocean and environmental engineering laboratory in connection with FAU, at or near the Port of Palm Beach.

The port is strategically located to serve the Atlantic Underwater Test and Evaluation Center (AUTEC) on Andros Island (a $130 million underwater laboratory built by the U.S. and Royal Navies); and has immediate access to the Gulf Stream as well as to the underwater laboratory and classroom being established for FAU this summer.

Such an engineering laboratory would serve the needs of all Florida, including the engineering programs in other disciplines at other public and private institutions.

It is easy to predict that the facility would draw as many users from industry as the space program has attracted to the Cape Kennedy area.

Aside from economic considerations, the oceanic program also is vital to national security from a military viewpoint. Russia already is engaged in intensive marine research; a race is on of far more strategic importance than the moon race.

The problem is an urgent one, and the sea grant college concept seems to be the best available vehicle for bringing it into proper perspective. From there, it is a problem—and an opportunity—for the states.

With special emphasis on Florida!

Pornographic Controls Nearer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the unprecedented volume of mail reaching my office urging effective, immediate curbs on the flow of pornographic literature and films through the U.S. mails, makes it necessary that Congress act soon on legislation to establish a Commission on Obscene and Noxious Materials.

Hearings have been completed on the bills before the Committee on Education and Labor, and hopefully the committee can place this item next on their schedule.

The peddlers of smut and obscene literature have come out into the open as never before simply because they know there are no effective Federal laws against this traffic. It is interstate commerce and it must be controlled by Federal legislation.

The legislation which I have sponsored would create a Commission with members of the press, clergy, motion picture industry, Members of Congress, and other professional and public leaders to study the current problem and come up with concrete measures for combating this social menace.

Hon. Charles Weltner Addresses Young Democrats of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER, our colleague from Georgia, delivered a challenging and superb address to the area 10 Young Democrats of South Carolina at the township auditorium in Spartanburg, April 22, 1966. Congressman WELTNER's address was particularly timely in that it reminded us of our duties and responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Congressman WELTNER's address to the attention of Congress and to the people of our country.

Mr. Speaker, I commend also a great book just off the press by Congressman WELTNER entitled: "Southerner."

The address follows:

BUILDING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Two years ago, the people of the United States gave to the nominees of our party an overwhelming victory, and elected a Congress with Democratic majorities of two-to-one in both houses.

Now, two years later, some observers speak of substantial losses of Democratic membership in Congress this November—notwithstanding a remarkable record of legislative accomplishment, and rising prosperity for all sectors of the economy. It is, of course, true that our Party has made great gains for all Americans (and many who are now Republicans rose to their positions of affluence through sound and humane Democratic programs.) Nonetheless, at this point in our history, it is well to consider how we can strengthen our Party, making it ever a more efficient vehicle for the public good, and a more competent servant of the public interest.

First, our Party must reach out to include more and more Americans, and extend its influence to the hundreds of thousands of citizens who have made no firm commitment to either party. We have strong allies, and consistent sources of support. But we should welcome and attract many groups who have no political allegiance, and who, at this point, have not been attracted to or inspired by any political organization.

Rid of racism, rid of faction, rid of regionalism, and rid of the dead hand of the past, we must present our motivating principles. Only in this way can we gain the loyalty and devotion of those men and women who have nothing special to gain, and nothing special to lose, at the hands of either party, or from any individual within either party. We should, here and now, make candid and honest appraisal of our basic beliefs. What is our motive force? What is our basic principle?

We believe in rational western tradition, and self-determination. Is that all?

We believe in free enterprise and personal liberty. Is that all?

We believe in the rights of man. But even so vital a concept as the rights of man is not enough. For analyzed carefully, each of these objectives is a selfish one. If we are concerned only with the rights of man, we become a conglomerate of self-centered atoms, offering each nothing more than his own selfishness.

The Revolution was fought for American Rights. The Westward Expansion was an assertion of rights. The Civil War was a bloody quarrel over rights. The days of American Empire were a new thrust of rights. The New Deal was a new concept of economic rights. The movement of equality is a new emphasis of human rights. All our national life we have been wrapped up in our rights.

Now, American rights are secure, and the American economy diffuses its staggering wealth among all but a few. Yet, the popular concept of the "American dream" has often proved a severe disappointment. There are millions who have won that affluence for which they have labored all their lives—only to find that happiness eludes them. They have leisure, money and comfort—but there is little zest for life, and little thrill of achievement. This personal experience, held by so many, surely relates to the national outlook as well. The frontier is tamed. American soil is secure, and the economy is vibrant. Yet, as a nation, we continue to sense a deep need to search our national goals, and to declare a national purpose. We are looking for something we have lost, and we don't quite know what it is. We are hungry to be told wherein lies our destiny as a nation, for this and succeeding generations.

Indeed, many, in despair and frustration at the mounting complications of Twentieth Century life, have abandoned the search, and withdraw into a concern only of their own personal "rights".

Now, if there is search without discovery—seeking without finding—I suspect it is because we have been too long concerned with our *rights,* and too long mindless of our *duties.* Perhaps we have concerned ourselves with preserving the *rights* of man, and have never made commitment to the *duties* of man. For, surely, our national goals must be something worthier than more ease and comfort, and more money for more people. The conglomerate selfishness of rights *alone* is not enough.

It is time to turn a while from our rights, and attend our duties. And it is time to define and delineate these duties.

A first principle of the duties of man should be the firm establishment of opportunity for *all* men. But an open road—alone—is not enough. There must also be—insofar as the mind and labor of man can assure it—an even start. Toll gates—admitting only the wealthy—must be removed, and the "White Only" signs must come down.

Then, the mere existence of a roadway which an exceptional few can travel will not suffice—when great masses of our people are unable to take even the first step.

Where they lack strength, our duty is to strengthen them—not to carry them—but to equip them to make the journey on their own.

Where they lack hope—and many Americans are without hope—we must provide them convincing examples of the success of others, similarly situated, who have been helped along the way to personal competence and satisfaction.

Where they lack will, we must set before them a vision—not of riches and glory—but of the quiet pride that comes from striving and achieving, and giving good account of themselves.

Herein are a few glimpses of the duties of man—in America—in 1966. They are glimpses only—outlines awaiting completion of clear minds and warm spirits. Yet, the total silhouette is clear enough.

To define the duties of man is to answer to the old question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is the recognition of a common and shared humanity—with all men, of all stations.

Here can be a new "American dream;" here can be a new national purpose. And here, at the same time, is that lesson, nearly two thousand years old, which the world has never learned, nor yet ever quite forgotten: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor."

If our party is to account for anything other than a long and dreary cycle of elections won and lost, we must raise new standards which can earn the full commitment of the great majority of Americans, and infuse into American life today the old spirit of buoyancy and exuberance, of adventure and achievement. We can fashion for this nation a new destiny, through a full comprehension and firm commitment to the duties of man.

America is one nation—young and old, rich and poor, black and white. It must be our duty to make America One Nation under God—mindful of the needs of the least of of our brethren.

One Nation, indivisible—joined in common cause for the common good. One Nation—with liberty and justice for all.

These are the duties of man. Let it be also the precept of our Party. And our reward, far transcending any other attainment, will be that which Lee bestowed upon his tattered troops at Appomattox, when he said, "You may take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from consciousness of duty faithfully performed."

Peace Can Yield Fatter Profits Than War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, few articles have been enlightening in my opinion in discussing the age-old problems of war and peace and the prosperity enjoyed by the country in either situation as the following article in the current Look magazine.

I feel that this feature should be of extreme importance and interest to every Member of Congress and I therefore offer it to be reprinted here.

VIETNAM'S ECONOMIC LESSON: PEACE CAN YIELD FATTER PROFITS THAN WAR

(By T. George Harris, Look senior editor)

On a hot night in Saigon not long ago, reporters in combat boots held a martini seminar to consider the war's cost in goods and lives. One U.S. correspondent, just back from a tank attack in the hills, doubted that "this kind of thing can be paid for forever." He was hooted down. "All it's doing is taking the slack out of the American economy," said an English writer. He shares the European dogma that Yankee business needs to feed on the blood of war to stay healthy.

Back in the States, innocent millions hold roughly the same thought. University of Michigan pollsters have asked people in key U.S. counties how Vietnam will affect business conditions, and them. A majority—54 percent—expect their family budgets to benefit from a war-stimulated boom. It will, our adults feel, "make for good times."

If you belong to that majority, you need a visit with my tough-minded friend, Dr. Pierre Rinfret, 42, economic adviser to a blue-chip stack of corporations. He has been betting his hefty reputation, plus $4 billion worth of pension and other investment funds he manages, on a simple premise: "Vietnam doesn't mean boom. It means trouble."

Rinfret believes we have come quietly to an economic pivot point as important to the history of war as the first atom bomb. Though men and women still talk "wartime prosperity," we have at last broken, he insists, the ancient bond between war and prosperity. Already on the Vietnam casualty list, little noticed, is the tradition that arms spending fattens the bulls of the upswing and the "threat of peace" brings out the bears of the downswing. From here on, the old war bulls and peace bears will scramble to swap places.

"War is bearish," Rinfret bellows, or coos, at startled company chiefs. "Peace is bullish."

Why? Because, he says, "of a major revolution in capitalism." In the New Economics—pop label for national policy today—the home office of capitalism has gained the skill to guide its growth rate, plus the political will to do nothing less. The Federal Government can, and has to, keep the economy running in peacetime at its most productive rate. Result: War, once a shot in the arm to lagging business, now throws a shock into a smoothly functioning system set for peak long-term growth. To compound the shock, war also wastes resources, human and material, that would otherwise flow back each year to expand the economy and, through it, better the lives of men.

"In practical terms, wealth invested in war goods might as well be sunk in the ocean," says bullnecked Rinfret. "Tanks and fighters do not produce new wealth. Teachers and factories do. Peace is the environment in which the flower of free enterprise grows, flourishes and bears fruit. Peace is now the stable ground of prosperity."

This economist, one of the freethinkers of big business, speaks with more passion than a Vietnik at a peace rally. He earned his doctorate on a Fulbright grant in France, once grew a beard to bug the Brooks Bros. types. Expert in Marxian economics, he is however, a robust Republican who supports the Johnson Administration's Viet policy because "the Communists gave us no choice." For hawk and dove alike, he feels, the crisis revises ideas about war, wealth and nations.

"Capitalism has stolen the march on communism," he says with delight. "Marx taught that capitalism is chaos, and has to keep itself alive on war. Communism, Marx argued, would use central authority to order the planned development of economic mankind. A curious thing has now happened. Capitalism has bought the case against chaos, but rejected Marx's system. We aren't stuck with a single master plan. We have thousands of different plans, not all of which will be wrong at one time. In our steady growth and flexibility, we now have far greater stability than communism."

Rinfret's opinions on basic trends would be less compelling if he didn't make such a fat living (he's 5'10½", 202 lbs.) out of them. More than any other private citizen, he gets his views tested every workday by the precise gauges of the marketplace. He is board chairman and boss thinker of Lionel D. Edie & Company, a top firm of economic consultants with 134 corporate customers. So he tells business chiefs what's ahead in their businesses, and they, investing billions, don't tolerate mistakes.

Most economic forecasters sell cagey doubletalk. This rowdy near-genius revels in taking an unpopular stand on hard numbers and watching events confirm him. "We don't equivocate," he says. "We lay it on the line."

In early '57, when many businessmen thought they were taking off toward the "Soaring 'Sixties," he sneered that they would instead wade painfully toward the "Soggy 'Sixties." On existing policies and population trends, he forecast the 57 recession, more frequent waverings to follow and a slower growth rate well into the 'Sixties.

And that's the way we went until 1963, when John F. Kennedy proposed to "get the country moving" with a whopping tax cut. (See *Mr. Tax Cut*, LOOK, June 18, 1963.) Businessmen balked, spooked by the thought of a deliberate deficit. Rinfret understood the deeper issue, and badgered his conservative clients to back the Democratic President's bill. It treated sales and profits as the sources of economic growth and proposed to expand total demand through private buying, not bigger Federal programs. "It's based," he said then, "on purely capitalistic principles." The President's advisers borrowed Rinfret's technical charts to help sell the tax cut to Congress.

The tax cut came through better than the Pony Express. Up charged the economy into the longest growth period ever known. The ghost of John Maynard Keynes, father of modern economic thought, came vividly alive in the New Economics—which was old hat to economists, brave new stuff to politicians. Men were using the dismal science to drive the snakes of uncertainty out of business.

The banishing of uncertainty brings confidence, and confidence brings basic changes in the economy. Consumers become less afraid to live it up. Not many months after the big tax cut, with Medicare already in the air, one Edie & Co. customer reported an unexpected surge in its car sales, mostly to people over 40. Many other buying habits began to shift, upward. Why? "Prolonged prosperity and the conviction that it's here to stay," noted Rinfret, "has a snowball effect." He also knew that, in addition to the two-stage tax cut's lasting help, the economy would get a boost from population trends. Not only was the postwar baby crop growing to the family-making age, but for the first time in years, we were to have a net increase in the age bracket, 40-to-44, that earns and spends the most money. "The middle-aged," Rinfret saw, "are making up for their youth."

"Hell, we're going to have a boom on top of a boom," he told me late in '64. He forecast a bigger jump in the Gross National Product than any other big-name pro. Chomping his Corona, he huffed at others for predicting a mid-'65 slump. Rinfret had it right. By last September, his survey of corporate plans to expand showed a boom so big that many pros could not believe the figures.

The argument over the future growth rate led to disagreement over the economics of peace and war. When U.S. spending on Vietnam rose sharply last fall, war became the easy dodge for those who had not seen the peaceful pressures for boom. A best-selling academic explained business optimism in one sentence: "The new deciding factor is the escalation of war in Vietnam." His statement comforted all who think our economy still feeds on war. In Moscow, *Pravda* used it to headline a story: "Death Merchants Count Profits."

Rinfret saw it the other way around. Certain that the system was already straining toward the limits of its capacity, he feared the overload of weapons orders. "We're tight as a drum, and this will blow off the top." He also found out that the rise in war spending would be at least $8 billion, much of it hidden by accounting tricks and some of it to be admitted later in special appropriations.

"We'll have a salami budget—one slice at a time," he said in December. "The stock market will soon figure out that the Government has to slap down on inflation, but nobody knows how hard. That means uncertainty."

He turned around and sold hundreds of millions worth of high-priced stock well in advance of the market's February plunge.

Setting cash aside, he resolved to go on a buying spree when the war is stabilized—or peace breaks out.

He feared, however, that Vietnam would destroy the U.S. hope for steady, long-term growth into the late 'Sixties and early 'Seventies. " 'Sixty-six is dangerous," he said. "If we don't have the guts to face it, the economy will crack apart and get sicker than it was in the middle 'Fifties. Right now, we'll make or break the next five-year trend."

Heckling both business and Government, he worked over clients eager for price boosts. "You're greedy," he told one basic manufacturer, who soon ended up in a price battle, losers with the White House. "You'll bring on big wage demands, maybe direct controls. You'd better live with the verbal, jawbone controls the President is using now."

Then he tangled with the President himself. The issue: How much was industry actually going to spend on new plants? Edie & Co.'s survey of big companies, having spotted the makings of a peaceful boom last September, indicated by February that our Viet buildup had piled on a dangerous extra. It showed manufacturers raising plant construction by 32 percent, half again as much as the Government was expecting. President Johnson, who had previously cited Rinfret data as gospel, took a public swipe at this embarrassing new evidence of economic overload. "One does not debate with the President," retorted the forecaster. "Nevertheless, we'll stand by our figures." The President soon backed away, in effect, by jawboning for restraint in factory building.

The danger has now become clear. If the war causes industry to create too much capacity, a leveling off in war demand will shut hundreds of factories and cut off further plant building. The result will be an "overcapacity" recession far rougher than those brought on in the 'Fifties by nothing worse than inflated inventories. "We can't sustain this growth rate in the long haul," says Rinfret. "We'll pay for it later, in a dead economy. By this fall, you'll hear a lot of yelling about recession. The war makes us unstable."

The Johnson Administration can, with businessmen's help, keep the crisis in bounds. All of us feel Johnson's pressure right now in the bigger tax withholdings from our paychecks. LBJ has plenty more muscle. In addition to tax bites, tight money and a hammerlock on the budget, he knows dozens of sneaky pressure points: slow processing of FHA mortgage applications, delay in paying bills and a deliberate squeeze in every area where bureaucracy reaches the private sector. But most politicians doubt that Democrats will do this unpopular job joyfully in an election year.

Worse yet, the political split over Vietnam policy makes for fudging on the economic front. Conservations, all-out for action in Vietnam, are slow to admit its cost at home. Liberals, eager to pass more Great Society programs—now!—have been dismally slow to admit how badly the economy is strained. And both sides seem uneasy in this strange new world in which war itself, no longer a practical stimulant, produces neither hidden benefits nor the chance to cry against war profits. Perhaps to many of us are silenced by the knowledge that we have been accidental beneficiaries of past wars. Even Negroes, left out of most breaks, got their first fair chance at factory jobs in World War II.

There is, happily, one irresistible force pushing in the right direction: Lyndon Johnson's ego. He is not running this year, but he will be up in '68. If he lets the economy blow the roof off now, it will fall back too hard in '67 to be raised by November '68. But if he holds the lid down for the rest of this year, if he can keep the '67 recession shallow, and we will be back on the healthy, peaceful growth curve by voters' day, '68. The President's adivsers, I find, have explained the arithmetic to him.

To show what's ahead, forecaster Rinfret has projected the President's alternatives for Look (see chart below). [Chart not printed in Record.] We've been riding the top line into danger. But what is good for the country in this situation is just as good for LBJ, and he's begun to look like a strong man, with both the jawbone *and* the hold-down power of his office.

The power to control economic growth, or to fail to, is, in a quiet way, as shocking as the power to command nuclear weapons. Both give fallible men the capacity—and with it, the necessity—to make deliberate decisions that nobody may be wise enough to make. Yet, for Lyndon Johnson, the promise is as great as the menace. He has the change, with luck, to turn the New Economics into a practical equivalent of war.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the Record at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the Record should be processed through this office.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the smale shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

Postmaster General O'Brien Speaks at McAlester Post Office Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, Oklahoma was pleased to welcome a distinguished guest last weekend in the person of Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, and even more pleased that he made his first post office dedication address at the new post office in McAlester.

The Postmaster General's eloquent remarks appropriately began with a tribute to McAlester's able and effective Representative in these Halls, the Honorable CARL ALBERT, who is serving all of us with great distinction as majority leader. All Oklahomans were pleased by Postmaster General O'Brien's public salute to our State's most distinguished legislator.

The people of our State were also pleased by the Postmaster General's pledge to do all in one man's power to carry out President Johnson's mandate "to provide this country with the finest mail service it has ever known, while managing the Post Office Department efficiently and prudently."

I am sure that most Members of this body will agree with me that Larry O'Brien is admirably equipped, with talent, temperament, and experience in public service, to carry out that mandate.

As an expression of his views on the role of the Post Office Department today, the address which Postmaster General O'Brien delivered at McAlester is well worth reading. As a word picture of the philosophy and dedication of a great American, it is even more noteworthy.

The complete text follows:

ADDRESS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MCALESTER POST OFFICE, MCALESTER, OKLAHOMA, MAY 27, 1966—10:00 A.M.

It is a pleasure for me to be here in McAlester for the dedication of this fine new post office. And I want to thank you for your hospitality and for making this occasion a memorable one.

This is the first new Post Office that I have dedicated since I became Postmaster General. It is a task I like so well, that I'm going to dedicate another one in about four hours. I think it appropriate that both Post Offices are in the State of Oklahoma . . . for this State is one of the most dynamic in our nation. You have a perfect mixture of the old frontier, new frontier—the kind of mixture that makes for a truly great state and great society.

States don't prosper and post offices don't sprout by accident. It takes leadership. And let me say here that Oklahoma is well endowed with leadership. You've got outstanding representation in the United States Senate with MIKE MONRONEY and FRED HARRIS . . . and certainly the voice of Oklahoma and this Congressional District is heard clearly, and forceful, and with great respect in the House of Representatives. For in CARL ALBERT you are blessed not only with a man who represents the interests of his constituents with extraordinary skill and effectiveness—but also one who is more than a local or regional figure. For CARL's ability and integrity have brought him to national prominence. His powers of persuasion and persistence in pursuit of what he belives to be right have again and again served to draw together men of differing interests and viewpoints so that all could work more effectively for the common interest. I have seen him in action many times, and have never ceased to marvel at his skill.

I hope it won't sound unduly personal if I tell you here in McAlester what is certainly no secret back in Washington—that CARL and I have been warm friends for many years. It is a friendship founded on our mutual concern for public service. In my mind there is no better way to tell the quality of a man than by what is important to him. Well, CARL has left no doubt that *people* are important to him. When it comes to questions of the public interest, CARL's answer is like that of another Carl, Carl Sandburg, who entitled one of his books on Abraham Lincoln—"The People, *Yes*."

This country was made great not by men who were concerned about their own private interests, not by men who were concerned with someone else's special interest, but by men concerned with translating into action the philosophy of the people—*yes*.

I have always admired CARL's unusual talent for giving life to this philosophy through creative, democratic, progressive, beneficial, needed legislation. That's why there have been so many great new programs created since he has been Majority whip and now House Majority Leader.

And, of course, he knows postal problems well from his past service on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. So it should be no news to McAlester that the man who won your oratorical championships back in 1926 and 1927 is still effectively raising his voice in behalf of his home town. The people, yes—that's CARL ALBERT all the way.

Today many speakers seem under a compulsion to try to characterize our age. Perhaps the confusion of the times in which we live summons forth a clarifying effort. Or, perhaps it is just the challenge of trying to summarize in a few minutes the problems besetting three billion people. I am not going to yield fully to this compulsion by giving you an exclusive summary, for I think our times are so interesting that they fit many descriptions . . . and produce, I might add, many prescriptions.

From my office in the Post Office Department in Washington I am certainly impressed by one aspect of our age. It is an aspect that practically leaps at me every time I study a new batch of postal statistics. These statistics give me good reason to believe that this is the age of the information explosion.

Right now 90 per cent of all the scientists who ever lived . . . are alive and producing new knowledge. The sum of human knowledge is doubling every ten years. The combination of growing population, growing education, and growing affluence is continuously producing more schools and more laboratories, more people learning, more books, more ink, more studies and findings, more journals and abstracts, more decisions, more appeals, more facts, facts, facts. And, of course, all this means more paper. A London newspaper recently contained a frightening picture of the rising tide of paper. "The waves of interchanging paper will surge endlessly back and forth, filling the cabinets, the desks, the floors, yes, the very egg-box skyscrapers themselves. The streets will slowly fill with seventh copies of seventh copies, tornadoes of paper will build up and blow around the Earth. Paper snow will cover all, paper-drifts and paper-avalanches will take their toll."

Exaggerated? Well, perhaps.

But I do know that much of this paper is moving through the mails. And the mail statistics are almost amazing.

Right now—this year—we are moving about 75 billion pieces of mail. This past Christmas Holiday period alone the Post Office Department delivered some 8 billion pieces. And the numbers show no sign of leveling off.

How do we keep from being smothered by this deluge of mail?

How do we reduce to the absolute minimum the direct and indirect cost of mail service to our society?

The answer lies not alone in hiring more postal employees . . . though our postal force grows each year.

The answer does lie in giving these dedicated employees the finest tools available so that they achieve their full productivity . . . and so that you can get your mail faster.

The President has given me a mandate to achieve this end. He told me last January:

"I have said in the past, and I repeat now, that I want you to provide this country with the finest mail service it has ever known, while managing the Post Office Department efficiently and prudently. I want you to explore all the techniques available to modernize our postal service and make certain that they are being used to provide the American people with the best postal system in the world at the lowest possible cost to the taxpayers."

This is the President's order to me, and I want you people here in Oklahoma to know that I intend to carry that order out.

I have already taken steps to meet the challenge through improving our instruments of planning, our instruments of information-gathering, and our instruments of speeding the mail on its way.

We are now involved in the most intense effort at research and mechanization in the history of the Post Office. We have already unveiled a machine that can read ZIP Code numbers and can move mail more rapidly than any human being. We are coating all our stamps and postal cards with a special nontoxic luminescent ink that will serve as silent signals to our high-speed machines.

But this is only the beginning and only one example of what we are doing. The age of the modern postal service is just arriving. The United States Post Office Department is only now entering the industrial revolution—and that postal industrial revolution will have but one aim—to see that you and all Americans get their mail in good condition and on time.

Not only will this kind of new emphasis on machines, and on better postal facilities such as the building we dedicate here today, mean better service—it should also help us to perform our service more economically.

The Post Office Department is a precious instrument of education and democracy. It is the most public and the most private form of communication known to man. It is the most public because any man, woman, or child can mail a letter. It is the most private because first-class mail is as safe from prying eyes as your own homes. It takes a court order to open a letter—and the courts have to be given a mighty good reason. This Post Office of ours is something we should be proud of. It has bound together a diverse and enormous nation with chains of paper.

I must tell you, however, I find people who still think the Postal Service was created with a saddle on its back so they could have a free ride . . . and a free ride at your expense.

I have particular reference to the law governing parcel post. The present law, enacted back in the early 1950's, took away from most Americans parcel post service they had come to accept as traditional. And it was done just to provide a privileged sanctuary to one company. The result is that you are paying more for less parcel post service. Unless we reform this law, costs and rates will continue to rise. The Post Office Department is trying to take affirmative action. And I think we will be successful—if concerned and responsible Americans get their views across to the Congress. The special interests are very effective in telling *their* side of the story . . . and unless the voice of the people is heard . . . these interests may well turn back this effort to get private privilege out of the postal service.

It took action to get this building authorized and constructed.

And it will take action to assure that the postal service is responsive to the needs of the people.

Your postal service needs that action now.

Finally, let me add that a building, no matter how well designed and constructed, is simply a beginning—it is an inert thing of brick and mortar. For it takes people, good people, to turn that beginning into achievement.

I know that we both are fortunate in the caliber of postal employees who will assure that achievement. In Postmaster Youvon Martin and his staff, you have outstanding, dedicated public servants. You know without my reminding you how hard and how well these good people work to move your mail.

Postmaster Martin, it is a pleasure to turn this structure over to you, and to repose in you the heavy responsibility for assuring that McAlester continues to receive superlative mail service.

Red Cross Honors Mrs. Morton Engelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, for more than 50 years, Mrs. Morton Engelman of Armonk, N.Y., has given devoted service as a volunteer to the American Red Cross.

Mrs. Engelman's work with the Red Cross dates to a disaster in Omaha, Nebr., in 1913 and continues through World War II as chairman of the North Castle, N.Y., chapter organizing canteens and making surgical dressings. Today, Mrs. Engelman is a gray lady at veterans' hospitals as well as serving as chairman of the North Castle chapter of the Red Cross.

Citizens such as Mrs. Engelman, who quietly help others less fortunate than themselves, have made America strong and are a vital part of our tradition of neighborliness and friendship in time of need. Countless servicemen, veterans, and civilians with an urgent problem in Westchester and throughout the Nation have benefited from her years of selfless work.

I understand that a community tribute is planned shortly to honor Mrs. Engelman and I am happy to participate in this occasion by inserting in the Record, under unanimous consent, an article citing Mae Engelman that appeared in the Mount Kisco, N.Y., Patent Trader on May 22, 1966.

Red Cross Honors Mrs. Morton Engelman

(By Betsy Brown)

Armonk.—Fifty-three years ago, in Omaha, a young schoolgirl donned a blue smock and went out in a Red Cross station wagon to deliver food to victims of a tornado.

In the half century since, Mrs. Morton Engelman of Whippoorwill Road, has worn many other uniforms and performed many other services for the Red Cross. Last week she received a 50 year pin from the Red Cross and a citation from the North Castle Town Board.

After her first introduction to Red Cross work in the tornado, Mrs. Engelman joined the Junior Red Cross and worked in the canteen at Fort Omaha during World War I, the only school for balloon training in the U.S. As a student at Brownell Hall, a girls' preparatory school, she used to stand on the street with the other girls and collect donations for the Red Cross.

Over the years, she has collected many donations, but street corner collecting went out years ago when annual drives became the accepted method. She has also worked on special gifts and house to house canvasses.

During World War II, she established the North Castle canteen at the Wagon Wheel, the only canteen in Westchester setup for men who had seen combat. Injured men were taken by bus from Mitchell Field, L.I. to Pawling to convalesce, and thousands stopped at the Wagon Wheel canteen for a meal on the way.

Mrs. Engelman, who was local chairman, organized entertainment for the men during their stopovers, and many wrote to her later. The canteen was popular with Red Cross hostesses as well as servicemen, and other branches were so envious of Armonk's monopoly on fighting men that they asked for, and were given, a chance to take their turn as hostesses in Armonk.

Another wartime project was the making of surgical dressings. This work was usually limited to larger branches where there could be supervision of the bandages, which had to be made according to rigid Army hospital requirements.

The North Castle group, however, was one of the few that could meet the standards, and women organized by Mrs. Engelman worked day and evening in the North Castle library folding bandages.

When the war was over, Mrs. Engelman became chairman of Gray Ladies, working at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Montrose. The work consisted of escorting injured men from one room to another, reading to them, writing letters for them, and playing games with them.

She also lined up a dozen of her friends from Armonk to become Gray Ladies, meanwhile helping to expand other services in the town. She has taken many courses and done the work in which they lead, including canteen, Gray Lady, production, social welfare, staff, first aid, home nursing, blood program service, public information, disaster, records, and junior Red Cross.

She is currently serving as local chairman. Her 50 year citation came three years late, because the pins are given only every five years.

"I expect to continue to work for the Red Cross for the rest of my life," she said this week. "I think it's a most rewarding humanitarian service."

Memorial Day Address by Basil L. Whitener

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER B. JONES

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 29, 1966, Memorial Day exercises were held in Kings Mountain, N.C., under the auspices of the veterans organizations and the city of Kings Mountain.

On this occasion our colleague, Hon. Basil L. Whitener, was the speaker at the ceremony. His remarks are so fitting that I request that they be made a part of the Appendix of the Record today.

Memorial Day Address by Basil L. Whitener, Member of Congress, at Kings Mountain, N.C., Sunday, May 29, 1966

I am greatly honored to be here this afternoon and to have the privilege of taking part in your Memorial Day ceremony.

We gather this afternoon in this historic community to pay in our humble way our respect and our deep sense of gratitude to those patriotic Americans who have taken their place on the immortal rolls of the nation's military heroes. I know of no more fitting place to honor our military dead than in the shadow of Kings Mountain. The stirring military victory which took place here on October 7, 1780, broke the chains of British tyranny in America and paved the way for American freedom and ultimate leadership of the free world.

The poet Longfellow said,

> "Whene'er a noble deed is wrought,
> Whene'er is spoken a noble thought,
> Our hearts, in glad surprise,
> To higher levels rise."

The noble deed wrought here at Kings Mountain lifted the hearts of the American people and kindled the spark that ignited the torch of eternal liberty in our land. The sons of Cleveland County and of this area of North Carolina have always worn the uniform of their nation with pride, valor, and distinction. Sevier, Campbell, Shelby, Cleveland and other patriots passed to us a legacy of freedom which has been preserved with distinction throughout the ages.

On this day when we honor the dead of all wars, I think we should pay special tribute to the patriots of Kings Mountain and the founding fathers. If they had failed in their noble endeavor, the course of American liberty would have been profoundly altered.

Emerson said,

"Not gold, but only men can make
A nation, great and strong:
Men who, for truth and honor's sake
Stand fast and suffer long."

The love of liberty, independence and the respect for virtue is as old as our Republic. Our forefathers dared to wrestle with tyranny and Providence blessed their efforts. It took men of great courage to declare at Philadelphia on July 6, 1775, these noble words:

"With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die free men rather than to live slaves."

Americans have never fought for the sake of fighting. Americans have never, however, shirked the responsibility of fighting whenever their liberties have been threatened. The attainment of American liberty and the vigilance that has been required through the generations for the protection of our freedom has demanded sacrifices on the part of every American. The protection of our national integrity has not been cheap.

How well we all know the story of the suffering and privation endured by our forefathers to secure our independence from Great Britain. From the bloody foot prints left in the snow by hungry patriots at Valley Forge to the agony being endured by our boys in the steaming jungles of Vietnam, there is an unbroken pattern of heroic sacrifices on the part of American service men to maintain our freedom.

We assemble here today to honor the dead who have worn the uniform of their country and who sleep in the bosom of the earth and in the waters of the deep. In so doing, we highly resolve to survive in a world that is still searching for peace and order.

Yes, wars have been costly. In the American Revolution from 1775 to 1793, 395,000 Americans participated and over 4,000 lost their lives. Over 536,000 of our countrymen fought in the War of 1812 with 2,000 deaths. In the Mexican War of 1846, over 130,000 Americans responded to the colors and over 4,000 of them failed to return to their hearth sides.

Memorial Day originated in 1866 out of the desire of Americans immediately following the most tragic of all of our wars to honor their loved ones who had fallen for the cause they believed was right. For actual numbers of men in uniform and the great loss of life, no war in our history equals the War Between the States. On the Union side alone, 2,213,000 young Americans were in uniform. Over 364,000 of them failed to march home. On the Southern side, in proportion to population, the numbers lost were even more staggering.

In the often overlooked Indian wars which secured the West for our pioneers, over 106,000 soldiers participated and hundreds perished. 392,000 of our young men answered the call of their country in the Spanish American War.

World War I brought 4,744,000 of our finest young men and women to the colors and before the sad notes of the last bugle faded away on November 11, 1918, approximately 131,000 had made the supreme sacrifice.

World War II put 16,585,000 Americans in uniform. 409,000 of these fine young men failed to survive. In the Korean conflict, 6,807,000 young men and women were mobilized and across the land today, 54,000 homes mourn the loss of a loved one.

We meet today at a time when our nation is engaged in another war. Although the struggle is taking place 8,000 miles from our shores, the prestige of the United States and our national security and safety are at stake. The war in Vietnam is very real to the 300,000 fine young men we have in Southeast Asia. The struggle occupies the minds and hearts of the loved ones of our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines and, indeed, every American.

Since 1961 up to May 21, 1966, over 3,466 young men have given their lives in the struggle to halt communism in Southeast Asia. Of these 3,466 deaths, 786 have been the result of other than combat action. 19,000 young men have been wounded and their battle scars attest to their valor and their devotion to the cause of their country. 202 of our fighting men are missing and presumed lost. Another 36 are detained in communist prison camps.

The price that we are paying in Southeast Asia is heavy. The United States faces today the most serious threat to its existence ever experienced in our history. We are confronted with an enemy whose brutal philosophy of materialism is dedicated to dominating the world. We live in an age of continuous threats to our security and the liberty of free men every where.

I have no doubt but that every American is fully conscious of the gravity of the communist challenge to the free world. Our people have always stood firm in the face of adversity and have surmounted all obstacles in their path to victory. As we pay homage to those who have gone on to a greater and a richer reward, it is well for us to remember that the only force in the world today that stands between Soviet and Chinese domination of every human being is the economic and military power of the United States of America and the courage of our men in uniform.

The communists are not afraid of our allies, however important the contribution they are making to world peace. The Kremlin's policy of subjugating the free world is held in abeyance at this very moment by the realization of the communist leaders in Moscow and Peking that the United States is too formidable an opponent to challenge in full scale war.

The trying days that lie ahead will test the patience and the devotion of the American people to the great institutions which have been bequeathed to us by our forefathers. It has been said that the war in Vietnam is not a popular war. I might add that no war has been popular with the American people, and I hope that wars will not become popular with our people. By tradition and by heritage, we have only fought when we have felt that our liberty and our national institutions were threatened. We Americans can proudly say that we have not fought to gain territory or to subjugate nations.

As Daniel Webster said,

"We are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without interest."

Let us in our prayers this day offer our heart-felt thanks to all of those who have marched on countless battle fields and who have answered the last, long roll call. Let us support all of our young men now in uniform as they take their place in the long line of Americans who have stood on the ramparts of freedom. It is my hope that on this Memorial Day the people of this great land will rededicate themselves to the customs, traditions and Christian virtues which have made us respected among nations of good will and despised by those countries dedicated to tyranny.

In spite of all of our wealth and all of our great educational and scientific achievements, we would stand in the face of communism as a frail reed in the wind were it not for the courage and devotion to duty of the American soldier.

Let us stand behind him and give him our support. In many nations of the world, the soldier is the symbol of oppression and revolution. In the United States, the man in uniform is the symbol of freedom.

In paying our deep, humble and prayerful respect to the soldiers who have gone before, there is no finer nor a more beautiful way to express our sentiment than in the words of that great American who standing on a hillside at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863, said,

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

New Jersey's 14th Congressional District Opposed to H.R. 13643

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, on May 18, 1966, the mayor and city council of the city of Hoboken, N.J., passed a resolution in opposition to H.R. 13643.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD this resolution, which I am certain represents not only the opinion of the elected officials in the city of Hoboken but the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the people of the 14th Congressional District.

The resolution follows:

THE MAYOR AND COUNCIL OF THE
CITY OF HOBOKEN, N.J.,
Hoboken, N.J., May 18, 1966.

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS,
Union City Post Building,
Room 204,
Union City, N.J.:

This is to certify that the attached is a true copy of a resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Hoboken, N.J., at a meeting held May 18, 1966.

ANTHONY J. AMORUSO,
City Clerk.

Whereas, under existing law veterans of the Armed Services are entitled to a burial allowance of $250.00 in addition to such sum as is provided under the provisions of the Social Security Act for veterans who are also covered by Social Security; and

Whereas, there is now pending in the House of Representatives a bill (H.R. 13643) which if it becomes law, payment of the Social Security lump sum burial benefit would preclude the payment of any monetary veterans burial allowance; and

Whereas, the enactment of H.R. 13643 would develop problems for those surviving the death of a veteran and could also seriously affect allowances for indigent funerals for both asset and non-asset cases: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Council of the Mayor and Council of the City of Hoboken hereby register its disapproval of H.R. 13643 in its present form, and in the interest of the veterans of the City of Hoboken as well as the families of these veterans who will be deprived of the benefits as now provided by law; and be it further

Resolved, That the City Clerk forward a copy of this resolution to the Hon. Harrison A. Williams and Clifford P. Case, U.S. Senators from New Jersey, and the Hon. Dominick V. Daniels, Congressman of the 14th District of New Jersey.

How Saigon Sees All Those GI's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in a special report from Saigon to the New York Times, which appeared in the May 8, 1966, edition, Mr. Neil Sheehan portrays his interpretation of the situation in Vietnam today as seen from the view of the Vietnamese people.

The article follows:

How Saigon Sees All Those GI's

(By Neil Sheehan)

Saigon, May 7.—South Vietnam is like a seriously ill patient whose doctor, in curing one of his ailments, ends up giving him new ones.

In the spring of last year this country was in danger of military conquest by the Vietcong guerrillas. To prevent this the United States committed American combat units and began a massive military buildup which has now reached about 255,000 American troops.

This powerful expeditionary force has robbed the Communists of their hope for a military victory by throwing a protective screen around South Vietnam's major cities.

In the process, however, the presence of so many Americans has contributed to the country's already severe economic problems by encouraging inflation, has had a corrosive social effect, and has aroused widespread resentment.

The Americans prefer to regard themselves as self-sacrificing guardians of a small country's independence. The Vietnamese do not see them in that light.

A HARSH SOCIETY

The Vietnamese live in a relatively harsh society where charity is not a common phenomenon. Thus since the Vietnamese normally do not entertain charitable motives themselves, they do not attribute them to others.

The Vietnamese instead believe the Americans are involved here for interests of their own, whether these be preserving the United States position in Southeast Asia, halting the spread of Communism, or, as some Vietnamese suspect, seeking to impose a protectorate on this country and secure military bases here for a possible future confrontation with Communist China.

"The peasants in Guatemala are miserable too," a Vietnamese said to an American friend, "but you Americans don't seem to get very excited about them."

When David Bell, director of the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) recently stated that the United States was in Vietnam primarily for its own interests, a Vietnamese columnist in a local English-language newspaper leaped on the statement with the joy of a detective who has just obtained a confession from a suspect.

The columnist demanded that Washington henceforth cease mouthing platitudes about its allegedly selfless motives in Vietnam.

PASSIVE ACCEPTANCE

At best most non-Communist Vietnamese appear to regard the American presence as a burden which must be tolerated as part of the price for avoiding a Communist takeover. The Vietnamese are not happy about this burden and not all of them accept it passively.

The most vocal group are the ultranationalists such as the militant Buddhist leader, the Venerable Tri Quang, and his intellectual and student followers. They decry the "dollar culture" and basically view the Americans as a new type of white colonialist whose influence must be carefully curbed if it is not to engulf the country's independence and traditional social structure.

Other Vietnamese appear to restrict themselves largely to complaining about the effects of the American presence.

The Saigonese, who have always been more concerned about their personal comfort than the prosecution of the war against the Communists, complain about the lack of electricity and the fact that taxi drivers often pass them up to take American soldiers who pay inflated fares.

Americans are depriving the small middle class in Saigon and other towns of new houses and apartments and indirectly forcing their eviction from homes they already rent by outbidding them with the landlords. Where a middle-class Vietnamese can at most afford to pay 6,000 piastres a month for an attractive apartment or house, the American will gladly spend 20,000 piastres or even 40,000 to 100,000 piastres for the better villas and apartments. The piastre is valued at 118 to the dollar at the official rate, but is more realistically set at 169 to the dollar on the black market.

The lower-middle class of civil servants and military personnel watch the purchasing power of their fixed income dwindle steadily as the inflation grows. It does not help their sense of humor to see Americans eating in the best restaurants and nonchalantly purchasing PX items which to the Vietnamese are expensive luxuries.

The peasants in the countryside have more serious problems to contend with—many of them now spend a good part of their lives dodging American bombs and shells.

The Vietnamese are, in any case, a people with a latent streak of xenophobia, whose suspicion and fear of foreigners has been shaped by their long history of warfare with China to the north and the Laotians and Cambodians to the west.

The Vietnamese also share the racial prejudice of many Asians toward the white man. It is not uncommon to hear a Vietnamese refer to Americans as "monkeys" or "crooked noses."

A HUMILIATING SIGHT

The sight of thousands of their young women degrading themselves as bar girls and prostitutes is humiliating to the Vietnamese. Their feelings might be roughly comparable to the probable reaction in California, where there is still some prejudice against Orientals, if a civil war broke out there and a wealthy army of Nationalist Chinese troops moved in and began consorting with white women.

The United States is thus paying the inevitable political price in resentment for its military buildup here. This price is likely to become steeper as the number of Americans increases and the problems of Vietnamese society grow.

So far there is no evidence that the resentment is transforming itself into outright anti-Americanism in the sense that large numbers of non-Communist Vietnamese would begin demanding an American withdrawal from this country.

The Buddhists have been the only group to express open hostility to the United States, but the Buddhists give no real appearance yet of being determined to push this hostility to its ultimate conclusion.

The fear of a Communist seizure of power is still too strong among non-Communist Vietnamese for them to reject the American presence here.

Nevertheless, political observers consider the resentment a potentially dangerous development which could under certain circumstances result in serious political consequences for the United States.

Rusk Clarifies U.S. Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is surely true that in the mind of the average individual, and for that matter in the minds of Congressmen, there is great confusion as to just what the position of the administration is relative to the Vietnam affair. It is fortunate that Secretary Rusk, in his recent speech in New York City, again attempted to clarify America's position. David Lawrence, in his column published in the Washingto Star, summarizes this address by Secretary Rusk in an excellent manner and I am sure the readers of the Record will be glad to have this article if they missed it in their newspapers. Mr. Lawrence's column follows:

Rusk Clarifies U.S. Policy

(By David Lawrence)

Uncertainty is one of the biggest factors that disturbs business. It affects not only long-range but current planning.

For many months now, uncertainty about the future of the Viet Nam situation has been hanging like a cloud over the whole economy. Chairman William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board, in a speech this week before the international bankers conference in Madrid, declared that basic decisions on the Viet Nam war constitute "the critical issue and the major problem" for the American economy. President Johnson himself has said he is trying to avoid a tax increase and wage-and-price controls.

Coincidentally, Secretary of State Dean Rusk has just made a speech in New York City which clarifies the American position and should have a decisive influence in bringing the Viet Nam problem closer to an early solution than was deemed possible a few weeks ago.

For the United States has recently cleared up many things. One of them is that America is not going to be swayed by the internal friction in South Viet Nam and intends to continue to protect that country against aggression. More important, however, is what Rusk has said to the rest of the world about the American position. His statement should remove all doubts that recent events would cause the United States policy to totter or perhaps bring about a withdrawal.

The Secretary did not mention Senator Fulbright, but in the course of his speech rebutted some of the arguments that could amount only to appeasement if accepted. Rusk said:

"If mankind is to achieve a peaceful world order safe for free institutions, it is of course essential that aggression be eliminated—if possible by deterring it, or, if it occurs, by repelling it. The clearest lesson of the 1930s and '40's is that aggression feeds on aggression. I am aware that Mao and Ho Chi Minh are not Hitler and Mussolini. But we should not forget what we have learned about the anatomy and physiology of aggression. We ought to know better than to ignore the aggressor's openly proclaimed intention or to fall victim to the notion that he will stop if you let him have just one more bite or speak to him a little more gently.

"I believe it is widely understood that a thermonuclear aggression would not be a rational act. And I believe it is generally realized that aggression by moving masses of conventional forces would entail very grave risks. But what the Communists, in their familiar upside down language, calls 'wars of liberation' are advocated and supported by Moscow as well as by Peking. The assault on the republic of Viet Nam is a critical test of that technique of aggression."

Rusk pointed out that the United States during the last 20 years has never regarded Southeast Asia and Viet Nam as "obscure" or "remote"' or "unimportant." He traced the American commitment as being primarily derived from the Southeast Asia collective defense treaty, signed in 1954 and approved by the Senate in 1955 with only one dissenting vote.

Rusk reiterated the declaration he made in Bangkok in March 1961 that the United States would, under the treaty, continue to assist the free nations of Southeast Asia "who are struggling for their survival against armed minorities directed, supplied, and supported from without."

Rusk declared that "a large majority of the governments of the free world are sympathetic to our efforts in Southeast Asia and would be alarmed were they to fail." He added:

"Galant troops from the Republic of Korea, Australia, and New Zealand are fighting at the side of our forces and those of the Republic of Viet Nam. Thailand and Laos are fully engaged in the larger issue of Southeast Asia."

Rusk again said that he remains "prepared to go to Geneva immediately whenever there is anybody there with whom to negotiate peace."

The more the United States government emphasizes to the rest of the world that it is determined, no matter how long a time is required, to attain the objectives of its policy in Southeast Asia, the sooner will the North Vietnamese realize that it is futile for them to continue their aggression and that they would fare much better if an honorable peace settlement is achieved.

Illinois Broadcasters and Newscasters Support Freedom of Information Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week the Illinois Broadcasters Association and the Illinois News Broadcasters Association met in convention and adopted two resolutions which I believe should receive the attention of Congress.

The first resolution unanimously endorses Senate bill 1160 frequently referred to as the freedom of information resolution. Under its provisions, information about Federal agencies, now too frequently withheld from the public, would become more readily available.

It has always been my strong belief that a well-informed American populace need never engage in reckless and irresponsible speculations. By making information about Government affairs readily available to the American people, we strengthen their trust and respect for our institutions of government.

The other resolution urges the televising and radio broadcasting coverage of the U.S. House of Representatives proceedings.

I believe both of these resolutions are important and should be enacted.

Disclosures of the Week—Part V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I take the floor again to point out certain disclosures which reflect the discouraging trend of events under the policies of the Johnson-Humphrey administration.

CASE NO. 1

According to the U.S. News & World Report, an informed source had this to say:

> This is the first war in American history in which Americans have been financing both sides. It would be comic opera if it were not so tragic, the way our money and arms find their way into the hands of the Communist Viet Cong.

CASE NO. 2

The Associated Press reports 33,464 persons added to the Federal payrolls during April, to push the total to 2,644,244. This was the seventh consecutive monthly increase.

CASE NO. 3

In Dos Palos, Calif., poverty-program funds permit boys to take their dates to the town's best restaurant, in tuxedoes, to provide cultural development.

CASE NO. 4

In Boston, Mass., the FBI investigated a scandal involving falsified and padded payrolls and mismanagement of the administration's poverty program. Among the charges are reported forged identity cards and forged checks, political favoritism, sloppy administration, controversy, and bitterness.

CASE NO. 5

Charles de Gaulle, a year ago, established a joint nuclear research program between French scientists and those of the Soviet Union.

Suspicion now grows that Moscow will use the French to do above-ground testing, which the Russians, under the test-ban treaty, have agreed to discontinue.

CASE NO. 6

A Congressman wants a Hoover-type commission to help lead the Government out of its paper jungle. About 30 percent of the Federal employees are spending their time on paperwork, the cost of which is estimated to be about $7 billion per year.

CASE NO. 7

The Omaha World-Herald recently traced the history of atomic weaponry and concluded that the United States underestimated the nuclear progress of Soviet Russia, France, and Red China. In the latter case, Japanese scientists report fallout on the last explosion to be 33 times that which occurred following previous blasts. The explosion appeared to be equivalent to 130 tons of TNT, instead of 20 tons.

Care and Treatment of Laboratory Animals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, April 28, we passed in this Chamber, H.R. 13881, the Poage bill, for the licensing on animal dealers. At that time, I stated that the bill was an imperfect first step, in view of the scandalous conditions recently publicly emphasized in the care and treatment of laboratory animals.

A recent article in the Christian Science Monitor points up some of the areas of concern to animal lovers:

FEW ANIMAL LABORATORIES PASS INFORMAL INSPECTION

BOSTON.—"If people really knew the condition of animals in most of the experimental laboratories in the United States, they would demand corrective legislation," said Mrs. Dorothy Dyce, of the Animal Welfare Institute, in an interview here. Hearings on bills to regulate these conditions open this week before the Senate Commerce Committee.

As laboratory animal consultant for the Animal Welfare Institute, whose headquarters are in New York City, Mrs. Dyce travels throughout the United States, observing conditions in laboratories of hospitals, schools, institutions for scientific research, and pharmaceutical houses.

Out of 104 such laboratories visited since 1963, Mrs. Dyce said that in only two did she find every animal comfortably housed and apparently given proper care for both before and after surgery. These were at the Jewish Hospital in Brooklyn, N.Y., and at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., where in her judgment particulary conscientious veterinarians are in charge.

She pointed out, however, that without legally authorized inspection and regulation, no laboratories could be given a blanket approval, since conditions might be good in one direction and bad in another.

EXAMPLES OFFERED

Asked to specify some bad conditions found in laboratories, Mrs. Dyce cited:

Perpetual caging: In many laboratories, the animals are literally never released from the cages. Some dogs have been continuously confined for as long as seven years. In such laboratories the animals, some of them in serious condition, cannot escape the water when the cages are hosed out.

Inadequate cages: Most cages are far too small. In one laboratory all the cages are 30''x30''x26''. Collies, boxers, and other large dogs cannot lie, much less stand in a normal position. Cages for cats and other small animals are small and overcrowded.

Lack of postoperative care: It is the rare laboratory, Mrs. Dyce charges, that offers adequate treatment after surgery. Often they are left completely unattended.

Careless handling by caretakers. In some laboratories inexperienced caretakers are assigned to animal care resulting often in crude treatment.

INFORMATION AVAILABLE

The Animal Welfare Institute has been combatting these conditions by educational means. It offers free of charge, to any interested laboratory, two complete reference manuals, "Basic Care of Experimental Animals" and "Comfortable Quarters for Laboratory Animals." A film, "Handling Laboratory Animals," is distributed at cost.

But, Mrs. Dyce pointed out, education alone is not enough. Legislation is the only workable solution. The Animal Welfare Institute strongly recommends bills S. 2322 and S. 3059, now before the Senate Commerce Committee. Both would establish humane standards for conditions in laboratories as well as on dealers' premises.

For legislation regulating experimentation itself, the Institute recommends the Clark-Cleveland bills, S. 1071 and H.R. 5647, now pending in congressional committee.

Rights for All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, a divided nation can never achieve the greatness to which it aspires.

The Sacramento Bee thus sums up an editorial which favors the administration's civil rights bill.

The newspaper says the President speaks fairly when he asks the question: where is the security of any when the rights of the few still are withheld?

The Bee says the needs emphasized in the President's civil rights proposals represents an unfinished task facing the country in the granting of full rights to all its citizens. Let me quote one passage from the editorial:

> This legislation voted, the human principles so beautifully embraced in the founding documents finally will have real meaning—to all.

Under unanimous consent I include the full editorial in the Record:

Congress Owes Fair Hearings on Rights

President Lyndon B. Johnson has asked the nation to complete the job of voting a civil rights law aimed at creating single-standard citizenship, at erasing the ghetto from the American scene, at securing equal justice for all in the courts and assuring full citizenship in the public sector.

In his proposed civil rights law, now in hearing in the House of Representatives, the President emphasizes the need to guarantee fair housing by federal law and to make this a fixed premise in the American life, the need to rid the school and jury systems of those corrosive racial conspiracies which still exist, and the need to enforce law now on the books and to attack directly such organized efforts to thwart them as posed by the Ku Klux Klan and its like.

This remains the uncompleted task facing America in the granting of full rights to all. This legislation voted, the human principles so beautifully embraced in the founding documents finally will have real meaning—to all.

Congress owes to this presidential petition its urgent attention, and Congress has indicated it will give to the President that attention. There is a political momentum existing in American life, furthermore, which makes this deliberation, and the passage of such legislation, a matter of personal political fortune; and so even the reluctant in Congress must reexamine old positions.

If it is just that equality be held out, and enforced, in the schools and in the public place, where is the excuse for exempting the right to housing, without prejudice? If it is just that equality be pledged, and given, in employment, in public transportation, where is the justice in denying fair, equal hearing and fair, impartial judgment in the courts?

It is a fact, as the President has said, that for all of the guarantees of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, still there is discrimination in certain sectors of the public life. He asks, and fairly, the question: Where is the security of any when the rights of the few still are withheld?

This nation aspires to greatness. It can never achieve it—divided.

Bring Them Up to Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the emphasis upon the effort to organize agricultural labor in California has created a false impression about working conditions in California. The truth is that California farmers who must compete with other farmers across the Nation are paying much higher wages than their competitors. Yet, despite this condition, those who claim to be trying to help the farmworker have concentrated on that part of the United States which leads, instead of trying to bring their competitors up to the level California has already achieved.

An excellent editorial on this subject entitled "Bring Them Up to Us" was published in the very respected publication the California Farmer for May 21, 1966. I commend it as required reading for any person or group which truly seeks objectivity in considering this important issue.

Bring Them Up to Us

You know, it's sort of sickening to see the national press that California agriculture is receiving. Some of our friends in the East have been sending us clippings, and California agriculture is getting just about as horrible a name as the University of California. And, brother, that's pretty horrible.

How come we are getting such a kicking around in this matter of wages? We have just been checking the USDA figures and we could not find any later than October, 1965, but at that time California was leader of the Nation, paying $1.43 an hour.

We can understand the unions figuring that it's going to be a lot easier to collect $3 dues from a farm worker in California earning $1.43 an hour than it would be to collect dues from a farm worker in South Carolina earning 57 cents an hour. But it just shows you how phony the unions are when they claim they are organizing to uplift the downtrodden worker. If this is their motive, let them go into Pennsylvania where the average farm wage is 95 cents an hour, or Illinois at $1.05; Missouri, 87 cents; South Dakota, $1.02; West Virginia, 75 cents; Florida, 81 cents; Tennessee, 77 cents; Mississippi, 67 cents or Texas at 98 cents.

And what about the civil rights groups, the church, SNCC, and CORE? They get all choked up and emotional about California while they should be trying to bring the rest of the U.S. up to California standards, not only in wages but in fringe benefits far exceeding any other state.

This year in California the cold weather persisted in both the north and south and in effect squeezed the harvest season up. We have an uneasy feeling that this harvest year is going to peak worse than any harvest year in the past 10 years.

At the moment of writing, the farm labor situation is adequate and right here we have to pay some tribute to the labor contractors, the guys we have attacked in the past. They have been down in Texas recruiting all winter long and they succeeded where the state and federal government recruiting teams failed. One reason they succeeded, we believe, is that the Federal Govrenment is still trying to make an example of California, and while they have closed our borders we understand the Texas border is still a sieve for wetbacks. They have so many that 70 cents an hour will buy you stoop labor.

Our high wages have attracted out-of-state labor, but just a few days ago when the government boys got on the phone and called each state west of the Mississippi, in no state did they report any surplus farm labor.

So it appears to us that the U.S. Department of Labor is again going to be faced with the decision to grant a few braceros to California or be held responsible for sizable crop losses.

To Secure a Negotiated Peace in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, among the numerous speeches and statements I have made on Vietnam, I believe that one I made on November 27, 1965, on the grounds of the Washington Monument, bears repeating at this time. The speech follows:

To Secure a Negotiated Peace in Vietnam

Mr. Chairman, friends and all of you who seek peace in Vietnam and throughout the world.

Most of you have no doubt asked yourselves the question—as I have asked myself—why am I here today participating in this rally before this monument of our first President? What hopes, what strategy, what line of reason or drive of emotion has brought us to this place from our homes and families throughout this great land?

There are a few critics who have said that we are seeking to undermine or subvert our country—to give aid and comfort to an enemy—to force the President into a course he might feel is wrong.

How mistaken they are.

We are gathered here today in the highest tradition of the American Constitutional process, exercising that oldest of American democratic rights—the right of citizens to peaceably assembly and petition their government.

And we are joined for the purpose of seeking that most sought after goal of mankind through the ages—peace on earth, good will toward men.

We know that the President seeks that goal as earnestly as any man. We know that he is committed to unconditional discussions with those we fight. We know that representatives of our government are seeking to open the door to negotiations in a multitude of ways.

Our purpose here is to show by our presence the strength of our commitment to that goal of peace through negotiations. Our purpose here is to pledge our dedicated efforts to creating understanding and support among the American people for all reasonable efforts by the President to achieve these negotiations at the earliest possible date.

The scourge of war has been man's greatest enemy through all ages. And in every war, whether of the Medes and the Persians, or the Greeks and the Romans, the kings and the emperors of the Middle Ages, or the Czars and Kaisers of more recent times—all sides have felt that they struggled for a just and noble cause.

Such is the case today. We fight under the banner of peace and freedom for Vietnam and resistance to the evils of an expanding Chinese Communist dictatorship. They, whom we oppose, likewise fight under the banner of peace and freedom for Vietnam and resistance to an expanding U.S. imperialism. The growing emotionalism that comes with all wars grips us and causes us to forget the path that led us to the present crisis, and makes us less able to understand that our enemies might feel that their cause is also just and noble.

Even those "pragmatists" who are willing to admit to errors of policy or tactics by the United States in its past action in Vietnam contend that we cannot now remedy these errors but must accept our present level of involvement and deal with the military situation by the increased use of force. How tragic this will sound when we stand on the verge of total nuclear war.

For this Administration, and the American people, to accept the thesis that we are engaged in a holy war against Communism which demands complete victory and unconditional surrender by our enemies—is to commit ourselves to the road to World War III!

The President has rejected this course. I believe that members of Congress would reject this course if it were presented to them today. And I hope that the American people in their wisdom will reject this course and will support the President in the efforts he is making to end the fighting in Vietnam.

What is required for the success of the President's efforts? To this question many different answers have been given. There are some, no doubt, who feel in all sincerity that increased bombing of North Vietnam is the answer—that this will produce an attitude of reason and compromise—that this will convince the North Vietnamese that we are eager for peace on honorable terms for both sides.

I do not agree with this answer. I reject the continued escalation of force by both sides as the path to peace. I see no evidence that either side responds to added force with any answer but more force on its own side.

To achieve peace in Vietnam, or any place in the world; requires more than a calculus of terror. It requires reason, objectivity, a dispassionate analysis—not only of military tactics but of the emotions and motivations of the other side. If we cannot step aside from the slogans and emotions of conflict and see ourselves, and the entire situation, through the eyes of all the other participants, then the chances of a reasoned solution—one in which all sides will yield up some part of the goals they seek—are indeed slight. And the tragedy of this conflict for the people of Vietnam, now being sacrified to the global struggle between Communism and Democracy, is that on both sides they have the same humble goals. They want only freedom and peace and the opportunity to provide a little more of the good life for their children than they have had for themselves.

What steps would reasonable men—realistically seeking an end to this war—propose for both sides to take?

I suggest the following—most of which are supported by the sponsors of this March:

First, the United States should call for a cease fire throughout Vietnam, whenever the other side is ready to accept it, and announce that it is halting the bombing of North Vietnam for an indefinite period of time as evidence of its desire for a cease fire.

Second, the United States shoould halt the intrduction of additional men and material, and ask the other side to do the same.

Third, the United States should reiterate its support for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam based on the principles of the Geneva Accords of 1954—including the eventual withdrawal of all foreign military forces, a prohibition against alliances, the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, and self-determination for the Vietnamese people—and the North Vietnam and the National Liberation Liberation Front should do the same.

Forth, the United States should declare its willingness to negotiate with all concerned parties, including the Vietcog—a primary combatant.

Fifth, the United States should declare its willingness to accept as part of the settlement a representative new government in South Vietnam, selected through a free and fair election supervised by the United Nations, and North Vietnam and the National tion Front should do the same.

Sixth, the United States should declare its support for a United Nations Peace Force to supervise the cease fire, provide for peaceful establishment of a new government in South Vietnam, protect the rights of all citizens and protect the neutrality of North and South Vietnam. North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front should do the same.

We believe that these steps would bring the opposing sides to the negotiating table. We urge them upon the President and upon all of his subordinates charged with a responsibility for the American cause in Vietnam. And we urge them upon the Government of North Vietnam and upon the National Liberation Front.

It may be said that our proposals are naive and unrealistic—the product of fuzzy thinking by idealistic dreamers not charged with the hard responsibility of day to day decisions. I can only say to you that the realists—the hard-nosed, practical decision-makers—have yet to make a single correct decision or prediction in Vietnam. And all the resources of men and material of this country are being poured into South Vietnam in a futile effort to cover up their mistakes.

I can offer a simple explanation of these mistakes. The enemy we are fighting—the illiterate, fanatic little peasants of Vietnam—has been successfully imbued by their Communist leaders with a lot of fuzzy, unrealistic, idealistic notions which they are willing to die for (notions like freedom from white colonialism and a desire for democracy, self-determination and equality), and the government we are supporting—the Generals of Saigon—has failed completely, despite all of our help, in instilling any of these fuzzy, unrealistic, idealistic notions in the people they are supposed to represent.

We have been told from the beginning that this is a South Vietnamese war—one which must be won by the South Vietnamese. Now that is forgotten.

We have been told from all sides that this should not and would not become an American war—fought with American troops. Today, it is.

We have been assured that American air and sea power would bring victory—that the bombing of North Vietnam would reduce the flow of their troops and shatter their morale. Just the reverse has occurred.

We have been told that we could not negotiate from a position of military weakness. Yet, when a flood of American forces produces military strength, we are advised by some that victory, rather than negotiation, is our goal.

It may well be that the North Vietnamese, and the National Liberation Front, discouraged and frustrated by their failure to defeat the world's most powerful nation but having little to lose after the destruction wrought in their country, may pursue the full logic of the policy of escalation we have followed. They may seek, therefore, to fully involve the land forces of Communist China and the missile forces of the U.S.S.R. in a last desperate effort to cause us the death and destruction we have caused them. This is the ultimate result of escalation. What more do they have to lose?

I have faith that the American people and the leaders of this country will choose a different path. I have faith that the President, who has announced his willingness to support the principles of the Geneva Conference, will find a way to convince the other side that he means what he says.

In conclusion, I would like to offer one more proposal which I think would add strength to the President's efforts and would receive the enthusiastic support of most of the people of the world. It is a proposal that would not merely end the fighting in Vietnam but would put us solidly on the path to a more peaceful world. I suggest that the United States propose and aggressively support a new Southeast Asia organization, composed initially of all of Vietnam—North and South—of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma and Malaysia and open to other Asiatic nations who might later seek to join. I suggest that this organization be formed on the basis of neutrality in the cold war, with each member completely free to select its own form of government without interference from its neighbors of any great power. I suggest that each member of this organization renounce military force in its relations with all its neighbors, and that each member, and the organization, receive in return the protection of a U. N. Peace Force and the guarantee of its security by all the Great Powers. As a last step, I suggest that the United States agree to channel its economic assistance to these states through a Southeast Asian Development Bank, and that it make a ten-year pledge of support which would be at least equal to what it has expended in this area in the last ten years. Other nations would be urged to do the same.

The benefits of this action to each of the member states, and to the United States, would be enormous. A tremendous cloud of fear would be lifted from this part of the world. Enormous military savings would be channelled into economic development. Governmental systems and ideologies could develop in free competition for the loyalty of the people—providing us the opportunity to demonstrate in peaceful ways the superiority of Democracy.

I firmly believe that the United States would vastly enhance its stature in Asia and throughout the world by a proposal of this sort. I believe it would give great strength to the President in the difficult task he faces in bringing about a negotiated peace. I know that the successful accomplishment of this proposal would bring new hope to a fearful world.

Mr. President, we who are assembled here on behalf of peace pray for your success in achieving this most noble goal of mankind.

The GOP and Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, Roscoe Drummond, the respected columnist, had a thought provoking and highly significant article appearing throughout the country on yesterday. Mr. Drummond comments on a statement by our distinguished colleague and very good friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL].

The Drummond article follows:

THE GOP AND VIETNAM

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1966.—In the wake of the Oregon Democratic primary's 2-to-1 endorsement of President Johnson's course in Vietnam, Republican leaders in Congress are taking a new look at how they ought to handle the Vietnam issue in the coming elections.

They are becoming aware that if they attack the President indiscriminately, they are more likely to hurt themselves. They can't afford to throw away their advantage of being more united behind the defense of Vietnam than the Democrats by heckling the President and thus helping to disunite the country.

The Republicans have two campaign issues affecting Vietnam on which they can rightly capitalize:

A good case can be made that the Government would be strengthened for whatever tests lie ahead by correcting the egregious imbalance between the two parties in both the House and the Senate. The Johnson administration needs an effective watchdog opposition in Congress and the Republicans need more seats to fill that need.

Secondly, if the country wants Congress to back President Johnson's course in Vietnam and to give him the support he needs to exert both patience and firmness, he is more likely to get it by increasing the Republican Members than by giving any encouragement to the Democratic liberal dissidents.

The latest evidence is that the emergent Republican position on Vietnam is both prudent and constructive.

A good example is the speech which Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, chairman of the GOP Committee on Planning and Research, is delivering in the House. It was previewed without objection by other top Republicans. In tone and substance it is in keeping with everything Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN has been saying.

GOODELL helps the administration by delivering a warning which undoubtedly reflects the attitude of the President. It is that if the South Vietnamese themselves withdraw from the conflict or if civil disorders force such withdrawal, "the United States may have no alternative but to withdraw."

He also very usefully warns Americans that such withdrawal would not mean peace but would bring in its train successful aggression which would make worse war more likely.

"Let no one think," he says, "that withdrawal would bring an end to American casualties. It would, on the contrary, whet the appetite of our foes for further conquest. It would be, not the end of war, but a prelude to a larger, bloodier, more costly war."

But GOODELL does not leave the Republicans simply in the position of just supporting the President. He urgently counsels the White House to quit pretending it can play no positive part in furthering the conditions needed for "free and meaningful elections in South Vietnam." He proposes these steps:

1. That a preelection agreement be promoted among responsible representatives of all major Vietnamese groups to abide the outcome of the balloting.

2. That supervision of the election be undertaken by an international commission of disinterested third-party states—not the United States nor any Communist power.

3. That as part of the election there be a direct vote on the war itself.

This is the kind of thoughtful advocacy which can put Republicans in the best possible position to go before the voters on the Vietnam issue this fall.

New Jersey National Guard Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD the following resolution adopted by the Army and Air National Guard of New Jersey at its Eighth Annual Conference in Atlantic City, N.J.

Mr. Speaker, I think that the views of this association which represents 17,000 National Guardsmen in the State of New Jersey merit the attention of all Members of Congress.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION #3

Whereas the Secretary of Defense has proposed and submitted a plan to re-align certain Army and Air Reserve units with the National Guard, and

Whereas the existing units of the Army National Guard are to absorb Army Reserve Personnel in-so-far as manning spaces permit, and

Whereas, Air Force Reserve Units are to be converted to Air National Guard units, and

Whereas, the continued delay is adversely affecting both Reserve Components in their planning for training and actual operations, and

Whereas the many Reserve and Guard personnel, both Enlisted and Commissioned have, these many months, viewed this realignment with some apprehension, and with sincere feeling and wonderment as to whether their units would be converted, absorbed and or be eliminated, to the point that they cannot adequately plan their Reserve and Guard Careers, and

Whereas, the economy of the Department of Defense and Department of the Army would be better served by the re-alignment of both components under one central control headquarters, and

Whereas, the National Guard, over the past decades, demonstrated its ability to accomplish its mission with the least control Guidance, now

Therefore, be it resolved, by the Army and Air National Guard Association of New Jersey, in conference assembled this 7th day of May 1966, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, that the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Army, the Governors of the Several States and the members of Congress are urged to take all measures necessary to implement and accomplish the re-alignment of the Army and Air Reserve units into the National Guard at the earliest practicable date.

Further, That this resolution be submitted to the National Guard Association of the United States for consideration at the next National Conference.

Adopted 7 May 1966.

SAMUEL F. BRINK,
Colonel, NJANG, Secretary.

Needed: Political Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, from a background of past on-the-scene observations in Vietnam, Mr. Milburn P. Akers, former editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, appraises the situation today. Mr. Akers' article from the May 22, 1966, issue of the Chicago Sun-Times, follows:

NEEDED: POLITICAL COURAGE

The southeast Asian mess gets messier; the "dirty little war" gets dirtier and bigger.

Doubts have been expressed as to whether the United States should have gone into South Viet Nam in the first place and, being there, whether it should have permitted itself to be drawn into the combat aspects of the situation. Much of that is water over the dam, of course. For, as once stated by a great American statesman, Grover Cleveland, we are now confronted with a fact, not a theory.

The fact is that we are in South Viet Nam; that we are now engaged in military combat, and that we are not, as a consequence of many things, particularly the South Vietnamese general staff, doing very well.

Three years ago last February this writer surveyed the South Viet Nam situation at first hand and subsequently wrote in this column that the South Vietnamese general staff, politically oriented and professionally far short of the needed competency, constituted the main hazard to military success. This column also asserted, at the time, that inherent in the mixed-up situation in which the United States was then engaged was another Dunkirk. It hasn't come to that. And, with adequate air and sea power available, it probably will not.

But we have reached the brink of a political Dunkirk. For elements of the South Vietnamese army are now engaged in shooting each other instead of shooting Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese allies. The responsibility for this ominous situation is directly traceable to the political intrigues and political decisions of the cabal of South Vietnamese generals who have, since the assassination of President Ngo Dinh Diem, controlled the Saigon government.

Compounding their errors is the political activity of Buddhist monks and, at the other extreme, the widespread political apathy of the Vietnamese peasants who, having been subjected to 20 years of war, want every one—Saigon troops, Viet Cong, North Vietnamese troops and Americans—to go away and leave them alone with their families, rice paddies and water buffalo.

The war in South Viet Nam is either a confrontation with communism, as Washington states, or it isn't. If it is, the Johnson administration should employ the necessary force to win the conflict or, at the least, the force necessary to bring about negotiations. That hasn't been done and there are to date few indications that it will be done for fear of bringing Red China and possibly Soviet Russia into the conflict. If there are reasonable grounds for such fears, then the United States should reconsider its basic policy of containment. For containment cannot always be accomplished without risk of war, which may escalate into atomic conflict.

If the Vietnamese conflict is not a confrontation between the West and the Communist bloc—and some doubt that it is—we should get out of Viet Nam as rapidly as possible and let that truncated and unhappy nation—Viet Nam, both north and south—settle its plight in the manner in which Southeast Asia has historically settled such problems or, if not that, turn the entire problem over to the United Nations, which, while largely impotent, is where the problem should have been placed in the first instance.

It will require a kind of political courage and statesmanship infrequently found in Washington to make one or the other of the basic decisions needed: a decision to employ whatever force may be needed to win the Vietnamese conflict or a decision to get out. The present strategy of half-way measures doesn't meet the requirements.

The Fable of the Great Big Bull

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, our chief satirist, Arthur Hoppe, prepared a fable evidently using as a base President Johnson's Chicago speech because he refers to Nervous Nellie. The column, published in the San Francisco Chronicle, Friday, May 20, follows:

THE FABLE OF THE GREAT BIG BULL

(By Arthur Hoppe)

Once upon a time there was a Great Big Bull who led his herd into a quagmire. It could happen to anybody. But in his mighty struggles to get them out he managed only to sink them all in deeper.

Naturally, a few members of the herd—mostly rebellious young calves—questioned the Great Big Bull's judgment. Some thought they ought to go back the way they'd come and some were for charging off to the right or to the left or whichever.

At first, the Great Big Bull smiled tolerantly at this small minority. "It is a tribute to the democratic way I run this herd," he said, "that I allow these well-intentioned but misguided critics to speak out at a time like this. Now let us struggle on."

So the herd struggled on, floundering and thrashing about. And pretty soon they were all in up to their knees.

"Maybe we ought to stop for a minute to get our bearings," a bespectacled bull named Nellbright suggested somewhat hesitantly. For all members of the herd were understandably afraid of the Great Big Bull.

"You have the inalienable right in this herd to suggest anything you want," said the Great Big Bull testily. "Even though you are obviously blind to experience, deaf to hope and are perhaps giving aid and comfort to the quagmire. Now let us struggle on!"

So the herd struggled on, floundering and thrashing about. And pretty soon they were all in up to their bellies.

"I know we are the mightiest and most powerful herd in the world," said the bespectacled bull named Nellbright with a worried frown. "But it seems to me our struggles are merely getting us in deeper."

This made the herd a little uneasy. "Nobody," snorted the Great Big Bull, "wants to get out of this quagmire more than I. Now let us struggle on!"

So the herd struggled on, floundering and thrashing about. And pretty soon they were all in up to here.

"We must tie a rope around our necks and all pull together," ordered the Great Big Bull. "Straight ahead, now . . . two . . . ."

"But if we go that way," protested the bespectacled bull named Nellbright, "we'll all go right over the . . . ."

"Listen, you Nervous Nellie," bellowed the Great Big Bull, frustrated beyond endurance, "you're trying to pull us apart to promote yourself. Anybody who turns on his own leader, his own herd, is a Nervous Nellie. Now, to preserve our democratic way of life, everybody shut up, pull together and follow me."

And it worked! The herd, not wishing to be thought Nervous Nellies by the Great Big Bull, shut up, pulled together and blindly followed their leader—out of the quagmire, up a small rise, and right over an 8000-foot cliff.

Moral: Silencing criticism in a democracy requires a lot of bull.

Public Relations Organizations Raise Professional Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, as a former news reporter both for daily newspapers and for radio and television, I am interested in a relatively new development in an allied field which is closely involved in serving the news media. That is the effort of the Public Relations Society of America to raise professional standards through an accreditation program. It is one that should be noted and encouraged.

In an article in Washington Association News, published by Colortone Press, Thomas W. Miles, a public relations counselor, recounts his reactions in running the accreditation obstacle course in written and oral examinations. He writes even though he has not yet heard the outcome. His story is entertaining—and of interest to news media and others who have occasion to employ those skilled in public relations techniques.

WHAT IS PRSA ACC.?

(By Thomas W. Miles)

A new symbol of special qualification is making its appearance with increasing frequency these days after the names of public relations people in association work. It is *PRSA Acc.* which is the abbreviation for *Public Relations Society of America Accredited.*

The designation *PRSA Acc.* in public relations is analogous to CAE in trade and professional association work. CAE stands for Chartered Association Executives, a program of the American Society of Association Executives. Bill Dalton wrote about it in a recent issue of Washington Association News.

The Accreditation Program is a bootstrap operation. Through it PRSA is trying to raise professional standards and improve the practice of public relations. The inducement is the award of special recognition to those members, otherwise qualified, who have demonstrated familiarity with the body of written knowledge developed in the field. In the Society's official literature these persons are identified as those "who, by passing suitable written and oral examinations, have demonstrated a high level of professional competence and fitness."

This is strictly a voluntary program. Members participate, or not, as they see the value. No adverse implication can be drawn from a member's decision not to seek Accreditation. Not to be accredited means simply that—and no more. After all, membership in the Society is in itself a mark of professional fitness.

Meanwhile PRSA members are responding to the program in greater numbers than anticipated. The public is also interested, judging by the notice that the program has attracted in publications. The program was a year old only in February, and yet almost a third of PRSA's 3,200 eligible members have applied.

In the Washington Chapter 36 members have been accredited. This is the figure officially reported to the Chapter President, Martin C. Powers, as of April 22. The roll is published in this issue. Of these a dozen are in the Business and Professional Association Section of PRSA and another dozen or more are in association work.

Until recently there were two routes to Accreditation: direct appointment or examination.

The former was conferred by the PRSA Board of Directors on applicants of recognized background, experience, and standing. On purpose the qualifications were made arbitrary and stiff. For instance at least 18 years of public relations experience was required.

Another requirement was indentured service. For direct Accreditation under the "grandfather clause," as this provision was known, a member had to agree to serve for three years as an oral examiner. This was PRSA's way of organizing the cadre needed to get the program going. But after February 11, PRSA ceased taking applications for direct appointment.

The remaining route, examination, has all the compensations of personal discipline. To go back to the books after years of practical experience in the field has practical value—it can be applied. It makes the difference between general familiarity and precise knowledge.

The reading, study and review that is involved in preparation for an examination is something that many PR executives hope to get around to but rarely do. Accreditation adds the needed incentive. At this point the value of Accreditation is largely personal, however, because broad acceptance as a goal is yet to be achieved.

The examination process, both written and oral, is more formidable in anticipation than in fact. The written exam is a concentrated six-hour workout on a typewriter in a room alone, or at most with one or two others, in a place designated by the Accreditation Board that is reasonably convenient for the candidates. It is monitored by Accredited cadre members from the local chapter. But the examination itself is prepared and answers are graded by The Psychological Corporation of New York, professional examiners. The examination is an otherwise peaceful day. There are no phones, no interruptions—nothing to do but bang the keys of the portable you are advised to haul along.

The first hour (Part I) is the testy one. The questions which cover the PR waterfront are short, and your answers can be shorter. None of the questions is tricky. This is the part where your studying comes in handy. The next two hours (Part II) are all in a PR day, except that in choosing your answers you are able to pick your job for the morning, rather than take it as it comes in the workday world.

After lunch—comes THE problem, (Part III). This is a three-hour assignment that you select from the many offered. A hypothetical situation, and an occasional one not so hypothetical, is presented. It involves a practical PR problem. That problem is yours to solve in an afternoon—and you sip your coffee at your typewriter rather than take the time for a regular coffee-break.

It would be well to remember in answering your problem that you may have to defend your solution later in your oral exam. The oral is a two-and-a-half hour interrogation by a panel of three of your peers. Sometimes it becomes a shoptalk session that enables the panel members to become better acquainted with you.

Nonetheless it is an examination, and some of the questions are "structured." That is a requirement of the Accreditation Board. Certain questions must be asked, and certain areas explored with all candidates.

There should be no surprises in any part of the examination process for anyone with the required two years of experience and a reasonable amount of studying. All of the areas to be covered are staked out in two PRSA documents which are available on request. One provides background and answers the questions most asked about Accreditation, and the other offers a study outline with suggestions for collateral reading.

Take comfort from a veteran—there's nothing to it but moonlight labor and midnight oil.

Hospital Ship "Hope"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Richard C. Thompson of our district in California recently returned from 6 months service on the hospital ship *Hope* and has written to me about his experiences and recommendations in regard to Indonesia and the need for our support to the new administration in that country. A copy of his letter, which I am sure will be interesting to all Congressmen, follows:

SAN MATEO, CALIF.,
May 29, 1966.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN YOUNGER: After spending three months in Indonesia on the HOPE it is really exhilarating and astonishing to read accounts in the paper about people in powerful posts in that government who were the very ones who befriended us on the HOPE—the people who were so cordial, warm and friendly toward us.

And now the steps have been taken to end the confrontation with Malaysia. What role has our government played in this? If a significant role, then D. Rusk and his team deserve the highest commendation and our press should be alerted to extend the recognition due and the congratulations to the new leaders of that country.

Congressman YOUNGER, the significance of Vietnam pales before the turn of events in Indonesia—if what we read about now happening in Indonesia can be really developed and secured.

They need our support and help—*good right kind of business know-how* to help the leaders make good some of their promises of a better life for the people.

President Johnson's proposal for a grand development of the Indochina area is one thing—great for propaganda now. But, if he really means anything of the kind—just think what could be done with the right kind of government in Indonesia where there are over 100,000,000 people—a grand plan in conjunction with Japan could open fantastic markets in the future.

Please make these sentiments known to the people who could really develop plans for that area. Surely Australian consultation and New Zealand could work with us to evolve an overall strategy. We must not procrastinate or delay.

Sincerely,

RICHARD C. THOMPSON.

The Weidenbruch Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, I have just had the opportunity to read the report of the delegate for Dairy and Food Industries Supply Association to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce annual meeting of May 1 through May 4.

That delegate, Mr. Peter Weidenbruch, president of the Damrow Bros. Co. in my home district, outlined the events of the chamber of commerce meeting in a concise and well rounded report, which I believe would be of interest to every Member of this distinguished body.

This report gives an excellent insight into the views of the business world of this country and expresses some of the hopes and desires of our Nation's business community for future development.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the text of this message in the RECORD:

THE WEIDENBRUCH REPORT—1966: REPORT ON THE FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES MAY 1, 2, 3, 4, 1966

One of the many services rendered by Dairy and Food Industries Supply Association to its members, is a report covering the highlights of the Annual Meetings of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

From the comments received in prior years I know that many members look forward to reading about the principal subjects that were discussed during the annual meeting.

The selected subject covered during the First General Session was timely and touched upon some of the real problems and difficulties with which our members are faced today. It was titled "How Business Leadership Can Bring About Desired Changes."

It is my considered opinion that the great majority of our citizens including the President, his economic advisers and men and women in the administration are convinced that a change in our domestic and international policies is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary.

The Honorable John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce, referring to the signs of the times stated that, "Never have these signs needed more careful scrutiny—and more prudent interpretation—than they do today." Reference was made to the overheated economy, inflationary conditions, certain types of controls and a tax increase.

Mr. Connor made a most important statement when he referred to the working together between business, labor and government. He also said that, "Labor, for its part, must of course keep its wage demands within reasonable limit, so that both business and labor will share the fruits of the gains in productivity."

Let us hope that President Johnson will have the opportunity to read about the speech made by the Secretary of Commerce and that he will give careful consideration also to some of the suggestions and recommendations made by other speakers during the annual meeting.

It would indeed be a serious oversight on my part if I would not quote from the excellent speech by the able Executive Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Mr. Arch N. Booth, who is well known to most of us. Referring specifically to the growth of our cities and commenting on the effect some of the vital changes that have taken place in the past and will continue to affect all of us in the future, the speaker stated:

"Virtually all cities will grow—but the rate will be the decisive factor. Boston, Pittsburgh nad Cleveland will all grow, for example—but at a relatively slow rate, compared to otehr metropolitan centers. Fast growth-rate, or slow, the central fact is:

"*Cities* will be the focus of change.

"This country can *plan* for the impact, before it strikes; and only the businessmen of a community truly possess both the potential to plan for the impact of change—and something more important: you have the leverage to influence change itself. You can manage and create the change you want. You have the leverage—the means of exerting effective power to control the impact of change.

"The nation's population will do more than merely increase—by 1968, or 1980 or 2000. It will *change* drastically in its make-up and its characteristics:

"There will be a wrenching change in the age level of the American people.

"The *young* will take over.

"By 1970—four fleeting years from now—Americans will be the youngest people in the world. In 1963, our average age was about 33. Two years from now, by 1968, it will have dropped to 25 or younger.

"These young people will have more than youthful spirit. They will be the best-educated group in our population. They will be equipped to make economic and political and legislative decisions—and to take action.

"And they will be eager to do so!

"People are affected by change—and their needs and hopes and aspirations are what create change.

"And that leads us to a crucial question:

" 'Who is responsible—so far as impact in the past can be measured—who is responsible for the greatest measure of change which has touched the life of the average American in, say, the last 25 years?'

"Is the answer 'Government,' as some say?

"Or is it 'Labor,' as some say?

"Or is it, as others say, the powerful combination of government and labor?

"Well, where has the real innovation, inventiveness, the productivity of change come from in this country—in the past, and the present?

"These things have come from *the businessman.*

"The businessman has wrought more change, and more significant change, over the past 25 years—or 50, or 100—than any other single agent in this country.

"And so, today—and tomorrow—his challenge is even greater—to bring about creative change. The businessman cannot, and must not, step away from this challenge—abdicate his responsibility. He cannot afford to!

"The American businessman—in his quest for a reasonable profit, a reward for his enterprise, ingenuity and inventiveness—has been responsible for sweeping and stirring changes in American life to a far greater, and more significant degree than government, or labor, or both."

It was pointed out by another speaker that sometimes individual businessmen have constructive suggestions in respect to desirable changes. However, collectively they may be too occupied with trying to surpass one another in their condemnation of the federal government that the wealth of experience they could bring to bear on solving the nation's economic problems may be lost.

This was mentioned because of some problems we as businessmen must face and overcome if we are to exercise the kind of leadership that will have any real impact on the changes our society is undergoing.

This speaker suggested that we preach about government spending what we practice in our own businesses—that we apply the problem solver's analytical tools to economy in government. If we will do this, then we will be able to demonstrate "How Business Leadership Can Bring About Desired Changes."

Considerable attention was given to the subject of inflation which is one of the most serious problems facing our country today. The 5% increase in cost of living during the past 3 months, which it is believed by some men in Washington is due to the fiscal policies of the administration, is very closely related to the inflationary trend.

We as businessmen were cautioned by representatives of the administration to exercise responsible moderation in our pricing policies. All of us who are engaged in the Dairy and Food Processing Industries certainly have followed that suggestion 100%. It was also indicated that we should resist pressures for excessive wage increases. Perhaps we have not been too successful in that respect because some businesmen feel that the federal government has not extended all the help needed for them to follow that advice.

It was stated that the businessmen recognize the presence of inflation today, and they know its consequences. They are, therefore, more than willing to join with government in trying to limit inflationary pressures. It is to their interest to do so, and it is to their country's interest also. However, the Federal Government must be willing to exercise self-discipline in its own right which at this time calls for a cutback in domestic spending.

Perhaps it is impossible to fight a costly war in Southeast Asia and still conduct business as usual at home. Our present shaky economy could end up in a critical situation.

Again, as during previous meetings, businessmen were urged to participate in political activities. It seems that we have not done a good job in that respect. It was pointed out that all of us consider ourselves as good citizens. We try to keep up with the news of what's going on in community affairs. We vote. We contribute to the Party of our choice or to a candidate who strikes our fancy. Perhaps we attend a political dinner or two in the course of a year. We grumble about the income tax and waste in government and the way the power of government is being exercised. Some might address a letter to a Congressman or Senator.

But this is not enough—how many are willing to get into the political process itself—the real arena of decision?

How many times have we heard the complaints that politics is "dirty business," "beyond the pale or respectability," or "bad for my business"?

What business could be more important than our country's? Right now over a quarter of a million young men in Viet Nam had important business of their own, but they had to put it aside to go about their country's business.

It is through the political process that we achieve good government—or bad government. The great danger to our system, to the right to be let alone, is the apathy of citizens who neglect our purposes. For as John Stuart Mill warned in his famous essay on the Freedom of Man:

"A people may prefer a free government, but if from intolerance, or carelessness, or cowardice or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions for preserving it, they are more or less unfit for liberty; and though it may have been for their good to have had it even for a short time, they are unlikely long to enjoy it."

To my knowledge, there was no discussion of the proposed changes in the Federal Unemployment Insurance Laws, specifically H.R. Bill 8282, which is now being considered by the House Ways and Means Committee. This of course was a disappointment because the passage of this bill would add tremendous new costs to our American Industry in the employment of labor.

Another subject "The Businessman's Role in the Balance of Payments" received considerable attention. This may not directly affect the Dairy and Food Processing Industries, however, we do have a problem. Anytime a great nation like this runs a deficit in balance of payments transactions which has totaled over eight (8) billion dollars in the last five years—the nation has a problem. And, of course, when the nation has a problem, we, the citizens, have one.

It is impossible for me to discuss this subject in great detail here because of the limited space available. At the same time I would like to quote from a talk by the Honorable Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, on Tuesday, May 3, 1966 at the annual meeting. Mr. Fowler said, "It is our task to achieve that objective without sacrificing the external military, diplomatic, and political position of the United States in a world that depends upon the United States in large measure for security, peace and freedom."

"We need to reason together because your Government, instead of seeking to achieve this national goal by imposing laws and regulations upon you, and upon our economy of free enterprise, has established, with the advice of outstanding businessmen and bankers, a program of voluntary cooperation linking the American business and financial community and the American Government in a partnership of economic responsibility."

The Secretary made it clear that the requests that corporations maintain the outflow from direct investment at an amount which our balance of payments can safety absorb are temporary measures and are not designed to be of protracted duration. He further stated that the administration fully recognizes the fact that direct investments abroad ultimately return handsome dividends to the United States in the form of repatriated earnings.

The final subject which I will discuss was titled "The Businessman's Role in Reducing Poverty." The speaker, Walter E. Hoadley, Senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the Bank of America in San Francisco, California, said that it should be noted that at a time when business executives are being pressured to devote more and more of their time to social-welfare projects very recent surveys of this year's average college graduates reveal a firm conviction that business neither has made a substantial contribution to the betterment of the underprivileged nor has any real deep concern about such matters. Once again, it can be seen that business is not communicating effectively with young people, among others.

The speaker pointed out however that the American people should understand that the primary responsibility of each business executive necessarily must be to keep his own business and, hence, the economy as healthy as possible.

This concludes my report on this year's meeting. It is always a pleasure for me to contribute my help to the best interests of our Association and sincerely trust that my observations, conclusions and comments will be helpful to our members.

Respectfully submitted,
Peter P. Weidenbruch,
President, Damrow Bros. Co.

Deep Submergence Systems Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, during this week we will be considering the fiscal 1967 Defense procurement authorization. During recent House Armed Services Committee hearings, we added $8.6 million to this proposed budget and deep submergence research.

The enclosed article further illustrates the value and need of continuing full-scale deep submergence programs and I ask my colleagues here in the House to carefully review the following article which appears in the May 1966 Navy magazine:

Deep Submergence Systems Project—It's a Major Focal Point of the Navy's Effort To Develop an Operational Deep Ocean Capability

(By Dr. John P. Craven)

The Twentieth Century has witnessed an enormous increase in mankind's ability to cope with his environment and to effectively and efficiently utilize its resources. The relative stability of Western society, resulting both from the capital-creating Industrial Revolution of the Nineteenth Century and the vigorous exercise of sea power through emphasis on ocean-borne commerce and maintenance of freedom of the seas, permitted the pursuit of scientific endeavor and the translation of resultant scientific achievement into engineering application.

Man has been able over the last half century to both enrich his store of knowledge of the physical universe and to apply the fruition of this knowledge into a creative enhancement of his world.

A substantial number of the major technological achievements of this century have shared three elemental stages in their advancement from the realm of scientific speculation through empiricism, to engineering reality. These stages are:

(1) a singular national exigency which forced the development of sets of empirical data in areas for which the society had allowed only scientific speculation; (2) the sequential translation of this data into a practical and functional operational prototype system under the aegis of the governing body; and (3) eventual absorption of the resultant technological base into the com-

mercial and industrial economy of the sponsoring nation, with subsequent dissemination as well as duplication throughout the reminder of the industrial nations of the world.

OUR SIGNAL EVENT

The first stage of this generalized development process is usually a single signal event or an immediate threat to national security. The point of separation between the second and third stages may be more or less defined depending on such factors as security requirements, nature of unique governmental and/or industrial capabilities and economic potential of the developing technology.

Additionally, the characteristically singular specific development objective of the military/government phase must be advanced to the point where private enterprise can successfully extrapolate the technology to commercially profitable ventures. Four contemporary examples of this characteristics development process are: (1) nuclear energy; (2) missile technology; (3) jet propulsion; and, (4) radar.

In April of 1963, the loss of the *Thresher*, an advanced attack submarine, in 8,400 feet of water off the New England coast brought the attention of the world to the deep ocean environment. More specifically it caused the United States Navy to assess its own capabilities for operation in the depths of the world's oceans. The Deep Submergence Systems Review Group (DSSRG) was established under Rear Admiral Edward C. Stephan to analyze existing Navy techniques relating to undersea operations and formulate specific requirements for improved systems.

ON SUBMARINE RESCUES

The DSSRG recognized immediately that there was no dearth of efforts in deep ocean technology. However, it did ascertain that military applications of underwater techniques had remained static over several decades and had not pursued the state-of-the-art in existing technologies such as high strength material development, advanced propulsion and high energy density power sources.

The current submarine rescue technique utilizing the McCann chamber had been developed more than 30 years before and was not capable of operating in depths frequented by modern nuclear vehicles. Similarly, the method for large object salvage had not been substantially improved on since the raising of the *Squalus* from 240 feet in 1939. The search for the *Thresher* illustrated the unresolved problems of locating objects in the deep ocean.

In March of 1964, the DSSRG report was presented to the Chief of Naval Operations. It specifically recommended that the Navy pursue improved capabilities in: (1) rescue of personnel to submarine collapse depths; (2) search and object recovery to 20,000-foot depths; (3) salvage of large objects, including intact submarine hulls at continental shelf depths; and, (4) extension of free diver's capability to live and work on the continental shelf.

To achieve these objectives, the DSSRG recommended the development and production of small manned vehicles for rescue and search operations, development of a surface lift system for salvage and pursuit of extended saturated diving capabilities for free divers to perform useful work on the continental shelves.

PROJECT SEABED

In June of 1964, the Deep Submergence Systems Project (DSSP) was created by the Chief of Naval Material and assigned to the Director, Special Projects, for implementation of the DSSRG recommendations, approved by the Chief of Naval Operations. While the DSSRG report provided an operational rationale and detailed mission for the improvement of the Navy's undersea capabilities, the technological base for the implementation of these recommendations came from another independent study conducted by the Navy in the summer of 1964. This was the Project SEABED Study carried out by the Advanced Sea Based Deterrence Program of the Special Projects Office.

Project SEABED was a study with the goal of exploring the future requirements of the Navy in strategic weapon systems. One major segment of the SEABED study was the work of the Deep Ocean Technology Panel, which was formed in recognition of the fact that any effort to chart the Navy's future would require an exact identification of the state-of-the-art to describe developments required to support future Navy programs in the deep ocean.

Fifteen scientific and engineering categories were identified and studied, including materials, power plants, hydrodynamics, acoustics, navigation, habitability, structural mechanics and oceanography. The results of these studies were consolidated with the DSSRG recommendations to formulate the technological base for the DSSP.

Since its inception, the DSSP has vigorously pursued development programs to meet the operational requirements promulgated by the *Chief of Naval Operations. SEALAB II* was conducted in the late summer of 1965 at 205 feet off the coast of California. A prototype rescue vehicle is currently being procured. A salvage program study was completed in the fall of 1965 and its recommendations are being converted into developmental systems. Materials studies are being carried out on high strength steels, other high strength metals such as titanium, and ceramics, glass and similar exotic materials for development of suitable pressure structures to carry man to the deepest parts of the ocean in small submersible vehicles.

NOW A SEPARATE PROJECT

More recently the focus of the deep submergence effort was enhanced by the establishment of DSSP as a separate project office reporting directly to the Chief of Navy Material. Additionally, the nuclear ocean engineering submarine, NR-1, was included under this new office. Thus, Project Manager II (DSSP) is currently responsible for developing: (1) a submarine rescue system; (2) a deep ocean search capability; (3) a large object salvage system; (4) a "Man-in-the-Sea" program; and (5) a nuclear powered research submarine.

The DSSP is aimed specifically at filling military requirements in the deep ocean. A finer resolution is possible in that DSSP has only several specific objectives within the overall Navy deep ocean effort. Other deep ocean projects are concurrently being carried out by the Bureau of Ships, the Office of Naval Research, the Bureau of Yards and Docks, the Naval Oceanographic Office, several Navy laboratories and the newly formed Matthew Fontaine Maury Institute. This work as well as the work of other government agencies is coordinated by the Interagency Committee on Oceanography under the Honorable Robert W. Morse, Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research and Development).

To attempt to extrapolate the work of the DSSP to its future impact on oceanography and ocean engineering without considering the extensive and sophisticated endeavors of the many other government agencies as well as private endeavors would be parochial and misleading. The exploration of the deep ocean environment is the sum product of many endeavors, as will be the eventual exploitation of the sea. However, it would not be erroneous to consider the Deep Submergence Systems Project as a major focal point of the Navy's efforts to develop an operational deep ocean capability.

INDUSTRY ACTIVE

In terms of the technical development spectrum, the Project is challenged as a part of the second phase of technological evolution, that of a specific system development, following the signal event of the first stage, the loss of the *Thresher*. There is significant evidence that the third stage of this modern development continuum is imminent, if not already underway.

Several private firms, such as Lockheed (Deep Quest), General Dynamics (Star series), Westinghouse (Deepstar), and Reynolds Aluminum (Aluminuat), have constructed or are in the process of constructing deep ocean vehicles out of corporate funds. At least two industrial concerns are engaged in man-in-the-sea type efforts at continental shelf depth. Privately funded work is being carried out on the feasibility of deep ocean mining, manned underwater laboratories, deep salvage work and underwater instrumentation.

Concurrently the Deep Submergence Systems Project is developing and engineering several technologies relating to the undersea environment, including materials, advanced power sources, propulsion and human physiology. These developments will obviously be of value to those envisioning commercial exploitation of the sea. Additionally, they will form the basis for future military endeavors in the deep ocean as man becomes more and more independent of the surface and short support and is able to sustain extended operations to the very deepest reaches of the oceans that immerse three quarters of the earth's surface.

It would be realistic to assume that, in the next decade, the engineering ability to effectively and efficiently utilize the subsurface ocean for transportation, mineral extraction and limited occupation will be existent. This technological resource will be brought to fruition during the third characteristic phase of the development spectrum. Oceanography, the science of the sea, will evolve to "Oceaneering," the engineering of the sea.

WHAT IS THE STRATEGIC IMPACT?

However, the prosecution of this ability will be predicated on two nontechnical factors, strategic and economic. The eventual strategic impact of deep ocean technology, currently evidenced by the value of the nuclear submarine and ballistic missile, is not yet apparent. The control and ownership of the bottom, the maintenance of bottom-mounted acoustic arrays, and the establishment of manned military installations are conceivable directions for utilization of newly-developed deep ocean techniques and processes. Developments in this direction are contingent upon a valuation of the significance of continental shelves, sea mounts and the broad deep plateaus of the oceans, for military and political purposes.

A recently ratified Treaty of the Continental Shelf confers sovereign rights to shelf-land to the nations contiguous to shelf areas. This right extends to 200 meters or to the depth of practical exploitation. The Navy's SEALAB program, as well as several private endeavors, has affirmed man's ability to exploit these areas.

To effectively utilize these shelves from a strategic standpoint will require in the next decade only an established national posture dealing with these vast subsurface areas. Logical extension of the provisions of the Treaty could further extend the sovereign limits to even greater depths of the ocean, but still within accessible limits of projected technological development.

THE POTENTIAL FRUITS

Existing extensive commercial endeavors such as the offshore drilling for oil are harbingers of the potential economic "fruits" of deep ocean technology. As increasing quantities of engineering data and knowhow relating to deep ocean technology become available, better economic prediction of possible profitable ventures, with less associated risk, will become apparent and expanded effort in engineering development in those promising endeavors will further stimulate commercial interest.

The loss of the *Thresher* and the subsequent focus of engineering development by the Navy in the Deep Submergence Systems Project has directed attention to the newest great frontier on this planet. Many previously independent research and development efforts within the Navy have been redirected or reemphasized to help attain an operational capability within the next decade on or near the ocean bottom. Additionally, other Navy programs have indirectly benefited from the aroused public interest in the oceans.

On a broader scope, the abundant resources of commercial, educational and nonprofit institutions have been made available to deep ocean research and development and many ambitious and worthwhile programs, sponsored by private capital, have been undertaken; in deep vehicles, diving operations and underwater mining, to name a few. Even a greater effort is required to be sure, for the United States and the peoples of the world to completely realize the cornucopia of resources extractable from the oceans.

Must Fear of China Shackle Our Power in Asia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, many times we hear as an excuse for our failures in Vietnam the fact that there is fear of Red China coming into the war. The following article by Francis Vivian Drake, published in the Reader's Digest, gives some very cogent reasons why we should not fear Red China. Mr. Drake's article follows:

[From the Reader's Digest, June 1966]

MUST FEAR OF CHINA SHACKLE OUR POWER IN ASIA?

(By Francis Vivian Drake)

(NOTE.—Francis Vivian Drake, military editor of The Reader's Digest, was a longtime consultant to the U.S. Air Force, and, later, recipient of the Exceptional Civilian Service Award for his recommendations to the U.S. government.)

This forthright appraisal of Red Chinese strength refutes the arguments of those who would have us fight with one hand tied behind our back.

The United States has at its disposal in Southeast Asia strategic weapons sufficient to cripple the enemy and greatly shorten the Vietnamese war, by eliminating in North Vietnam the sources from which the communists are inflicting devastation on South Vietnam. We could do it without using nuclear bombs, without destroying the civilian population, by a systematic destruction of the essential targets that support the enemy's economy—every factory, oil center, refinery, hydroelectric plant, dam, industrial complex, rail yard and bridge in the country.

We have not made any such allout attack. We have not blockaded Haiphong, the port through which vital material is flowing. We have not permanently blocked the two railroad passes from China, the supplier of the arms and ammunition used in the South. We have not wrecked the privileged sanctuary in the North from which the communists have systematically wrecked South Vietnam, killing tens of thousands of men, women and children and inflicting some 17,000 casualties on our own men. Why have we stayed our hand? It is because we feared that we might provoke Red China into "escalation" of the war.

At home, orator after orator has uttered dire prophecies of what will happen if we hit the North. In a recent televised address, for example, Senator WAYNE MORSE warned the public that such an attack would bring China into the war, "and that means a nuclear war in which millions of you will be killed."

Abroad, Peking leaders are going all-out to promote the same fear. To them, Vietnam is only a way station in the Red Chinese push to exhaust our will. The last thing they want is for the war to end. Their aim is to encourage their puppets, keep them fighting, lower our prestige and move closer to their real goal: domination of the Pacific. Red China warns incessantly that any strategic bombardment of North Vietnam would bring on World War III.

How plausible are these threats? Our military men, well-informed as to the Chinese war-making potential, ask with one voice: What are the Chinese going to escalate with? They believe that in an all-out effort to restrain us from pulverizing North Vietnam, the Reds are trying to bluff us into believing that they can intervene in a decisive manner. Is it not time for an accurate assessment of just what the Chinese actually have available with which to back up their belligerent posturing?

China, with the world's largest population (over 700 million), is, ironically, one of the weakest of nations when it comes to waging war beyond her own borders. She is organized for defense. "China-watchers" in Hong Kong know her order of battle and are kept accurately updated by defectors from the mainland. Her forces are as follows:

ARMY

This is the largest body of disciplined men in the world—2,500,000 first-line soldiers, plus many millions more of militia and auxiliaries. But these masses of men are impotent beyond their own borders. They have no adequate transportation. They have no airlift. Roads are few and poorly surfaced. Trucks are scarce, nowhere near enough to transport and supply large forces at long distances.

This fact has proved an enormous handicap to the Reds. They have never been able to invade Taiwan, overwhelm its 500,000-man army, and bring down the hated Chiang Kai-shek. They have not been able to invade his islands of Matsu and Quemoy, only a few miles from their mainland. They were able to march overland into Tibet, which had no defenses whatever, but they have no easy routes into Vietnam. The only entrances are through two steep mountain passes, both of which could be blocked by aerial destruction of the railroad bridges.

China's foot soldiers are well supplied with automatic hand weapons and moderate amounts of artillery, but out of 115 divisions only four are armored. When Russia stopped military supplies to China in 1960, the Chinese started from scratch to build their own. Production facilities are still inadequate. Armament and other plants are crowded into one sgement of the country, nakedly vulnerable to even TNT bombs. National production on which warmaking depends is still only ten percent of ours, steel nine percent, oil and gas only two percent.

NAVY

China has none worthy of the name—only four old destroyers and up to 30 World War II submarines, all obsolete, backed by numerous small craft and a maximum of 500 obsolete naval aircraft. She has no means of preventing a blockade of either Haiphong or her own ports.

AIR FORCE

This is numerically about ten percent the size of ours. Like the army, it is organized chiefly for defense. At last report, it consisted mainly of 1600 to 1700 Russian short-range MIG 15's and 17's, supplied before 1960, plus 200 to 300 short- and medium-range bombers, and a small number of MIG 19 and 21 supersonic jet fighters. All are short of vital spare parts and of fuel for training. Many planes have been cannibalized for parts, since Russia refuses to supply them. Few, if any, planes have air-to-air missiles or all-weather radar.

In the opinion of veteran U.S. airmen, the Chinese air force would be shot out of the sky by any truly modern air force manned by highly trained pilots equipped with the latest planes and missiles. Something like this happened in 1958, when the Reds tangled with the Chinese Nationalists air force from Taiwan (a first-rate, 600-plane unit supplied and trained by the United States). The kill-rate zoomed to 20-to-1 in favor of the Chinats. The communists retreated to the ground.

Only a fool would seek to underestimate the manpower of China or the armed might that she may achieve in the future. It would be insane to invade the mainland, and the United States has no intention of doing so; but the fact remains that *today*, in *this* conflict, she is incapable of any decisive action to block us from destroying the strategic resources of North Vietnam.

NUCLEAR POWER

China exploded her first atomic bomb in 1964, another in 1965, and a third is pending. Despite her scarcely veiled threats, it is the opinion of our nuclear experts that she has had no time to accumulate a stockpile. Neither has she any missiles, and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara believes that it will be well into the '70's before she can produce them. Moreover, she is well aware that any attempt to deliver her few bombs in her old bombers would bring overwhelming reprisal, her war industries would cease to exist and she would lose overnight her invaluable nuclear plants at Lanchow and Pao-tow.

The war in Vietnam has reached a critical phase. It has been the enemy's experience that he can destroy the homeland of his victim and keep his own untouched. For the sake of the present and future, we have no option but to destroy this delusion. We have ample forces in Southeast Asia to do it. We could strike the blow that would gain us victory, *yet even today our air commanders are preventedfrom making the attacks they want to make*—so as not to give offense to China!

Our government has hoped that patience and forbearance would bring the communists to the conference table. It has proved to be a false hope. The enemy has merely used the time to strengthen his air defenses. He believes that he has us where he wants us, trapped in a long and costly war, unable to win, unable to get out. Every item of discord in our homeland encourages him, every seditious speech, card-burning, and mindless posturing on television suggests that we do not possess the national resolution to win. His attitude has been well described by an eminent authority in Hong Kong, Gen. Ho Shai Lai, for nine years chief Chinese military delegate to the United Nations Military Staff Committee:

The United States can effect immediate success in South Vietnam (say within six months) if she will go in for massive bombardment of North Vietnam and an effective blockade of Haiphong, *provided Washington shows an indisputabily firm attitude*. Everyone in the Orient will understand that. The crux of the whole situation is that the communists are fully aware that they are no match for the United States militarily, but they are gambling on the United States' not taking full advantage of her strength. They are positive that if they hold on just a little longer the United States will back down and offer them 'bribes' to stop their aggression. The most important fact to remember is that, in this part of the world, psychology is sometimes more important than mere strength."

We are being tested. Our honor, our prestige, the value of our word in the Pacific are at stake. The situation is not new. Four Presidents—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson—have approved our commitments, not merely out of goodwill, but because they are in our national interest. If we fail in Vietnam, our guarantees to the Philippines, Taiwan, Japan, and Australia are compromised. More wars become likely. Our soldiers in South Vietnam have proved themselves tough and courageous, but they are fighting with one hand tied behind their back as long as men and supplies pour in from the North. Is it not time to match our national will with that of our brave men by striking the decisive blow that cuts off enemy power at the source?

EDITORS NOTE.—As this article goes to press, the future stability of South Vietnam is in serious doubt. But regardless of what happens there, the problem of Red China expansionism remains, and the facts presented here must continue to bear importantly on the formulation of U.S. foreign policy.

L.B.J.'s Most Effective Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James Reston of the New York Times writes with perceptiveness in the following article, on the crisis of confidence:

LBJ's MOST EFFECTIVE ENEMY

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON.—Both the strength and the weakness of the Johnson administration lie in the political power and skill of the President himself.

He dominates this turbulent city but he doesn't persuade it. He overwhelms both his own party and his opposition, but he doesn't convince either; he manipulates but alienates the press, and he does all these things so naturally that he genuinely believes all the above statements are outrageous if not libelous lies.

All this is clearly illustrated in yesterday's accounts of his press conference in the White House. Here he is clearly the dominant man. He called the conference on such short notice that even the White House stenographer was not able to get to the meeting on time, and most of his answers to questions were denials of the obvious.

Even his own aides had told the reporters in the room that the President's support of Prime Minister Ky of South Viet Nam at the Honolulu conference had contributed to the personal battle for power there among the squabbling generals. But when he was asked about this, he replied very calmly: "I don't think there is any basis for that at all."

Did he think the Vietnamese war would hurt the Democrats in the fall election?

"I don't really believe," he replied, evading the question and putting the reporters on the defensive, "that any of you want to make this a Democratic or a Republican Army or Air Force or Navy war . . ."

What about the Republican charges of shortages of bombs in Viet Nam? he was asked. "We recognize," he replied, "that every day you do not have all you want where you want it in an operation as big as the United States government conducts. I ran out of lead pencils last night reading about 2 o'clock. I wondered why they didn't sharpen some that were there. They had all broken off. But there was nobody around to criticize, so I had to get up and go to my coat pocket and get a new pencil."

It was an amusing but irrelevant answer.

The President's general theme was clear: We are moving in the right direction in Viet Nam; we are making progress; we are watching but not worrying about inflation at home; we emphasize the election in November too much, but in any event the Democrats are in good shape and the Republicans, while responsible, are in trouble, and if the reporters and BOBBY KENNEDY would just not stir things up, patience and common sense will see us through.

All this is very interesting and even disarming: The reporters get a good story and they are quickly on the front pages and on the TV cameras, but when they have time to think about it, when they get home most of them wonder. They admire the technique but question the substance. It was news, but was it true?

Meanwhile, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in Viet Nam was giving a much grimmer report of the situation in Saigon, and former Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith was in Washington at the same moment saying that Viet Nam was not vital to the United States, was not "a bastion of freedom," was not a "testing place of democracy" and was not likely to be won by bombing in the North.

But never mind. The President carried the headlines. He achieved his immediate objective: Before going to Baltimore and Texas, he dominated the front pages over the weekend but he did so at a price.

The price he pays is doubt. He has no effective political opposition but himself in Washington. Few people here question his objectives.

He genuinely wants peace and freedom and a negotiated settlement in Viet Nam; and equality and good wages and high profits and even nobility at home; but he surrounds all this with such cunning political techniques that, even when he wins, he gets in the way of the things he wants.

What he wants is worthy of the faith and confidence of the nation, but this is precisely what he does not have, because his techniques blur his conviction. He is confusing what men say to the pollsters with what they say to their friends. He is mixing up news and truth. He knows what his aides say to him personally, but he does not know what they say to their wives.

He is confronted, in short, with a crisis of confidence, and it is important, not because it will defeat him, but because he will go on winning and have to live with it, and this will not be easy.

Murray Powers Retires at 65

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, Murray Powers, the managing editor of the Akron Beacon Journal is one of the most revered and respected newspapermen in the United States. To us of the circulation area of the Akron Beacon Journal, Murray Powers is a symbol of good citizenship. It has been 32 years since he first joined that outstanding newspaper and during those years, he has constantly worked for the betterment of our section of the Nation.

Always fair and objective in his treatment of the news, he has gained the love and respect of all of us. The excellence of the staff of the Akron Beacon Journal is due, to a great degree, to his executive ability.

Murray Powers, having reached the age of 65, is retiring from his post. Prior to coming to the Akron Beacon Journal, he served as managing editor of the Marion, Ohio, Star, and the Portsmouth, Ohio, Times. He has also written many articles for magazines.

That excellent writer, Kenneth Nichols, in an article announcing the retirement of Murray Powers said:

> Powers has been elected to so many offices by fellow editors that if journalism were a kingdom he would be the most titled knight in the palace.

He further stated:

> He has helped to bring the Beacon Journal awards for excellence in typography and news coverage. The thing that he seems proudest is the news letter that goes out from the Beacon Journal every 2 weeks to some 2,000 servicemen and Peace Corps volunteers. It is his baby.

Kent State University will miss Murray Powers as he devoted his offday each week to teach journalism there.

Murray Powers wrote a farewell column that appeared in last Sunday's Akron Beacon Journal. I know that my colleagues in the Congress will enjoy reading it.

It follows:

POWERS' NEWS DAYS HAVE ENDED—BUT THE MEMORIES LINGER

(By Murray Powers)

When you are 30 and somebody mentions the age of 65 it's something to ignore as though it might never happen to you.

And when you are 15 years older it still is a long way off and you have little reason to be concerned.

Then comes 60 and you begin to be concerned. Sixty-five! A year of foreboding to some . . . A year to be welcomed by others. The year that means the great upheaval in thousands of lives—release from daily chores—swapping those chores for leisure that has been wanted or unwanted.

Pensions, Social Security, Medicare, moving to areas of warmth and sunshine perhaps. So many new things to think about.

It seems only yesterday that you signed an application for a Social Security card. And now you discover you are 65!

You don't feel any diffrent the first day. You are just as lazy rolling out of bed as you were on the previous morning at 5, just as anxious for the newspaperman's cup of coffee.

There's nothing different outside. The birds make just as much noise and the squirrels leap from the trees onto the roof over your bed.

You think—so this is that mysterious 65 that people talk about and reporters write about.

And you walk into the office to hear some upsetting talk—whether to run this picture of the not-so-bad-to-look-at girl or the picture of that "old man who's 65."

Old, huh? So, you plop down in your chair and enjoy the privilege of 65—the memories that have tumbled over each other as you raced against deadline after deadline, in thousands of days . . . It seems you have been sitting as a midwife while the news has been born.

You recall the numbing mid-day wire bulletins of President Kennedy's assassination . . . leaving a half-washed storm window in the yard and jumping into a half-washed car when a neighbor cries: "Roosevelt is dead!" . . . The unexpected death of President Harding shaking up an early evening newsroom calm . . . Woodrow Wilson's passing on a Sunday morning . . . The stroke that ended the life of Calvin Coolidge in Northampton, Mass.

The night that you were awakened to be told that Col. Charles Lindbergh's son had been stolen from his crib, touching off one of the greatest news stories . . . The most upsetting part of an execution—not seeing the man die in the electric chair but walking up to the death house and seeing the hearse outside—waiting.

Sitting alone in a deserted newsroom getting out an early morning extra on the event that kicked off the violence of World War II—Hitler's march into Austria . . . And the huge zinc heading, "Invasion On!" that the late Lynn Holcomb had made days ahead of time and then slept through it all on D-Day . . .

One of the most wonderful interviews—Helen Keller . . . And sitting in the darkened Marion Star office with Will Rogers while the comedian tried to find "local color" for his jokes . . . Stern-faced but pleasant Salvation Army's commander Evangeline Booth.

The evening Edward VIII said he was giving up his British throne for "the woman I love." . . . And the night that Harry Truman threw a Democratic dinner into turmoil when he suddenly announced he would not run again for the Presidency . . . Grabbing every bulletin off the Morse telegraph wire the day Lindberg flew to Paris . . . Sitting in John S. Knight's recreation room on a Sunday morning in 1935 picking up the best features of the Times-Press after the Beacon Journal had bought the paper the night before.

The night the Irish police chief (O'Brien by name) made the first raid against the Ku Klux Klan in Springfield and our staff (on C. L. Knight's paper) getting it from the KKK for days because we published the list of members . . . Learning that the great George M. Cohan fired his musical chorus boys because we complained in a review they looked like pansies .

Always a memory of Helen Waterhouse . . . "Can you get to Texas City to cover the explosion?" . . . And you asked again an hour later and found she was on the way . . . Later grabbing the plane in Chicago that carried doctors, nurses and plasma to the disaster city . . . Sitting in the office the afternoon the news wires bulletined a mystery explosion in New Mexico . . . and then silence . . . not to be broken until after the A bombs had been dropped on Japan . . . It had been a test explosion in the desert.

A bulletin: "Roncalli elected Pope" . . . And everybody cluttered around the teletype asked "Who is Roncalli?" . . . And not a line of copy or picture in the morgue? . . . The little girl who died in the Ringling fire and was never identified—"Little Miss 1565".

Days of wonderful musical revues . . . Ziegfied Follies, George White's Scandals, Earl Carroll's Vanities, Greenwich Village Follies, Music Box Revues . . . And the good old burlesque, every Sunday afternoon . . . the school for so many comedians . . . rowdy shows but scarcely dirty and never a strip tease . . .

The day that Dinah Shore sang and sang "Singin' in the Rain" when that rain stopped the Soap Box Derby for awhile . . . Two events on separate Sunday afternoons—the thrill of jamming in with 5,000 to see Pope John XXIII and then the gorgeous, unbelievable Taj Mahal in India . . .

Sitting in a Summer resort cottage picking up bit by bit, through static, a radio report of Cuyahoga Falls' Doodle Bug crash that killed so many . . .

Great murder stories still good but the run-of-mine trials have lost their "it" . . . Number of papers Page 1-ing the recent Miami murder fell off amazingly . . . What happened to newspaper extras? None, actually, since the surrender of the Japanese in 1945 . . . Red Motley, publisher of Parade Magazine, says we now publish "explanatory" news instead of the old "exclamatory" news.

And remember those old bylines in the BJ? . . . Earl Wilson, Ruth McKenney, Oscar Smith, Robert Stopher, Charlie Howard, Hersch Atkinson, Naomi Bender, Harry Harriman.

Sixty-five . . . there's always lots to remember.

Untimely Death of Walter B. Phelan, Wyoming Speaker of the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, it grieves me to bring news to my colleagues of the untimely death of my friend and longtime associate, Walter B. Phelan, who passed away in his sleep on Sunday morning at his home in Cheyenne, Wyo.

Walter B. Phelan and I were associated together in the practice of law as prosecuting attorneys. He was my helper and main source of strength during my years as Democratic State chairman from 1957 to June 1961, when I was pleased and proud to turn over the leadership of the Democratic Party to him. He was State chairman until last year, when he resigned upon election as speaker of the Wyoming House of Representatives.

Walter B. Phelan was an active civic leader and he directed the fortunes of the Democratic Party with articulate and able leadership. Phelan ruled the house in the 1965 legislature with a strong hand. He had long been an outspoken critic of Wyoming's right-to-work and led the house in seeking its repeal—repeal passed the Wyoming House, but failed in the senate by one vote. Walt also pledged that Wyoming's ignominious ban of acceptance of Federal aid to education would be repealed—and under his leadership this was done.

Walter B. Phelan was a model of a man, an exemplary human being, Mr. Speaker, and few men were more devoted to family and friends. Few lawyers were as learned and responsive to the often difficult requirements of doing justice. His death is a serious loss to the State of Wyoming and the people he served so well.

Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to introduce the late Mr. Phelan to the Speaker of this House a little over a year ago and I know that his passing leaves a personal loss to us all and certainly reduces the ranks of the Democratic leaders of national stature in America today.

A recitation of the rosary will be held at 7:30 p.m., tomorrow, Wednesday, at St. Mary's Cathedral, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Requiem Mass will be said at 11 a.m. on Thursday, June 2, at St. Mary's Cathedral in Cheyenne, Wyo.

Antimissile Fund Increase Questioned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the House of Representatives is scheduled to begin consideration of the defense procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1967. This legislation includes funds for further research and development work on the Nike X antiballistic-missile system as well as $153 million for preproduction of this system.

As we begin this debate I think it is important to note that these latter funds for preproduction were not requested by the Department of Defense. They have also been opposed by the Federation of American Scientists, which is a nationwide organization of 2,500 scientists and engineers concerned with the impact of science on national and international affairs.

On May 8, the federation made a thoughtful statement explaining its opposition. I include it at this point in the Record and urge that it be read and considered by all Members:

Scientists Group Supports McNamara's Opposition to Anti-Missile Fund Increase

Recently, Secretary of Defense McNamara told the Senate Armed Services Committee that, in his opinion, the construction of an anti-ballistic missile system would not "add measurably to our safety" and, therefore, that he would not now request funds for its deployment. The Federation of American Scientists supports this long-standing Defense Department policy. It sees no reason sufficiently urgent to justify tens of billions of dollars for an immensely complicated system which will remain of dubious efficiency, and require continuing expenditures, in a continuing race between offensive and defensive technology.

FAS recognizes also that a decision this extraordinary—the largest single military procurement decision in the history of man—would lead to others. The Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff agree that a ballistic missile defense system must be accompanied by a full fallout shelter program. And efforts to achieve a "balanced damage-limiting program" will encourage procurement of anti-bomber and anti-submarine systems. These expenditures, truly enormous over extended periods, would be the hallmark of a frightened, not a great, society.

And our fear would find its echo in Soviet planning. We have spent more than several billions already to neutralize, with developments in our offensive weapons, whatever Soviet defensive systems might someday be deployed. Were we to deploy a missile defense, we could expect the Soviet Union, in due course, to respond no less strongly with offensive weapons of its own. And in turn, efforts to improve Soviet offensive weapons will threaten our own, as well as induce us to still further defensive efforts. There is no way out in this direction because there is no defense against nuclear war except to avoid one. Attempts to secure such a defense will, by fits and starts, lead only to further spirals of expenditures.

Neither the technical implications of a decision to deploy nor the political ones, internal or external, are likely in any important way to further our domestic progress or our aspirations for control of the arms race abroad. Instead, such a decision will, if it does anything, be disruptive and divisive in its impact upon us and upon those relations with the Soviets from which eventual control of arms can spring. Finally, other nations consider our progress toward arms limitations relevant to their decision to acquire nuclear weapons; thus a new round of arms race will make the achievement of a non-proliferation treaty more difficult.

These arguments bear repeating because the Senate, by voice vote, has recently done what three years ago it declined to do on a roll-call vote—to try to force about $200 million dollars on the Defense Department for the purchase of missile defense hardware.

It may be that the Senate was responding to the prospect of Soviet deployment, just as the Soviet Union may react unfortunately to the Senate vote. It would be unfortunate indeed if either country were panicked into decisions of this type by equivocal evidence of the other's progress or intentions. And while the hope of encouraging Soviet restraint is an additional important argument against U.S. missile defenses, we do not believe that our Nation need engage in a puerile contest of matching the wasteful blunders of others. The answers to a Soviet defense are the very improvements in U.S. offensive capability in which we are already engaged. We do not believe that the Congress, or any of its Committees, has yet given this matter the organized thought that characterizes the Secretary of Defense's decision-making; we support his reluctance to buy the unnecessary.

The World We Live In

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, the attached is the speech Jupe Barceloux, a brilliant young 15-year-old boy, gave when he won the trip to New York to visit the United Nations in June.

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

The world we live in, the human world, is one of astounding variety. There aren't now, nor have there ever been, two human beings identical in every respect. Even twins, who look exactly alike, have different personalities, different souls. The contrasts among peoples of this earth are no less than fantastic. The types and kinds of people run the gamut of possibilities and never exhaust themselves. There are the black and the white, the saints and the sinners, the withered old and the firm, strong young, society's parasites and the well-respected professionals, the helpless and dependent invalids and the track stars, the conquerors and the conquered. These and many more examples of the diversity of the human individuals and groups contained by the world we live in serve only to point up more and more complex differences.

Yet, in their minds and hearts, all men all through the ages have desired a few essential things. These essential quantities have been wanted by men of all times and places regardless of religion, color, or any prejudices these individuals might have had. The necessary things all men have hoped and prayed for are:

1. freedom from hunger, the hunger which has plagued men of all times, the hunger which has made men slaves of barren land and the impulse to find food.

2. freedom from disease, the disease which has taken away so many of man's friends and relatives in the prime of their lives.

3. knowledge, the knowledge which could enable men to turn the endless torrent of a stream into a usable source of power, the knowledge which would solve all problems.

4. peace, the peace which would assure men that they wouldn't be exterminated before their rightful times, the peace which would give man the time to solve his problems.

And, furthermore, strange as it may seem in this cruel world, there exists today an organization dedicated to these very goals. The organization is, of course, the United Nations.

The United Nations was formed on October 24, 1945, the brainchild of men who, after seeing two wars in their lifetimes, had decided that there must be an agency afoot in the world to assure the international harmony and cooperation which are necessary to work united against man's troubles and to develop mutual respect and understanding among the nations which do the work. Through its specialized agencies, international cooperative organizations with varied memberships, the U.N. works to make this world a much better one.

Through the Food and Agriculture Organization, which is located in Rome with 100 regular plus 4 associate members, the U.N. works to improve agriculture and to disseminate knowledge about new methods of farming which haven't yet penetrated the world. By this, the United Nations works to rid man of one of his nemeses, hunger.

Through the World Health Organization, which has 116 regular plus 2 associate members and is located in Geneva, the U.N. works to kill the disease-spreading pests of the world, to treat those people who have diseases, and, especially, to prevent those who haven't had diseases from getting them. By this work, the United Nations fights to rid man of another of his big problems, disease.

Through the 113 nations of UNESCO, which, when translated, means the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The U.N. works from Paris to spread knowledge and to stamp out illiteracy and ignorance. This fulfills another of man's greatest hopes; to have knowledge enough to pull himself up into the usefulness and light of wisdom instead of remaining in the dark of ignorance.

The Security Council, one of the Main Organs of the U.N., acts on any threat to the peace of the world which is brought to its attention. By doing this, the Security Council brings into realization man's last, and most important aspiration, freedom from war.

Since its inception, the U.N. has been beset with problems, problems which have led some people to say that it is useless in the fight against man's troubles. But the fact remains that, despite its weaknesses and problems, the United Nations is still the best alliance we have with which we can battle man's age-old enemies and to assure the one thing which will let that battle go on, peace.

Irresponsibility on Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly disturbed by recent actions taken in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with respect to the foreign aid authorization bill. The insistence on requiring that long-term development loans be at the official Treasury loan rate after 10 years strikes me as particularly harmful to the objectives of our effort to help free developing countries become self-sustaining and strong in the future.

For years we have been pressing our colleague nations in the OECD with some success to lower their interest rates on long-term development loans so as not to add to the already almost intolerable burden of debt service for the developing countries. Now the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which has long been a bulwark of good sense in relation to our foreign aid programs, threatens to destroy all the good work that has been done.

The committee's actions have been widely interpreted to reflect a desire to punish the administration for following policies in Vietnam of which members of the committee disapprove. I certainly hope that this interpretation is not correct. But I confess that it is hard otherwise to explain the reversals of position that have occurred.

Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include herewith a trenchant editorial on this subject appearing in today's New York Times:

IRRESPONSIBILITY ON AID

In a dismaying reveral of form, some of the usually responsible members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are taking the lead in action that would cripple the foreign-aid program and put its administrators into straitjackets. Out of pique at the Administration's Vietnam policy and tactics, these Senators are helping to scuttle reforms in foreign-aid administration which they and other enlightened Americans have fought long and hard to establish.

The committee would cut further an already inadequate foreign-aid authorization, deny aid to countries most in need of it, reimpose a policy of "hard" loans which developing countries cannot repay, and destroy any opportunity for the long-range planning that can insure the most effective use of funds provided.

It is not the mavericks and vintage isolationists who are jamming through these dangerous and self-defeating measures, but men named FULBRIGHT and CHURCH, GORE and McCARTHY. Chairman FULBRIGHT flashed a green light for the other new "revisionists" when he reversed his long-held stand for Congressional authorization of foreign aid on a multi-year basis. President Johnson had sought a five-year authorization in the cause of effective planning, but the committee voted instead to continue its tedious practice of annual authorizations.

Now the committee has voted to cut the President's request for new development loans by $45 million, limit to ten the countries outside Latin America eligible for long-term development loans, and limit to forty the countries eligible for technical assistance. Most serious of all, the committee would wreck the existing basis of "soft" long-run loans for developing countries which the United States has pressed other aid-giving nations to adopt.

After a ten-year grace period, during which the interest rate would remain at the present 1 percent, the recipient country would have to pay the official U.S. Treasury loan rate, currently 4.25 percent, as against 2.5 percent under present law. Under such conditions, struggling new nations already burdened by debt servicing would have to forgo help from the United States.

In a world plagued by the population explosion, lagging food production and generally unfavorable terms of trade for underdeveloped lands, the United States at present allocates a pitiful one-half of 1 percent of its gross national product for foreign aid.

In a world where the rich nations get steadily richer and the poor countries steadily poorer, the actions of the Foreign Relations Committee reveal a dangerous blindness to the long-run interests of the United States.

Mrs. Luzelle S. Babb, of Newport, Tenn., Wins the Valley Forge Teachers Medal Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I join the many friends and former students of Mrs. Luzelle S. Babb, of Newport, Tenn., in congratulating her on being named the winner of the Valley Forge Teachers Medal Award.

Through her teaching of American history, particularly the course, "Democracy Versus Communism," at Cocke County High School, Mrs. Babb has enriched the lives of many east Tennesseans, and thus she has also enriched our Nation by instilling in her students a great love, devotion, and respect for the democracy which we hold so dear.

It is my great pleasure to commend Mrs. Babb on receiving this outstanding honor and to thank her for all that she has done. The results of her efforts are indeterminable and far reaching. We are truly indebted to her.

I am following my remarks with an article from the Newport Plain Talk, which also praises Mrs. Babb:

[From the Newport (Tenn.) Plain Talk, May 16, 1966]

MRS. BABB WINS VALLEY FORGE TEACHERS MEDAL AWARD

Mrs. Luzelle S. Babb received a notice on Thursday that she had been named the winner of The Valley Forge Teachers Medal Award for her outstanding accomplishment in helping to achieve a better understanding of the American Way of Life.

Mrs. Babb received this award on a unit which she teaches, in American History called "Democracy Vs Communism", at the Cocke County High School. This work was started at the suggestion of the Newport Kiwanis Club in 1953. Mrs. Babb has taught this subject since that time.

The notice received by Mrs. Babb said "The Trustees and Officers of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge announce with pleasure the selection of Luzelle S. Babb by the distinguished National & School Awards Jury to receive The Valley Forge Teachers Medal Award.

All award selections are determined by a distinguished, independent National and School Awards Jury of 30 or more State Supreme Court jurists and national executive officers of patriotic, service club and veterans organizations in accordance with established procedures.

Mrs. Babb was asked to go to Nashville to work on a resource bulletin for social studies of the title of which was Our American Democratic Republic and Contrasting the Totalitarian Systems, including Communism and Fascism in 1962.

Cocke County High School was the first school in Tennessee to teach this unit; and we should be proud of the fact that it has shown progress in our school curriculum.

Mrs. Babb has received one of the highest honors a teacher can receive.

"Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, is dedicated to the fundamental principle that freedom belongs to all the people, and that only by thoughts and acts in their every day lives can the American people preserve and extend their liberty under law.

"Freedoms Foundation was established in March, 1949. It is nonprofit, nonsectarian, and nonpolitical. Under its charter Freedoms Foundation exists:

"To create and build an understanding of the spirit and philosophy of the Constitution and Bill of Rights and of our 'bundle' of indivisible, political and economic freedoms inherent in them.

"To inspire love of freedom and to support the spiritual unity born of the belief that man is a dignified human being, created in the image of his Maker, and by that fact possessor of certain inalienable rights.

"To this end, Freedoms Foundation acts to encourage all citizens to 'speak up for freedom' ".

The American Freedom Center is located on Freedoms Foundation's 100 acres adjoining historic Valley Forge Park. The American Freedom Center stands as a focal point for the forces of freedom. Research libraries on the U.S. Constitution, on our basic American freedom, and on Communism are open to the public.

The information concerning the work of Mrs. Babb was compiled by Mrs. Lee Freeman and Mrs. John Porter. This was a complete brochure of the many activities involved in the teaching of "Democracy vs Communism".

Should the Post-Dispatch Get Booby Prize?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, Robert Payne wrote:

> To understand Communism, it is necessary to confront the man who spun the theory and its attendant dogmas out of his own entrails. There could have been no Russian Revolution without him. He called himself a Marxist, but in fact he hammered and bent Marx whenever it was necessary and jettisoning him whenever it served his purpose.

Mr. Speaker, that man, Lenin, was not only a living curse to Russia, but will remain one throughout time in an embalmed state supplanting religion with atheism. Americans are nuts who believe peaceful coexistence can exist with a nation with its ideals. We have coexisted, but it certainly has not been peaceful and probably will not be until, as Khrushchev said, "the shrimp learn to sing."

On this point, the Peoria Journal Star of May 18, 1966, had an excellent editorial. Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial at this point:

WHAT COMMUNISM IS

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch has just been given a Pulitzer Prize for its repeated editorials to the effect that the United States cannot stop the spread of communism through the force of arms.

It is the opinion of the Post-Dispatch that Americans must "cast off the illusion of omnipotence, under the spell of which many of us have for years assumed that our mission in the world is contain, roll back, destroy or otherwise combat communism." Instead we should get out of Viet Nam, forget about Castro, recognize Red China, and begin to "work wtih peoples of any political faith for a peaceful world of diversity."

We must have "enough faith in the ideas of freedom to entrust them (the ideas), rather than arms, the task of containing the ideas of communism," advises the Post-Dispatch.

This is bad advice and honoring it with a Pulitzer Prize does not make it any better.

The fault in the Post-Dispatch's reasoning is the same one which moves Senators FULBRIGHT and MORSE and their little band of Vietniks: failure to recognize that it is the force of arms rather than the force of any idea which has caused the spread of communism.

When Karl Marx concocted communism it was an idea. But his idea is not what has succeeded in revolutionizing Russia, China, eastern Europe, and Cuba.

In every instance it has been the force of arms which put dictators into power. And it is force which keeps them there.

When it comes to ideas America has nothing to fear. But something more than an idea is shooting at us and the people who share our ideas in South Viet Nam.

We recognize communism today as a force of arms. If it were only a "political faith" we wouldn't worry about it. And neither would the Post-Dispatch.

Safety Requires Use of More Nonflammable Wool and Mohair Fibers in Automobile, Airplane, Home, and Ship Upholsteries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, with so much slaughter on our highways, disasters in plane crashes, and losses resulting from fires on ships at sea, this would seem to be a good time to examine the fire hazard so often associated with these tragedies.

The National Fire Protection Association assembled figures on automobile accidents, and found that about 400,000 vehicles had fires in 1964, with a loss of $37 million in property damage largely attributable to the ignition of flames following the wrecks.

It seems that almost every time we read of a plane crash, where there is a chance to escape following impact, the one big hazard is fire which so often sweeps through the passenger sections.

With respect to both cars and planes, what is being done to avoid or reduce the incidences of fire? In the case of auto accidents, we are told by the National Safety Council that 90.6 percent are caused by improper driving. But after these accidents occur, even those that are preventable, what can be done to minimize the losses that are traceable to the outbreak of fires?

The answer is: equip cars, planes, and ships with more nonflammable upholsteries, carpets, draperies, and other fabrics. Natural wool and mohair are universally recognized as the fibers which are the most nonflammable of any others used for these purposes. The use of more of these fibers would undoubtedly save thousands of lives every year. It is just that simple.

Only a few years ago most of these fabrics were composed of blends which included substantial amounts of nonflammable fibers of wool and mohair. But more recently the manufacturers, with an eye on higher profits, have turned to the manmade flammable fabrics.

Evidences of the cost of this switchover, in terms of human lives and property losses, have mounted. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. recenly estimated that 13 percent of fire fatalities among its insurers were traceable to fires caused by ignition of bedding, upholsteries, curtains, and draperies. This includes homes as well as vehicles, planes and ships.

In a recent plane crash, it was discovered that fire and noxious smoke and the burning of inside furnishings was a major cause of the resulting deaths. This resulted in the CAB recommending to the FAA that revised standards be imposed for inside furnishings of commercial aircraft. That study is now in progress. I have been assured by FAA that an accelerated research program to improve those standards is now receiving a thorough analysis. This includes a study of: First, "Flammability and Smoke Characteristics of Interior Aircraft Materials;" second, "Thermal Criteria for Interior Materials;" and third, "Hazardous Combustible Characteristics of Cabin Interior Material."

This alertness on the part of FAA is most commendable. Let us hope that automobile and ship manufacturers will do the same.

Mr. Felix J. Colangelo, president of the Wood Bureau, recently stated:

> A flame applied to wool will cause it to burn, but when the flame is removed wool does not support combustion nor does it melt like synthetic fibers which can cause serious skin burns.

The same principle applies to mohair.

This same authority concluded that no fiber possesses greater natural resistance than wool to flaming, melting, and the emission of noxious smoke.

While it is true that certain flame resistance treatments may be applied to the cellulosic fibers, they are quite expensive and many of them require renewal after each washing or dry cleaning.

The publication, Consumer Reports described wool as "a fiber which is difficult to ignite and will not support a flame."

Consumer Bulletin reported in October of 1965 that the melting of synthetic fibers and sticking to the skin "can be more dangerous than the flame itself because the resulting burns can be so difficult to treat," and cited the National Safety Council for authority.

Many other authorities could be cited confirming the fact that both wool and mohair are nonflammable. A more universal use of these fibers, even when blended with a lesser content of synthetics, would undoubtedly provide the greatest answer to the fire hazard problem than any other single action that can be taken.

Mr. Speaker, the loss of 49,000 lives on our highways last year has served to arouse the American people to the need for more safety devices in the construction of cars, planes, and ships. In both the House and Senate extensive hearings have recently been concluded on this subject. Legislation has been drafted which would give the Secretary of Commerce discretionary authority to set Federal safety standards for new cars. Let us hope legislation along this line will be promptly enacted, and that the Secretary will then give appropriate attention to the prevention of fires as a safety factor.

The matter of reducing the incidences of fire in our homes and in transportation has been neglected too long. It has been firmly established that the only real answer to this hazard is the use of nonflammable fibers in the interiors of our homes, offices, automobiles, airplanes, and ships. The employment of this simple solution will save literally thousands of American lives every year.

Radio—America's Sound Habit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed appropriate that May has been designated National Radio Month. The sound of radio is everywhere, yet paradoxically radio is seldom discussed and rarely acclaimed. Shoved from the national spotlight by its younger brother, television, radio no longer holds court in our living rooms. It is television which entertains us and has our favorite programs. Yet, far from disappearing, radio has without fanfare assumed manifold roles in our lives and, indeed, has become a national habit. And, like most habits, it is taken for granted.

If radio cannot match television as an entertainer—and it has come to recognize this limitation—it does have other advantages. In the first place, it is easily transported from one locale to another. And, secondly, it often does not require the listener's full attention. Consequently, radio is not restricted to nighttime family listening. It is directed to the individual, wherever he is, whatever the time of day. Although some programs may draw our undivided attention, we may perform our daily household activities with radio music as our background. The time spent driving to work is not completely wasted, when a car radio brings the latest news and local developments. As of January 1 there were 60 million automobile radios in use, not only informing our busy commuters of traffic jams, weather, and news bulletins, but also breaking the boredom of long trips. With the small, handy transistors, the sound of radio can accompany us almost anywhere—to the beach, on the street, at a mountain lake. From our awakening by a clock radio to the time we turn off the late evening music, radio is our dependable companion.

What is the appeal of radio, if it no longer presents our favorite entertainers or adventure programs? The appeal of radio is in its variety. Nationally produced programs are replaced by broadcasts geared to the locality and to the listener. The teenager likes radio because there is a station featuring his type of music, the latest sound, the "top 40." His parents tune their set to the old standards, the middle-of-the-road music. Or if they are classical music lovers, they enjoy hearing their favorite artists and orchestras on FM. There are stations featuring country and western music, jazz, folk songs. Recently the radio talk show has become popular, with listeners, often those who are alone during the day, calling in their opinions on a variety of subjects.

Indeed, radio is a soundboard for opinion, for analysis, for the news. Radio not only keeps the listener informed of developments throughout the world, but also in his own community. Radio announces local events, presents local advertising, and discusses local issues.

The varied role of radio is illustrated in my district, Miami. In a 1964 survey by Broadcasting magazine, radio stations throughout the Nation commented on their programing. One Miami station described its programing as "quality album music with no personality DJ's, and in-depth news with personality newsmen." A "modern format," "English-language religious and Spanish language," and "concert, classical, and semiclassical" were the formats of three other stations in this market. Miami stations are noted not only for their format variety, but also for their regular special programing for different ethnic groups. Recently, a Miami station drew public attention to the unfair provisions of two local ordinances, ordinances which were subsequently amended. Whether it is covering the primary election or providing hurricane bulletins, public service is the byword of Miami radio.

In fact, throughout the country radio is playing this most vital role. Radio '66 has indeed become "America's Sound Habit."

The Small Business Administration: An Important Federal Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the May issue of the ASTA Travel News, published by the American Society of Travel Agents, contains an illuminating article by the Honorable Joe L. Evins, chairman of the House Small Business Committee. Chairman Evins analyzes many of the problems confronting small travel agents and the way in which Small Business Administration programs can be instrumental in solving them. Chairman Evins' article contains much helpful information concerning SBA activities, and will, I am sure, be of interest to all Members of the House:

THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION: AN IMPORTANT FEDERAL AGENCY

Small travel agencies, like thousands of other independently-owned small concerns in the rapidly expanding field of service industries, are eligible to call upon the Small Business Administration for long-term loans and other types of assitance.

There has been unprecedented growth in the service industries in recent years, and this trend is almost certain to continue. With higher personal incomes, and more leisure time, more and more people turn to those businesses which provide the services and recreation facilities they desire.

FOR MORE ENJOYABLE TRAVEL

Americans have always been great travelers—and more and more they are turning to Travel Agencies whose expert assistance can make their travels more enjoyable.

Because of widespread public interest in Travel Agencies and the services they provide—and the opportunity that exists for a person to operate his own small Travel Agency—the SBA has recently prepared an informative leaflet explaining how Travel Agencies operate and what services they perform.

Small business is confronted by the threat of economic concentration, a shortage of capital, management difficulties, intensive competition with big business for government procurement contracts and subcontracts, and the scourge of poverty that often permits only bare subsistence in urban slums and rural areas.

The Small Business Committees in the House and Senate are constantly analyzing these problems and recommending solutions to the President, to the leadership of the Congress, and to the Small Business Administration.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

As a result of this cooperative effort, new programs have been initiated and existing programs strengthened. Financial assistance programs, for example, have been broadened to assist the very small businessman. A stronger procurement assistance program has been established and a management assistance program helps the small businessman over the bumps.

The Community Development program has been expanded to aid small businessmen in rural areas and the Small Business Investment Company program has made equity and long-term capital available to more than 10,000 small businesses.

In addition, our Committee has supported a policy of economic expansion and reduced taxes to stimulate small business growth. But even so, the small businessman must get even more attention as his problems grow more complex in this highly competitive age of big business merchandising.

THREE MAJOR AIDS

In broad terms, SBA provides three major types of service to this industry and other small businesses: (1) financial assistance, (2) counseling and assistance with management problems, and (3) help in obtaining Government contracts and subcontracts in Federal procurement.

Although the Agency's over-all plans and policies are developed by a small staff in Washington, all SBA services are readily available across the country through a nationwide network of 68 field offices. This helps to speed service, and makes it unnecessary for the independent businessman to spend time and money traveling to Washington for information and needed assistance.

Perhaps the best known of SBA's programs is its business loan assistance. Because of a temporary shortage of funds, SBA currently is accepting loan applications only under its loan guaranty plan. These loans are made by banks, with SBA guaranteeing up to 90 per cent of the loan.

This program is part of an effort on the part of the Government to encourage banks to help finance the needs of small local firms with SBA serving as guarantor of most of the funds advanced. These loans are becoming increasingly popular with all types of small businessmen across the country.

Under the law, SBA is authorized to make loans of up to $350,000 for as long as 10 years to small firms unable to obtain a bank loan. Most of SBA's business loans are made with bank participation, but when this is unobtainable, SBA is authorized to make direct loans. SBA's interest rate is generally 5½ per cent and the loans are repayable in monthly installments. The temporary moratorium on all SBA business loans other than guaranteed bank loans is expected to be relaxed soon, and direct SBA loans will again be available.

According to a report provided my Committee, the SBA last fiscal year loaned a total of $418 million to 13,500 individual small businesses. About one-fifth of these firms were small service industries.

In cases of natural catastrophes, such as floods, tornadoes, hurricanes, and earthquakes, where small businesses are damaged or destroyed, the SBA moves quickly to help victims restore or replace property with loans at the low interest rate of 3 per cent annually.

SBA also makes loans to local development companies for building industry and for relending to specific small businesses in the area. SBA will advance $8 for every $2 raised locally for such projects, with a maximum of $350,000 for each small firm assisted.

Another financial assistance program of SBA is the Small Business Investment Company program. The SBIC's are privately owned, but licensed and regulated by SBA. They, in turn, provide small firms with equity type financing and long-term capital loans.

RELOCATION PROBLEMS

Small businesses which have been forced to relocate because of Federally financed urban renewal, highway or other construction projects, are also eligible to apply to SBA for low interest loans.

SBA has an important role in the War on Poverty. In locations where Small Business Development Centers have been approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity, SBA can make direct loans of up to $15,000 at 5½ per cent interest to existing small firms to expand their business and to persons who wish to start their own business. These loans can run for 15 years.

As management practices have long been the principal single causes of business failures, SBA has developed a number of practical programs in the field of management assistance.

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT COURSES

The most popular of these consists of courses in business management. These are generally evening courses designed specifically for small businessmen, and are co-sponsored with private educational institutions, trade associations and similar groups. The courses are usually held for a period of 6 to 8 weeks in designated areas. Those attending are charged only a nominal registration fee.

Another type of management assistance that has been well received is the one day workshop for prospective business owners. These workshops cover basic management problems, and highlight those areas which frequently present pitfalls to the beginner in business.

The newest of SBA's management assistance programs is known as Service Corps of Retired Executives—(SCORE). This activity utilizes the knowledge and skills of retired executives in counseling small businessmen. There are already about 3,000 active volunteers in this program. SCORE provides a man-to-man relationship, with emphasis on the owner or manager himself rather than technical problems. There are no complicated computer procedures, just management help on a level the businessman can understand.

In addition, SBA provides management assistance services through an extensive series of booklets and pamphlets on management topics. Most of them are prepared by well known experts in their special fields of business. Many of these publications are made available without charge; others are sold at nominal cost by the Government Printing Office. A number of these informational manuals are available on travel and related subjects.

VITAL ROLE DESCRIBED

This brief description of SBA's major services underlines the vital role the Agency is playing in helping small business maintain its traditional position as the cornerstone of our American free enterprise system. Congress carved this role for SBA when it passed the Small Business Act of 1958, which provided that: "It is the declared policy of the Congress that the Government should aid, counsel, assist and protect, insofar as possible, the interests of small business concerns in order to preserve free competitive enterprise. . . ."

Memorial Day Address by Basil L. Whitener

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER B. JONES

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Hon. Basil L. Whitener, of the 10th Congressional District of North Carolina, delivered a very splendid Memorial Day address at the Edgewood Cemetery, Lowell, N.C., on Sunday, May 29.

Under unanimous consent I include Congressman Whitener's address as a part of he Appendix of the Record:

Memorial Day Address by Basil L. Whitener, Member of Congress, at Edgewood Cemetary, Lowell, N.C., Sunday, May 29, 1966

I am greatly honored to be in Lowell today and to have the privilege of taking part in your Memorial Day ceremony.

Memorial Day is a time of great significance to every American. It is a day on which Americans pause to pay respect to those who have served in the armed forces in time of war in defense of our liberties and our cherished way of life.

It is a day on which we decorate the graves of those departed heroes, who, as the poet has so beautifully said: "No more on life's parade shall meet." Yes,

"The muffled drums sad roll has beat
The soldiers' last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
The brave and fallen few.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread;
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

There are very few of us here today who do not recall a loved one, a kinsman, or a neighbor who has made the supreme sacrifice in defense of his country. This Memorial Day is a time for us to give thanks for the courage, loyalty, devotion, and patriotism which their service to God and country so well exemplified.

Since the beginning of history, civilized man has acknowledged the debt of gratitude he owes to those who have borne arms in defense of his liberties. The ancient Chinese and Japanese had a day set aside known as "Lantern Day." Lanterns and candles were lit in memory of those who had fallen in battle.

In Italy homage is paid to Italians who have given their lives for their country on All Souls' Day. And throughout the civilized world days have been set aside by numerous other countries as the time to mourn their military heroes.

In the United States Memorial Day had its origin in the tragic years immediately following the War Between the States. Section had fought section, and even brothers, fathers, and sons had opposed each other in that terrible conflict. Thousands of young Americans in both the North and the South had given their lives and lay in crudely marked graves in countless military cemeteries.

We Southerners can be proud of the fact that the first expression of love and care for those who had given their lives in the War Between the States had its origin in the South. At about the same time, in 1866, a group of ladies at Columbus, Georgia, and Columbus, Mississippi, held memorial services in their military cemeteries and decorated the graves of the departed Confederate and Northern soldiers with flowers and flags.

The unselfish devotion of these ladies inspired an awakening throughout the Nation of the debt that both North and South owed to their war heroes. And so it was on May 5, 1868, that General John A. Logan, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, issued an order setting aside May 30 of that year as a day to honor those who had died in the War Between the States.

He said that he selected May 30 because it was a day when flowers would be readily available to place on the graves of our war heroes. Later, Decoration Day was to become Memorial Day and a fixed part of our history.

Since the American Revolution the youth of our Nation has been called upon in many instances to defend the liberties bequeathed to them by our forefathers. The preservation of liberty has been as sacred to every generation of Americans as it was to those gallant men of 1776.

In the War of 1812, the Mexican War of 1845, the War Between the States in 1861–1865, the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, the Korean Conflict, countless other campaigns and military expeditions, and our present struggle in Viet Nam, the Americans we honor today, regardless of military rank, race, color, or creed, have successfully fought for the survival of our form of government—the principles of liberty, freedom, justice, and democracy.

The finest tribute that we can pay to those who sleep within the bosom of the land they gave their all to defend, is to appreciate and be worthy of their trust and of the heritage which they bequeathed to us.

General Eisenhower said in 1953: "We must be ready to dare all for our country. History does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose. We must be willing, individually and as a nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both. Whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America."

In his inaugural of January 20, 1961, President Kennedy reminded us that: "Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony on its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to that service surround the globe."

The courage and gallantry of the soldiers of yesterday, whom we honor today, rekindle in us a new love of country and a new concept of patriotism. War and the effect of war has reached nearly every family and every home in our Nation.

We have only to examine our military records to realize the high price that freedom has cost. Nearly 1 million Americans have given their lives down through the years in order that our free institutions might survive. We have with us today over 21½ million living war veterans.

14,960,000 of these veterans served in World War II. 5,700,000 served in the Korean War, 2.1 million served in World War I. Over 30 million Americans have served in the United States armed forces since the Revolutionary War.

The demand upon the youth of our Nation for military service since World War II has required that 1 out of every 5 young men, aged 18 years or more, served in the armed forces. In fact, more than 40% of all United States males at least 25 years old are war veterans.

The men and women who have worn the uniform of our great country form the patriotic bedrock upon which our free society rests. They are the leaders of our government, industry, and the learned professions.

The President of the United States is a veteran; and so are 53 of our Senators and 282 members of our national House of Representatives. Four out of every 10 workers in our land are veterans. We see, therefore, the impact that military service has had in the past, and will have in the future, on our Nation.

It is for us the living veterans of today to show our gratitude for the sacrifices made by those who sleep in honored glory. In paying our respect to the dead we should also pause to give our thanks and to show our appreciation to the young men and women who are now serving in our armed forces. In the tradition of those who have gone before them they are manning the bulwarks of freedom in every part of the world.

As Disraeli said many years ago: "The youth of a nation are the trustees of its posterity." The young men and women now serving their country are truly the trustees, not only of our great land, but of the security of the free world.

It is well for us to remember on this Memorial Day that there is a great struggle going on in the world for the minds of men. This communistic struggle will last for the unforeseen future and will require the strongest virtues of our national character.

Our community of free nations must not fall under the control of ideologies dedicated to the destruction of liberty. The dream of world domination by any one power must be shattered.

As the leader in the cause of freedom, it is mandatory, therefore, that our great country have a strong national defense. It will require the spending of untold billions of dollars and the sacrifice and inconvenience of military service on the part of our young people.

We cannot afford inadequate military preparedness. Whatever challenge confronts our free society must be met. To surrender our leadership in the free world is to deliver the world to communism. We must realize that an attack on any part of the free world is sooner or later likely to be an attack on the United States.

Those in our land who would talk of a soft approach to communism, who would advocate appeasement of the communist leaders, and who would engage in unwise acts of pacifism only weaken the unity of our land and strengthen the hand of communism.

In our desire to have unity of purpose in combating communism, however, we should maintain our tolerance of those who disagree with us and who exercise their legal and constitutional right to voice their objections to the policies of their government.

In an effort to protect freedom abroad we cannot destroy fundamental freedoms at home. The grave situation existing in the world and American military involvement in many lands require, however, as much unity as possible on the part of the American people. Our honored dead deserve the very deepest devotion and unswerving loyalty on our part to the cause they served. Their admonition to us is as the poet said:

"Take up your quarrel with the foe;
To you from failing hands we throw the torch;
Be yours to hold it high.
If you break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders Field."

Let us not break faith with the dead we honor this afternoon. Let us renew our pride in our national institutions, rekindle out faith in those wholesome and fundamental American virtues, and rededicate our lives to God and country.

In his Farewell Address 82-year-old General Douglas MacArthur said: "Duty, honor, country: those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you ought to be, what you can be, what you will be. They are your rallying point to build courage when courage seems to fail, to regain faith when there seems to be little cause for faith, to create hope when hope becomes forlorn."

My friends, duty, honor, and country should again become the watchwords of our Nation. If we honor these virtues, those who have so gallantly served our Nation and who rest in honored glory today shall not have died in vain.

AID's Role in the Population Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. TODD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. TODD. Mr. Speaker, the continuous cycle of increasing populations and inability to produce or buy enough food to feed growing numbers of people has left millions starving and has been a serious impediment to the economic and social progress of many of the developing nations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Today, when the developing countries are becoming increasingly more concerned with the urgency of the problem and are rapidly planning population programs, it is imperative that the United States step up its assistance in this field.

Although private organizations, such as Planned Parenthood-World Population, and the Population Council, have been leaders in getting both our own citizens and our friends abroad to awaken to the serious nature of the crisis, AID has moved forward in developing plans.

As you know, Senator GRUENING has been conducting hearings on the population crisis before his subcommittee, and by his skillful prodding, the administrative agencies are devoting more resources, and speeding up their schedules, in discharging their responsibilities. Although the talk may still exceed Agency action, I am sure Senator GRUENING will continue to examine the records of the agencies closely, and will continue to make his constructive comments.

As an explanation of the steps forward being taken by AID, I insert a statement by Mr. David Bell recently given before Senator GRUENING's subcommittee:

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DAVID E. BELL, ADMINISTRATOR, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, BEFORE THE SENATE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AID EXPENDITURES, APRIL 8, 1966

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: Thank you for this opportunity to discuss the policies and programs of the Agency for International Development in the population field.

A.I.D.'s interests and programs in the population field derive from the authorities given in Sections 201, 211 and 251 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and Sections 104 (e) and (g) of PL 480, which provide the authority required to conduct programs in the field of population and family planning as part of the U.S. effort to support economic and social progress in the developing countries. Similar authority is provided in Section 304(f) of the proposed Food for Freedom Act.

A.I.D. and its predecessor agencies as you know, have been concerned and active in the population field for years, going back to the early 1950's. In the early years our work consisted largely of assistance in developing official statistics, including population censuses and vital statistics, and in training in such fields as public health and maternal and child welfare.

Beginning in 1961, growing encouragement was given to research in the dynamics of population growth and its impact on economic development; also to the expansion of programs by private organizations in the United States and abroad, by the United Nations and by foreign governments.

In 1965 we enlarged substantially our activities in the population field. The change was stimulated directly by President Johnson in his January 5, 1965 State of the Union Message when he said "I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources."

In March, 1965, the Agency for International Development circulated a comprehensive population guideline to its missions overseas stating, in essence, that the Agency was willing to consider requests for assistance in family planning activities from those governments in the less developed areas which were undertaking their own programs, provided such programs were based on freedom of choice for the individuals and families involved, and provided that we would not finance contraceptives or the machinery for their manufacture.

It is important to note, in this connection, that we consider decisions on major population policies and programs must be made by the countries themselves, without pressure from the U.S. This is a very sensitive and complex area, involving very deep historical and emotional elements, and one in which policy-making clearly should be done by the governments and peoples concerned, not by the United States. At the same time, the United States has, of course, joined in international meetings and in other forums, such as the United Nations, in the general expression of concern which is shared by practically all countries today about the economic and social consequences of rapid population growth and the need for all countries to study these matters seriously in relation to their own programs of development.

Since 1965, consistent with the guidelines previously mentioned, A.I.D. has been responding to requests from governments for direct assistance to family planning programs.

The Republic of China is using A.I.D.-generated local currencies to support a family planning program.

Turkey has requested a loan to purchase transport vehicles for family planning workers and for educational materials, in addition to the services of a demographer.

Honduras has requested assistance for educational programs in family planning as it relates to maternal and child health.

From Pakistan have come requests for a wide range of technical assistance, transport vehicles, education aids and training in support of its family planning program.

India is discussing similar assistance with A.I.D. officials.

A.I.D. is supporting research and training programs at the following universities and institutions:

University of Pittsburgh for development of an economic model for estimating costs of family planning programs;

University of Notre Dame for studies on changes in traditional family patterns due to modernization and urbanization;

Bureau of the Census for population projection in selected countries;

Population Council for fertility studies and surveys;

Colombian Institute for Social Development for studying audio-visual techniques for public education programs.

A.I.D. has also signed contracts with the University of North Carolina and Johns Hopkins to develop training programs in family planning for doctors and public health workers. Related programs are being developed for nurses and midwives in the Children's Bureau; for statisticians in the National Center for Health Statistics; and for census and surveys specialists in the Census Bureau. The Pan American Health Organization receives A.I.D.'s help to establish and improve demographic training in Latin American medical and public health schools. So do the Latin American Center for Demography and Statistical Studies in Chile, the National Center for Studies of Population and Development in Peru, and the Central American Demographic Studies Unit in Guatemala.

A.I.D.'s dollar obligations for population activities are estimated at $2 million for FY 1965; about $5½ million in FY 1966; and about $10 million in FY 1967. We would anticipate further increases in subsequent years.

In this field, as in all others, it is A.I.D.'s policy to encourage private organizations to do everything they can and to consider A.I.D. financing only as complementary to resources supplied by private organizations. We recognize and acknowledge the important role played in this field by private organizations such as the Planned Parenthood Federation, the Population Council, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and the Population Reference Bureau. They and other private organizations have been vital sources of leadership in creating a body of important knowledge and experience on population matters. Their work remains critically important.

Looking ahead to A.I.D.'s expanding work in this field, we do not consider that we need additional legislation. For our purposes there is adequate authority in existing legislation.

Furthermore, we do not believe the earmarking of funds is necessary to ensure effective action in the field. Specifically, we do not think it advisable to amend the Food for Freedom Bill in a fashion which would require a fixed minimum percent of local currencies to be used for family planning programs. Not only might this be interpreted as implying direct pressure to adopt a particular population policy, but we also believe it would be unsound from the standpoint of effective administration; flexibility in the uses of these funds is important.

Our view of these matters is heavily influenced in the developing countries by our belief that public and private leaders in the developing countries are already or are rapidly becoming as fully conscious of the urgent need for action on population problems as we are. They do desire to take appropriate measures, within the context of their own country's cultural, historical situation. This is true in Latin America as well as in Asia and Africa. It is conspicuously true in India where there is a very positive governmental commitment, supported by the great bulk of the private leaders.

In brief, we propose to stand by the key elements of our present policy in the population field:

A.I.D. does not advocate any particular method of family regulation. Freedom of choice in this matter should be available in any program for which our assistance is requested.

A.I.D. will consider requests for assistance in this field, as in other fields, only if they are made or approved by the appropriate authorities of the requesting government.

A.I.D. is prepared to entertain requests for technical, commodity and local currency assistance in support of family planning programs.

A.I.D. will not consider requests for contraceptive devices or equipment for the manufacture of contraceptives. Experience has made it clear that the cost of these items is not a stumbling block in countries which are developing effective programs.

We expect that, under these policies, A.I.D. will be able to provide considerable help to the developing countries in the population field. I think it is important to recognize that results cannot be expected quickly. Of necessity there will be time lags between government decisions and effective programs; from the time a government makes an authorizing decision until a field team is recruited, trained and organized, supplied and ready for work on any substantial scale; until problems are worked out of the program and it settles down into an effective, efficient operation. Moreover, we must keep in mind the important lesson repeatedly learned through other efforts in developing countries: what works in one country, particularly in administrative and educational practices, will not necessarily work in another. Successful methods developed in one country may need considerable adaptation in another.

Nevertheless, the evidence from Korea and Taiwan gives us some real confidence that even in very low-income, village-based societies it will be possible to establish effective family planning programs. A great deal of research and action will be needed. We in A.I.D. will seek to do our part, supplementing the efforts of other governments, of the United Nations, and of private organizations, both U.S. and foreign.

Mr. Chairman, I have with me Dr. Albert Moseman, Assistant Administrator of A.I.D. for Technical Cooperation and Research, and Dr. Malcolm Merrill, Chief of Health Services in A.I.D., who are directly responsible for guiding A.I.D.'s work in the population field. We would be glad to respond to any questions the Committee may have.

Larry Ball, Clerk Extraordinary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, one of the young, ablest county clerks in California, my good friend, Larry Ball, met an untimely death. It is men of the fabric of Larry Ball, working with compassion, ability, and understanding that is the secret of success of local government in California.

During his short several-year term as county clerk and several-decade term as chief deputy, I heard not once from any corner or any group of the county of Solano, any allegation of unfair action or administration.

The county and State of California have lost a valuable public servant. One of the small wheels contributing to American greatness is silenced. Larry Ball's pattern of administration remains with us, a model for county government anywhere.

The Solano County Board of Supervisors by resolution enacted May 19, went on record as follows:

Be it hereby resolved that this Board of Supervisors of the County of Solano, State of California, does enact this Resolution in honor of, and to commemorate the memory of Larry Ball.

Larry Ball was elected County Clerk of Solano County in 1962 and administered the duties of his office in an outstanding manner which greatly benefitted the residents of Solano County.

In addition to his official position, Larry Ball was extremely active in civic and fraternal work and held high offices in many organizations. Larry Ball was a member of Suisun Masonic Lodge, Suisun Chapter No. 2 of the Order of Eastern Star, Vallejo Elks Lodge, Fairfield-Suisun Rotary Club, Fairfield-Suisun Chamber of Commerce, past captain of Solano County Mounted Sheriff's Posse, Solano County Peace Officers Association, Solano County Firemen's Association, Solano County Historical Society, Director of Cordelia Fire District, past president of Green Valley Union School District Board of Trustees, past president of Solano County Employees Association, Solano County School Boards Association, past president of Cordelia Fireman's Club, past chairman of Board of Directors of Cordelia Sanitation District and past board member of the Golden Empire Council Boy Scouts of America.

The Board of Supervisors of Solano County now join with the residents of Solano County in paying tribute to Larry Ball and by this Resolution does express the deepest sympathy to his widow, Emma Ball, and to members of his family; and

Be it further resolved and ordered that a copy of this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting and the original forwarded to his family; and

Be it further resolved that this Board of Supervisors does now adjourn in respect to the memory of County Clerk Larry Ball.

J. ELLIS GODFREY,
Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, Solano County, California.

Attest:

ELLEN STARMER,
Board of Supervisors' Clerk.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I support passage of the bill before us (H.R. 13712) increasing the coverage and the level of minimum wage guarantees.

In this period of mounting prices and increases in the cost of living, I am particularly distressed about those people who are employed full time but whose earnings fall below the amount needed for a minimum decent standard of living. It is a shocking fact that there are many men, even in New York, who work 40 hours a week but whose families receive welfare payments because the gross weekly earnings are inadequate to meet living costs. To the extent that H.R. 13712 will have any effect in New York State, it will tend to alleviate this situation.

This bill will also serve to protect the jobs of the people I represent. Many of our New York manufacturers, for example, find themselves in competition with firms in other States where the wage differential is so great as to injure the New York manufacturer. As a rule, most New York businesses pay far above the minimum wage. In fact, in January 1966, average weekly wages in New York State were $117, almost 2½ times the present minimum wage of $1.25 per hour and 83 percent higher than the ultimate minimum of $1.60 per hour proposed under this bill.

In contrast, there are States where the average wage is far, far less than New York's and where the impact of the new statutory minimum will be to narrow the wage gap between New York and her competitors. This will reduce the tendence of industry to migrate out of New York and the pressures of New York workers to accept less wages in order to be competitive.

As the debate on this bill has shown, there are members who believe that this bill goes much too far, others that it does not go far enough. The formulas in the bill before us today were evolved as a compromise position after a long and exhaustive process of negotiation. I do not, of course, feel bound by compromises to which I have not been a party, but I respect the people who participated in its formulation. I am reluctant to substitute my judgment for those who worked out these formulas or to criticize their supporters because I might have concluded that a different level, a different effective date or more extensive coverage would be preferable.

I have opposed the many weakening amendments that have been offered and I regret that one of them has been adopted. However, in spite of the bill's weakenesses, I shall of course vote for it. If enacted, it will be another achievement of the 89th Congress, another step toward the goals of the Great Society.

Profile in Dedication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinguished citizens of my city is the Most Reverend John J. Wright, bishop of the Pittsburgh Catholic diocese. He has completed 7 years in that high office—7 years of dedicated service to the city of Pittsburgh.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include a KDKA radio–TV editorial about Bishop Wright at this point in the RECORD:

PROFILE OF DEDICATION

The Most Reverend John J. Wright, Bishop of the Pittsburgh Catholic Diocese, has observed the completion of seven years in office. The anniversary is not really unusual, but it does remind us that Bishop Wright has made some very valuable contributions to this community since coming here.

Bishop Wright is widely recognized among Pittsburgh's civic and business leaders for his wisdom, and his dedication to the betterment of the Pittsburgh area. He clearly understands that a church cannot prosper unless the community around it also prospers, and he has worked hard to advance causes which are of benefit to all Pittsburghers.

He was one of the most effective supporters of the efforts of the Pittsburgh Board of Education to get a more equitable subsidy from Harrisburg. He is a board member of the newly formed Pittsburgh Committee on Public Education. He has actively supported Children's Hospital, the Religion and Race Council, and the National Council of Christians and Jews. He is a board member of the Pittsburgh Symphony, the Skin and Cancer Foundation, and the Pittsburgh chapter of the Hemophilia Foundation.

Those who know Bishop Wright realize that this will not be the limit of his activities, because he is not one to let grass grow under his feet. Catholics revere him as a spiritual leader. All Pittsburghers should appreciate him for the contributions he has made here in his first seven years, and for those he will surely make in the years to come.

Trouble at SBA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to enter in the RECORD at this point the fourth in a series of four presentations to the Congress by the Smaller Business Association of New England. The first three presentations were concerned with the areas of procurement, labor, and taxation and a number of proposals for future congressional action were made. The summary of this year's SBANE presentation, printed below, was delivered by Mr. Charles Baxter of the Baxter Woolen Co., East Rochester, N.H.

Once again, I want to commend the association for its diligence in continuing to keep the Congress abreast of developments in matters affecting small business.

TROUBLE AT SBA

SUMMARY

There have been many instances in the past when increased attention toward deficiencies and weaknesses in a particular area stimulated corrective action. SBANE hopes that a stronger SBA will emerge because of the concern shown over:

1. The lack of an Administrator since August, 1965.
2. The depletion of the loan fund because of natural disasters.
3. The rumored shift of the Small Business Administration to the Commerce Department.

These circumstances have led to a renewed interest among all of us in this important agency. Many Senators and Congressmen have focused attention on this Department and reviewed how vital it is to small business. The subsequent nationwide publicity has also aided efforts to bring constructive action, such as the long-overdue bill that will eliminate future depletion of the loan program in the event of natural disasters.

The following special sampling of SBA business loans presents a reassuring picture of the importance of this program to small business growth. SBA loans totalling 14.2 million dollars were made to 145 firms. Over a three-year period the 145 firms, more than half of which were involved in bank participation loans, reported these gains:

1. 40% increase in employment, adding 2,740 additional persons to the payroll
2. Gross sales increased 43% to a total of 132 million annually
3. 6.2 million of the 14.2 borrowed has already been paid back with interest.

One fact that is sometimes forgotten is that the SBA loan program is a government investment in small business that more than pays for itself through the interest received.

Other legislation, such as bills to provide changes in parcel post and improve service are also supported by SBANE. S. 2843 and H.R. 12367 would increase the weight to 40 lbs. and size to 140 inches (length plus girth) for parcel post between first class post offices. This would double the present weight limit for shipments between first class post offices more than 150 miles apart. Present laws work against profitable operations by forcing shippers to split large orders into small ones.

Since last fall, there have been several indications that the nation's economy was entering a period of inflation. For example, in 1965, after seven years of relative stability, the Wholesale Price Index rose 3.6% to 104.1%. In January and February of this year, it climbed 1.2% to 105.3%.

We have already seen an increase in interest rates to check this trend. Many economists believe that additional fiscal restraints should be implemented to prevent further inflation.

Those methods most commonly discussed include:

1. Reduction in Government spending
2. Adjustment in investment credit rates
3. Increased tax rates
4. Price and wage controls

Our Association believes that the first step should be elimination of unessential federal domestic programs until the international situation warrants a let-up in military spending. If, in addition, adjustments in taxation and investment credits are needed to temper inflation during this critical period, we trust they will be imposed on a temporary basis. We look upon price and wage controls unfavorably because they abolish the free market enterprise systems and would impose a heavier burden on small business.

Our Association appreciates the complex problems you face in determining what measures should be applied to check inflation. We urge that, if and when the decision is made to add new restraints, you will take into full account the effects they will have on the small business segment of the economy.

The proposals we present today are a combined effort by our membership to offer detailed solutions to problems faced by small business. We urge your careful consideration of these programs, which are summarized as follows:

1. *Increased share of Government Procurement* . . . . . Reinstatement and encouragement of procurement practices that give small business an opportunity to compete on government contracts. The need for more small business procurement is even more urgent today because we face an increase in defense contracts due to Viet Nam. We do not ask for special privileges, only equal opportunity.
2. *Improvement of the Labor climate* . . . . . A cooperative labor/management effort to pool resources and raise productivity.
3. *Stimulus of increased Investment* . . . . . Freedom of capital and economic growth through liberalized rates of taxation.
4. *Strengthening of SBA as an Independent Agency* . . . . . Safeguarding the interests of the vital small business segment of our economy.

The Smaller Business Association of New England appreciates the consideration you have shown to small business in the past and we offer our sincere thanks for the time and attention you have given us today. We look forward to the continuing cooperation of our Association and the Congress of the United States as we increase our activities in legislative affairs in the future. Thank you!

Di Giorgio Asks for Early Elections to Offset Boycott

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, recently groups which are promoting the famous Delano agricultural workers' strike have embarked upon a boycott of S. & W. products on the grounds that the Di Giorgio Fruit Corp., which produces S. & W. products, has asked for an election among its own workers before signing a union contract with Caesar Chavez of the National Farm Workers' Association.

Chavez has refused to attend meetings to which the Di Giorgio Corp. has invited him and has broken off preliminary negotiations to concentrate on a boycott.

His excuse is that Di Giorgio has asked for a no-strike provision during harvest time in any union contract. Chavez will not accept this. Furthermore, he says that he could not submit to an election whereby the existing Independent Farm Workers' Association is placed upon the ballot. Chavez claims this is a company union.

Without a no-strike provision the union would have an unfair advantage and in fact a decisive "club." Steel which goes into automobiles does not spoil and a double shift tomorrow can make up for no production at all today. But, the farmer does not have a second chance with his crop and would obviously be required to concede. Yet, the supporters of Chavez argue that the no-strike provision is unfair to the union and pay no attention at all to the unfair advantage he asks for himself.

Insofar as Chavez' other objections, why should he be afraid of a democratic election? Is this not the American way? Why should groups which take his word above all others feel that he alone has the right to be anointed as the representative of farmworkers without an election?

In the eastern press and publications printed by the backers of Chavez the full truth has not been told. I bear no particular brief for either Di Giorgio or Chavez but when it comes to a point where a nationally known brand is boycotted in order to anoint one labor leader who represents very few workers with instant power, then I think the full truth and not just part of it should be told.

Fortunately the California Farmer does print the truth.

I believe those who have a devotion to truth and want both sides of the grape strike story in Delano should read the following article by Don Razee from the May 21 issue of the California Farmer:

Di Giorgio Asks for Early Elections To Offset Boycott

(By Don Razee)

Cesar Chavez refuses to let the workers stand and be counted. He wants Di Giorgio Corporation to appoint the National Farm Workers Association as the sole bargaining agent for field workers.

Because Di Giorgio refuses to surrender its workers' right to a free choice through elections, its products, including S&W Fine Foods and Treesweet, are being boycotted.

The appointment demanded by Chavez would deprive workers of their right to choose their own bargaining agent. Di Giorgio is asking for secret ballot elections under the direction of the California Mediation and Conciliation Service. The NFWA chooses to boycott.

In a May 9 letter sent by Di Giorgio to Protestant, Jewish and Catholic leaders, it was pointed out that NFWA refused to attend the April 19 meeting. At this meeting the Independent Farm Workers Association, the Conciliation Service and Di Giorgio discussed election procedures.

The religious leaders were informed that when Di Giorgio met with the NFWA, the union demanded that the company immediately recognize NFWA as the sole bargaining agent for their employees. Di Giorgio insisted that the discussions be limited to procedures for free, secret elections whereby the workers could determine which union, if any, should represent them.

Now NFWA has moved to implement a carefully organized boycott with the announced intention of forcing Di Giorgio to bypass the democratic process and unilaterally recognize the NFWA.

Robert Ham, assistant to the president of Di Giorgio Corporation, continued in his letter to religious leaders: "It is evident that having brought Schenley to its knees, Chavez is convinced that he need not risk the elections he previously advocated.

"How can this position be reconciled with the fact that many of the NFWA's strongest allies have based their support on the right of workers to vote in secret ballot elections?

"We are asking only that Mr. Chavez grant all workers the right of self-determination which he himself has championed. We developed our proposal for free elections in good faith, with the sincere hope that this dispute can be settled to the mutual benefit of all.

"We have sincerely endeavored to reasonably modify our proposal and will continue to do so. To date, however, each effort has been rejected with new threats of boycott.

"How are we to interpret continued church support of the NFWA and its boycott of our products? When church spokesmen commend the Schenley alternative, they endorse unilateral recognition of one bargaining agent and a complete disavowal of the right of the workers to choose their own representative.

"In the interest of fair play, we request that you speak out in favor of granting workers the right to determine whether or not they wish to be represented by the NFWA or any other labor organization."

After Schenley made paying dues to Chavez a pre-condition of employment whether workers wanted his representation or not, churchmen hailed the action as historic saying it was the beginning of the end of the worst indignity imposed on farm workers.

Since nothing comes from a meeting with Chavez except continued demands that the company withhold money from its workers and give it to NFWA, Di Giorgio feels that further attempts to meet would be futile. Di Giorgio will now press for immediate elections to determine what union, if any, its farm workers want.

In early May, Bruce W. Sanborn, Jr., a Di Giorgio vice president, said that NFWA had accepted an invitation to meet with company representatives, but did not show up.

After waiting for three hours, Sanborn called Chavez and was informed he would not meet without his attorney, Robert Prohn of San Francisco. Sanborn pointed out that Robert Ham, and Don Connors, attorney, were waiting in the motel room where the meeting was to take place. Chavez never showed.

"After accepting our invitation and not showing up, we feel further attempts to meet with Chavez would be futile," Sanborn concludes.

Chavez refuses to be on a ballot with the Independent Farm Workers Association, calling this a grower-dominated group. He also objects to the no-strike provision which Di Gorgio says has been modified. But it is difficult to explain any modification to a man who refuses to attend a meeting arranged to discuss these modifications.

Di Gorgio officials do not feel that NFWA could win an election and Chavez obviously feels the same way. He therefore must attempt to block the voting.

The company says its relations with the various unions representing plant and warehouse employees have long been excellent. Field workers are not now organized because of a decision by the Nation's lawmakers when they formulated and passed the first National Labor Relations Act in 1935.

This act and subsequent amendments specifically exclude farm workers because of the nature of farming and the importance of agriculture to the public welfare. Congress concluded that nature and ripening crops could not wait for labor and management to iron out disputes.

Chavez had made a big thing out of his objection to a no-strike provision, yet officials from both the Teamsters and the AFL–CIO are on record agreeing that compulsory arbitration must be substituted for the strike. In the case of the Teamsters, at least, this is for their own good since their members man many processing plants that would be closed down if field workers went on strike.

Yet the AFL–CIO says they will join with the Joint Council of Teamsters No. 42 in Los Angeles in the boycott of Di Gorgio products. However, Wendell Kiser of Modesto, secretary of the Teamsters Joint Council No. 38 with jurisdiction in the San Joaquin Valley, says no decision has been made regarding the boycott.

Once again the ministry is active. Rev. Eugene L. Boutilier has resigned as associate minister of Fresno's First Congregational Church to direct the boycott through a student project in western states aimed at diverting farm workers from Delano to other areas. This project is being termed scab control.

San Leandro Paratrooper Killed in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, each day our country is saddened by millions of casualties from our young men who are serving in Vietnam.

The heroism of the American soldier and fighting men in Vietnam is no less enthusiastic than that of their predecessors who have fought so valiantly in other battles and in other crises in our history.

I desire to place an article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD about a young man in my congressional district, Army Paratrooper Robert L. Engberson, who was killed in action this month in Vietnam.

I think that this article is a fine tribute to him and to his efforts to keep our country safe and to protect the interest, of democratic people everywhere who desire to stand up against the efforts of those who would defeat us.

[From the San Leandro (Calif.) Morning News, May 10, 1966]

S.L. Paratrooper Killed in Vietnam: Dream Unfulfilled—Greatest Ambition Was To Serve Church Mission

(By Mary McAllister)

A young man whose greatest ambition in life was "to serve on a mission for his church" died fighting in Viet Nam Friday, his parents learned in San Leandro Saturday.

Robert L. Engberson, 20-year-old army paratrooper, became the first serviceman from San Leandro to be killed in combat in Viet Nam. He was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Woolley, 15675 Hebron Court, San Leandro and 1963 graduate of Arroyo High School, San Lorenzo.

The telegram bearing the tragic news was conveyed personally by a lieutenant colonel from the Oakland Army Base to Engberson's mother, Klifta Woolley, at the Gem Department Store, San Leandro, where she is employed as a clerk in the linen and drapery department.

Signed by Major General J. C. Lambert, United States Army Adjutant General, the telegram read simply: "The Secretary of the Army has asked me to express his deep regret that your son, Specialist 4 Robert L. Engberson, died in Viet Nam on May 6, 1966 as a result of gunshot wounds received while on a combat operation against a hostile force. Please accept my deepest sympathy. This confirms personal notification."

A follow-up telegram Sunday notified Mrs. Woolley that "The army will return your loved one to a port in the United States by the first available military airlift. . . . You will be advised by the United States Port concerning shipment and arrival time at destination." There was no other information.

"All Bob wanted was to come home and go on a church mission," his mother said softly. It was all he lived for," she said of her son, who was an elder in the San Lorenzo Second Ward of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon).

Bob Engberson was saving all his money to enable him to go on a foreign mission, Mrs. Woolley said, adding that while young Engberson was in basic training in Tennessee, he was simultaneously on a part-time mission for the church.

Specialist 4 Robert L. Engberson was born in Inglewood, Calif. He attended David E. Martin Elementary and Bohannon Junior High Schools in San Lorenzo. At Arroyo High School he was on the track and wrestling team.

He enlisted in the paratroops three years ago, had worked up to the status of master jumper and received several marksmanship awards before going overseas in January.

Sitting in the pleasant living room of the family home on Hebron Court, Curtis Engberson, 23, now of Sacramento, recalled the last time he saw his brother.

"He left Travis Air Force Base in January the day I was discharged from there," said Curtis, who served four years in the Air Force.

"He died on my birthday," he added, looking off in the distance.

Curtis was very close to his brothers and sisters, including Robin Renee Engberson, 9, and Sandra Woolley, 10, both attending. Argonne School; Donnie and Ronnie Woolley, 17-year-old twins who will graduate in June from Marina High School, and Ricky Woolley, 13, now in Twain Harte.

Bob Engberson would have had only a week or two more of fighting before coming home for discharge. He was handling heavy artillery with the paratroops.

He wrote home from several places in Viet Nam, including Plei Me, but usually from An Khi, his mother said.

"You know, I don't think the people back home realize how good and nice they have it in the United States," the compassionate soldier wrote. "People over here live like animals. It's so sad to look at them."

He described the fighting as "horrible," and told of the snipers who lay waiting in the trees, and of his base being blown up once.

"You can hear the enemy walking around at night, and you just freeze. There's nothing you can do about it."

Bob Engberson said he had a lot to tell his folks, when he got home.

Federal Legislation and Opportunities for Developing Programs for the Mentally Retarded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following speech:

FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING PROGRAMS FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED

(Institute on Mental Retardation, Sheraton Biltmore Hotel, Providence, January 17, 1966)

I approach this discussion with a great feeling of mixed emotions—not for the reason that some may suspect; but because it is quite likely that except for the wisdom, the faith, the courage, and the conviction of one man, none of us would be privileged to gather here to evaluate the current state of our progress against mental retardation and other health and social problems. Without the inspiration and encouragement of that one man, I, more likely than not, would never have developed a deep and lasting interest in the problems of the mentally retarded.

I am referring, of course, to the late J. Arthur Trudeau. It is still quite difficult for me to grasp the finality of his departure because he himself was so vital and greatly concerned with the problems of others. And it is for that reason, I suppose, that what J. Arthur Trudeau did here in Rhode Island to stir interest and action on behalf of the mentally retarded and what he did on the national scene will serve as a living memorial to his good works.

And we come to this point in our progress not only inspired by the works of J. Arthur Trudeau but sharply mindful of the tremendous opportunities for service to our fellowman that await us. Therefore, I would like to turn back a bit in history to review some of the progress we have made, and then I would like to chronicle the great opportunities that lie before us.

I well recall that evening in 1954 when I was invited to attend a meeting of Rhode Island parents of retarded children. These parents were trying—alone and unaided—to meet a problem they shared in common. United by the tragic affliction visited upon their children, they were determined to do something about mental retardation—and to see that something was done. It was an inspiration to me to attend that meeting, and I returned to Washington with the conviction that something should and could be done to help these distracted parents.

It is no exaggeration to say that ten years ago, when I succeeded in getting the first Federal research funds for research in mental retardation—$750,000 in funds unrequested by the President—mental retardation was hardly recognized as a national problem. Mental retardation was considered hopeless; and so it was feared, and its victims were shut away from public sight and we didn't even have a clear idea how many children were afflicted.

Today, we know that it is the No. 1 health problem among children, afflicting 1,000 times as many children as were polio victims before the development of the Salk vaccine.

Today, we have Federal research programs of considerable dimensions: from the original $750,000 investment, built upon by the Congress and further encouraged by the late President Kennedy, we have now advanced to the point where a total of 120 million dollars was appropriated last year for this research.

Today, we have research accomplishments we can show as a result of this research effort—the screening for PKU, for example—and scientists are developing tests designed to screen infants for 20 diseases like PKU that cause mental retardation in children.

And today, we have Federal support for a variety of programs whose primary purpose is to combat mental retardation in our citizenry all across this nation, in city and village and hamlet.

I have been using the term—"today"—in the figurative sense, but I can say in the literal sense that I have just returned from Puerto Rico where I took part in the official transfer of land to the Federal government where additional work will be done on the normal as well as abnormal conditions of newborn and growing children.

I am extremely proud of the fact that, as Chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, I participated in the actions of the 88th and the 89th Congress which gave absolutely unprecedented support and funds to aid in the unending fight against mental retardation.

First, let me mention the Social Security Amendments of 1965. This law authorizes money to aid in the training of professional personnel to care for handicapped children including the retarded. It also provides for project grants which will benefit children of low income families.

Projects funded under this law will include those for screening, diagnosis, preventive services, treatment, corrections of defects, and aftercare, both medical and dental, for those covered. No doubt many retarded children and their families will benefit from this section of the law.

Secondly, the Mental Retardation and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act Amendments of 1965 has special significance to mental retardation.

This law provides continued funding for the training of teachers of handicapped children, and for research and demonstration projects related to special education. The new law amends one passed in 1963 which provided for fellowships and traineeships to train teachers of retarded and other handicapped children. Under this year's amendments, the program for training teachers has been extended three additional years beyond June 30, 1966—the end of the 1963 law's authorization.

That 1963 law began a new *national* mental health program. It was followed by the 150 million dollar Federal assistance program for the construction of community mental health centers, along with a program to assist the mentally retarded.

And that was followed last year with the 225 million dollar Federal assistance program to allow for help in staffing community mental health centers.

Comprehensive planning, aided over a two-year period by 8.4 million dollars in Federal matching funds, has been completed by all of the 50 States. They are now submitting their final reports on planning activities to the National Institute of Mental Health.

To participate in the program for construction assistance, each of the States had to formulate a centers plan consistent with its comprehensive plan.

Despite the administrative difficulties at State levels in proceeding with both a comprehensive plan and a centers construction plan at the same time—despite these difficulties, great progress has been made.

Indeed, a national mental health program is well underway. A total of 15 State center plans have been approved and 10 additional plans are in various stages of processing by the National Institute of Mental Health. So far, a total of nine individual center construction grants have been made.

I am proud to have been privileged to take part in the passage of legislation to open up the doors for the mentally ill all across this country. And, naturally, as a citizen of Rhode Island, I like to think of my work as contributing to the betterment of life for Rhode Islanders afflicted with mental disease.

On most occasions, residents of our many States appeal to Washington for more Federal assistance. When these pleas are justified—and they often are—these State residents usually say that they are doing their fair share—now what does the Federal government intend to do?

I believe that no one can deny that, here, the reverse is true. As a member of the United States House of Representatives, there is no doubt that the Federal government is doing its fair share. Surely, with State cooperation and local interest, we are ready now to enter a new age—not just for the mentally retarded but for all of the mentally ill.

Let me cite the Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963, which was designed to stimulate the States to take steps to help themselves.

Under the legislation, Federal funds will provide one-third to two-thirds of a center's construction cost, depending upon the State's population, the extent of its mental health problem and its financial situation.

The Act requires that each State prepare a plan for the use or its allotted funds. To be successful, the State's plan must reflect the development or plans by individual communities for participation in the program.

Rhode Island has not yet developed a practical plan for action for participating in the Federal program for community mental health centers. But I am told that a plan for centers will probably be submitted within the month to the National Institute of Mental Health.

As I have said, the urgency and pressing need were so great in the United States that comprehensive planning and centers planning were called for at the same time. Admittedly, this is a difficult, double assignment for the States. But let me say here and now that it was the intent of the Congress, based on the best professional advice in the Nation, to modify dramatically the conditions under which the mentally ill are treated. This means a change in the type of facility, a change in the surroundings and environment. And most important, a change from the large, impersonal, and remote institution.

Rhode Island was allotted 50,000 dollars in matching funds for the first full year of comprehensive planning, but the planning process was slow in getting under way, and more than 31,000 dollars of the 50,000 dollars had to be returned to the Federal government unexpended.

Rhode Island is in danger of having the same thing happen to the funds that have been appropriated for the construction or mental health centers. A total of 35 million dollars was appropriated for use nationally during fiscal 1965—but, knowing that such programs take time to develop, the Congress made the funds available for a period of two consecutive years.

Rhode Island's allocated 1965 share was 156,014 dollars and our matching percentage is approximately 50 percent. Thus, to build a comprehensive community mental health center in Rhode Island, the State and community would need to provide only half the cost.

I fully understand that planning takes time; but it is indeed regrettable that Rhode Island has not succeeded in using these Federal funds.

The construction program as authorized in the Centers Act is to cover three years and, just as for the first year, each year's funds will be available for two years. Already the 1966 funds have been appropriated and Rhode Island's allocated share is 225,920 dollars.

Specific recommendations regarding sources, methods and levels of financing a mental health program to take advantage of Rhode Island opportunities in this area, have still to be provided.

In the area of mental retardation, the Governor's Advisory Council on Mental Retardation issued a report last September which was called "The Rhode Island Plan for Mental Retardation." Based upon a year of extensive research, this is a reasonable and progressive plan for an attack upon mental retardation in Rhode Island.

The thirty-seven recommendations of that plan were based upon intensive deliberation, and I would like to add my personal support and endorsement to each of its recommendations concerning research, prevention, clinical services, education and rehabilitation, law and public awareness, and coordination. It seems to me that this plan should serve as a guideline for the State of Rhode Island in fulfilling its obligations to its mentally retarded citizens. But, as the report itself concluded—if I recall the words correctly—"The ultimate value of the plan will depend upon its implementation."

I believe that the parents of retarded children here in Rhode Island have been carrying the burden for the State far too long. For the past 15 years or so—through the efforts of parents and some of their friends—I have seen Rhode Island's pre-school programs, workshops and other programs for the retarded being conducted in basements of churches, abandoned schools, and firehouses and in rented quarters.

Now is the time to propose a large bond referendum—in this session of the general assembly—to carry out new construction for all these programs at the community level. A referendum would—I am sure—be received favorably by the people and would provide the funds to match Federal and, possibly, private grants.

I know that right now the State of Rhode Island has available 200,000 dollars in Federal funds which must be matched—on a 50-50 basis—with private money for just such construction. Again, the Federal government is ready to do its part in this great work.

In the meantime, I am informed that there is a proposal to include 572,000 dollars in Rhode Island's 1965–1966 budget to underwrite the operating costs of the Office of Mental Retardation, to implement day care centers in rented quarters, to support a half-way house, for research, and for other purposes. I understand that the Rhode Island Association for Retarded Children is giving its strong support for this budget request. All the evidence indicates that this is a "must" if the program is to get started, and I hope it will be favorably considered.

In addition, I know that the Rhode Island Association for Retarded Children is supporting the State Board of Education request for 1,000,000 dollars for support at the local level of educational programs for all handicapped children. As I understand it, this amount is needed to carry out the Board of Education's formula for reimbursement of 100 percent of the cost for educating handicapped children, over and above the normal per pupil cost. While the State Law and State Board of Education rules and regulations for the educationally handicapped are mandatory on the local community, the 1,000,000 dollars would go a long way toward speeding up the program and easing the burden on the local community.

I know that 1,000,000 dollars is a lot of money. I know that in discussing all of these programs we are talking about a lot of dollars. But in the last analysis I believe that an attitude of concern for retarded children and adults—for the mentally ill generally—is the most important factor.

This concren was expersed by the President last week in his State of the Union message when he said . . . "I am here to recommend that you . . . bring the most urgent decencies to all Americans. There are men who cry that we must sacrifice. Let us rather ask them, who will they sacrifice? . . . Will they sacrifice the children who seek learning? . . . the sick who need care? Let no one think that the unfortunate and the oppressed of this land sit stifled and alone in their hope tonight. Hundreds of their servants and their protectors sit before me tonight in this great Chamber . . ."

I am thankful that I have the privilege of being among those referred to by the President, and I am equally thankful that I have good people like you who are also concerned with the unfortunate and the oppressed.

None of the Federal programs in any of these areas will be implemented at the State level—in Rhode Island or anywhere else—unless there is an understanding—a real understanding of—the problems of the mentally ill.

We here tonight must carry on without the assistance of one who was outstandingly concerned about his fellow man—J. Arthur Trudeau. I cannot close without paying a last respect to his pioneering work in this field so close to all of us here today. His resources we have lost; his vision—and all that he started so well—we must carry on.

The City Is a Teacher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 11, 1966

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II, addressed the City Club of Chicago at its annual joint civic assembly. Commissioner Howe discussed in depth problems facing the inner city. His remarks make a significant contribution toward a better understanding of the problems which confront school administrators in urban America.

I should like to take the privilege of placing his remarks in the Record for the information of my colleagues.

Mr. Howe brings to the Office of Education a deep understanding of our education problems. We have every reason to believe that under his dedicated leadership, many of these problems may be significantly abated.

Commissioner Howe's speech follows:

THE CITY IS A TEACHER

(An address by Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)

The city is a teacher, Plutarch said, and everyone who has lived in a city knows why. Within a few square miles of glass, steel, and concrete are concentrated the greatest works of commerce, art, government, and entertainment. Its boundaries—particularly in the case of the American city, with its roots in a hundred different Nations—encircle the cultures of an astonishing variety of national, religious, and ethnic groups.

Each of these facets of a city offers its own lesson. But the kind of lesson you learn depends on where in the classroom you sit.

To some of us, the metropolis represents excitement, a sense of being where the action is. The mingled majesty and mystery to be found in a view of the East River, of Capitol Hill, of Michigan Avenue or the Golden Gate remind us that despite the normal quotient of tedium and trial in each of our lives, life in an urban setting can be exciting.

But the metropolis teaches a different lesson to those who sit in the back of the room. Removed from the scenes of splendor, excitement, and romance that beguile the rest of us, they see only the squalid, the depressing, and the dangerous. And they conclude—rightly—that the city is a prison.

Jane Addams of Chicago's Hull House called these prisoners "the city's disinherited." They are the Americans who have not shared in the great American success story . . . the story that describes how generations of Irish, of Italians, of Germans and Poles labored, prayed, fought, and hoped until they escaped from the immgrants' ghettoes to a more generous life.

It is in one way surprising that the Americans in today's ghettoes have not completed the trip to Wilmette or South Shore, LaGrange or Lake Shore Drive. For they arrived in the United States decades before many of the other new Americans who have since been naturalized by our melting pot.

I refer, of course, to the American Negro. He was poor, ignorant, and without hope 200 years ago. By modern American standards, he remains poor, ignorant, and without hope today. He was a slave in the South 200 years ago; and he remains a slave to unemployment, to poverty, and to despair in the North today.

I have not come to preach a sermon, for sermons have proven notoriously ineffective in bringing about major changes in society. In any case, I think we must concede that the most effective statements on civil rights in our time have not been made from pulpits, but in the streets of Montgomery and Selma, Watts and a dozen other cities less celebrated in headlines but equally effective as object lessons.

I have come, rather, to discuss the educational aspect of the poverty that flourishes in the inner city; to point out that no matter where you sit in the city's classroom, you pay the tuition for the kind of education it dispenses . . . and whether that education is good or bad, its cost is very high; and finally, to discuss some measures for improving education in the city ghetto, whether its residents be white paupers or Negro paupers.

In his message to the Congress urging stronger civil rights legislation, President Johnson pointed out that though segregation takes several forms, it nevertheless comprises a sociological unity. He said:

"It is self-evident that the problems we are struggling with form a complicated chain of discrimination and lost opportunities. Employment is often dependent on education, education on neighborhood schools and housing, housing on income, and income on employment. We have learned by now the folly of looking for any crucial link in the chain that binds the ghetto. All the links—poverty, lack of education, underemployment, and now discrimination in housing—must be attacked together."

I suspect that most white people feel a generalized sympathy with the Negro in his struggle for equality. They may object to some methods used by the civil rights groups, and even favorably disposed whites probably believe—after some spectacular incident—that the Negro is trying to go too far, too fast.

But I suggest that it is a good deal easier to counsel restraint in the attainment of a goal when you have already achieved that goal yourself. Moreover, I believe, every white man has a stake in seeing to it that the Negro progresses just as far as he can, just as fast as he can. For, leaving entirely aside the moral issue and restricting myself to pragmatic matters, I would argue that our experience has shown that every one of us pays in a number of ways to maintain the Negro in his subordinate position.

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz has estimated that every drop-out costs the Nation about $1,000 a year while he is unemployed. To this expense must be added the waste of individual talent to the Nation, and the loss of personal income to the individual. We pay for poor education and for poverty in other ways: in crime rates, in military service rejection rates, in social problems springing as much from lack of dignity, lack of hope, and lack of possibilities for family life as from the flawed human nature which we all share.

And such expenses of spirit and matter diminish, finally, the quality of all our lives as citizens of a city . . . a modern city, moreover, whose boundaries do not stop at the red lines on the maps. Delinquency draws no lines at Howard Street. The North Shore pays rent on the South Side slums; like it or not, we all help maintain the chain of poverty that binds the ghetto.

The education link in this chain of social slavery is the segregated, inferior ghetto school.

What are some of the characteristics of the ghetto school? Why is it failing in its mission to shape free, responsible, capable adults from children who have the normal statistical potential for brilliance, mediocrity, and failure?

First, the ghetto school is underfinanced. Contrary to our American oversimplification, the public schools are not free. They are paid for with taxes; they depend first of all on the incomes of the community's adults.

The ghetto community simply does not have the funds to support schools as educators know they should be supported. It is for this reason that cities need special financial assistance from the State taxing power and from the Federal Government.

Further, the children who attend ghetto schools walk in the door suffering from handicaps that do not hinder their counterparts in suburban schools. They come from homes in which their parents read little and write less. Although many of them share the universal culture provided by TV, there is more than a little question of its value, both in content and stimulation.

The educator's jargon for these children is "disadvantaged." The term means that they will start slower than children from middle-class homes and that they will not run as fast. It implies that they will in all likelihood, not pursue their educational journey as far, unless they receive special help.

Third, the ghetto schools usually have the least experienced teachers; other things being equal, one's teaching, like one's tennis or golf or five-card stud, improves as you do more of it.

The reason for this situation is not necessarily planned discrimination by the school board. Often it is simply understandable human preference. As a teacher gains tenure through years of service, he frequently gains the right to ask for another assignment. And it is entirely to be expected that a teacher with this choice would want to serve in the more attractive neighborhoods. Hence year after year, the ghetto schools must replace vacancies on their staffs with brand-new graduates from the schools of education. It is fortunate indeed that a hard core of able, experienced teachers have made these schools their life work. We need more of them.

Finally, it is characteristic of the ghetto school that it has little community understanding or support. Why should parents—many of whom are themselves undereducated or even illiterate—understand what their sons and daughters do every day from nine to three? They are incapable of judging the quality of the education their children receive, even if they are interested in doing so. How can they frame their questions, how can they articulate their hopes and doubts?

They cannot, and the ghetto school continues to limp along without the material and spiritual support that has made some suburban Chicago schools the finest in the Nation.

Why? Is it because the children who attend New Trier township high school are natural geniuses, the happy product of superior genes?

Not at all. It is because they attend a school in a community where adults care about education, and where adults pay for education. And meanwhile, twenty miles to the south, the children of poor whites and poor Negroes in the inner-city schools are being trained for lives of dependency because they did not exercise better judgment in their choice of parents.

One of the finest treatments I have seen of the problems of the ghetto school appeared in the May 7 issue of the *New Yorker* magazine. The article was mainly an extended interview with Dr. Elliott Shapiro, principal of a public school in central Harlem. Here is one of the things Dr. Shapiro had to say about the relation between a child's innate ability, his academic performance, and his home environment:

". . . It is *after* the first grade that the great disparities between our children and the children of the middle class start showing up. As our children grow older, their lives get worse and, simultaneously, their responsibilities increase. They have more younger brothers and sisters to take care of, and their mothers are forced to become distant as *their* problems increase. In the fifth and sixth grades, there are more children of broken families than there are in kindergarten and the first grade. It gets harder and harder for the fathers to find employment that will bring in enough money and will also keep their egos intact. And precisely because the father *do* have self-respect, they begin to disappear. I remember that during the Depression, a lot of us didn't know what to do with ourselves. The Negro male in a neighborhood like this is in a permanent depression, much worse than anything we went through in the nineteen-thirties."

What can be done about the ghetto schools?

The Congress of the United States has already made a major start. In the last three years alone, it has passed 24 pieces of legislation touching every aspect of education from pre-kindergarten to post-graduate. One of the most impressive is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Title I of that Act is aimed specifically at schools in low-income areas, whether in the city or rural districts. It pumps a billion dollars a year into special educational programs for the children of poverty. It recognizes what school administrators have always known: poverty and ignorance go together. And it is giving them the resources to break up that sad association.

Closely allied in spirit to Title I is a program that we are just now getting off the ground—the National Teacher Corps. This Corps will be composed of teams of young teacher-interns led by experienced, career teachers. At the invitation of local school systems, and under the supervision of local school boards, they will bring their dedication, talent, and spirit into classrooms that can now afford precious little of any of those commodities. At the end of their service in the Teacher Corps they will be ready for careers among children of the poor.

All in all, the U.S. Office of the Education is responsible for about 100 major programs. But not all the education news is taking place in Washington; there are laudable advances at the local level.

Chicago deserves tremendous credit for absorbing a great in-migration of undereducated and relatively unemployable newcomers. I understand that the city has within it more Mississippi Negroes than Mississippi does. The city might well have been stunned by the enormous tasks of housing and educating poor whites and Negroes from the South *without* the tax losses caused by the exodus of middle class whites.

But Chicago's efforts to serve the children who are harder to serve—and indeed the efforts of other cities in similar circumstances—may well be futile unless every citizen accepts this problem as his own . . . especially those citizens who, like the members of this group, are in a position to do something about it.

What can you and your city do about it?

First, we must recognize that the ghetto school needs not just as much financial support as the suburban school, but much more. We must realize that it must provide special services that were considered educational frills just five years ago . . . such services as counseling and guidance; small classes; remedial instruction; the latest teaching methods and equipment; psychological, medical, and dental aid.

We must change inner-city schools from nine-to-three o'clock citadels where all human life vanishes with the dismissal bell, into highly visible neighborhood resources that teach parents as well as children. The inner-city school must create community where there is no other focal point for a common life and shared interests. We must staff our ghetto schools so that they can remain open from morning to late evening, offering adult instruction in everything from reading to making the most of the shopping dollar.

And in this newly involved institution, we must above all create the opportunity for, and the expectation of, performance by the children of the poor. Cultural disadvantage need not foreshadow poor academic achievement, as Operation Headstart demonstrated. Children sense a school's lower expectations and grow to demand less of themselves because the school demands so little of them. Schools are not custodial. Children are there to learn, not just to be kept off the streets.

They will learn best if they are taught by specially trained teachers. Beyond expressing our national need for more teachers of every description, we have done little to focus upon a kind of teacher preparation which is necessary to serve the children of the poor. In general, our colleges and universities train teachers for ideal classrooms, and although the classrooms in the slums may be in some cases excellent in their buildings and equipment, their human environment cries out for special attention of every kind.

A share of the guilt for this irrelevant teacher education must be borne by the profession itself. Somehow the idea of service to those who need it most has been obscured by the drive for better teaching salaries and conditions.

Further, city school systems must adopt assignment policies that will guarantee slum schools their share of experienced, able teachers. We must counteract the tendency of experienced teachers to choose more pleasant schools as soon as their years of service entitle them to transfer. We must also change the policies of schools and teacher organizations which tend to confront the slum child with the inexperienced, uncertificated and impermanent teacher.

In addition to more and better teachers, slum schools need volunteers and paid teacher-aides to supplement the work of the fully trained teacher. Added personal attention from adults who really care about the child can do as much as any other service to lift the potentialities of the children of the poor.

These are some of the immediate steps that can be taken to improve the ghetto school. But I believe that more drastic measures will be needed over the long run.

For example, traditional school district boundaries often serve education badly and may have to be changed. New York and New Jersey surrendered State prerogatives to form the Port of New York Authority in the interest of improved transportation. If we can make such concessions for transportation, I suggest that we can make them for education.

We could, for example, alter political boundaries to bring the social, economic, and intellectual strengths of the suburbs to bear on the problems of the city schools. Building programs for the future could be planned so that new schools break up, rather than continue, segregation of both the racial and economic sort. The Office of Education will provide Federal planning funds for such efforts right now . . . and, if I have my way, the Office will provide construction funds before long.

We have recently been considering financial support for a comprehensive study of a system of educational parks to be established within the inner city. We visualize each of these centralized school complexes as educational centers that would provide classes ranging from prekindergarten through junior college.

And we are particularly interested in finding one or two great American cities that are adventurous enough to join us in planning the educational park of the future. These entities will house 20,000 or more pupils, and will cut across all geographic, economic, and social boundaries to draw students. While such a park would deny the neighborhood school, it would express the vitality, the imagination, and the cultural mix that every vigorous city exemplifies. Students in such a facility would attend a genuine city school in the deepest sense . . . rather than going to school in one section of the city which is untouched by the broader influences of metropolitan life as a whole.

Altering political boundaries or consolidating the educational facilities of a large city would involve major organizational changes . . . major educational surgery. But I believe that major surgery is required if we are to liberate the children of the slums.

To reach that goal, we will require money; but money is not enough. We will need teachers; but teachers are not enough. We will need research, and educational research is already giving us new teaching techniques, new methods of evaluating academic progress, and a host of additional helps to educate the slum child. But research is not enough.

What is enough?

Perhaps the answer to that question will emerge only when every American recognizes that educating the slum child as a way of breaking the chain of poverty is in his own immediate, direct interest. For this is one of the lessons that your city and all the cities of the United States teach: that, as John Donne said, no man is an island . . . that his well-being, his safety, the very quality of his life and that of his children are bound up with the lives of countless other men whom he will never know and may never see.

The city is indeed a teacher, and it has been teaching us that the ghetto school perpetutaes a poverty, an injustice, and a weakness that daily saps all our lives.

It is time we learned our lesson and put it to use.

Dedication of Lunenburg, Mass., Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein my remarks in part, at the dedication of the new post office building at Lunenburg, Mass., May 21, 1966:

Remarks, in Part, of Congressman Philip J. Philbin, Dedication of New Post Office Building, Lunenburg, Mass., May 21, 1966

It is a very high privilege, honor and pleasure for me to join you today for the dedication of this beautiful new Lunenburg Post Office and I want to assure you that I deeply cherish the opportunity afforded me to participate in these very impressive dedicatory exercises.

It is a special pleasure for me to be introduced to this gathering of able and distinguished public officials and so many patrons of the office and citizens of the community by my esteemed and much beloved friend, the able Chairman of this meeting, your highly esteemed fellow citizen and townsman, Mr. Arthur Brockelman, and I thank him for his very gracious remarks.

I want to compliment the Committee, the Postmaster, and our great Post Office Department for arranging this fine program to dedicate this new buidling to the service of the postal patrons and the people of Lunenburg.

Your community is growing at a very substantial rate and these new post office facilities will serve a real need for years to come.

This is a day of heartiest congratulations, of satisfaction with a job well done, and deep gratitude to all those who joined in making this very worthwhile project possible.

Let me assure you that the Congress is deeply interested in the great work of our unequaled Post Office Department, and General Services Administration, and has been glad and privileged to provide the authority and funds to insure useful, needed public buildings like this one for the benefit of the American people. I am especially happy to have been in a position to cooperate and help with the fulfillment of this meritorious project we dedicate so proudly today.

We recognize and appreciate the tasks of planning and completing the construction of this fine building, and our commendations and congratulations are extended to every individual and every group who participated in this splendid work, including government and local officials, the architects and contractors, the workers and all those who played a part in bringing about the happy, concrete results we observe on this occasion.

This building is functional and it is well designed to provide adequate facilities for local postal services. But we should remember that buildings, equipment and appurtenances alone, however modern and well implemented, do not insure adequate postal services, nor do they meet the total needs of the patrons and the people who require these services.

There is another necessary, vital component, namely, the capable, efficient, experienced, faithful postal workers of every rank and station who, in the real sense, will make this building and these postal facilities the meaningful public agency that it is to serve in a responsible manner, the urgent community need for the many indispensable services which our great Post Office Department provides in these advanced times.

We must remember, too, that this great Department with its far-flung operations, its distinguished leaders, and dedicated personnel at every level, constitutes the greatest, most efficient, outstanding most useful post office service in the whole world.

This Department has many difficult problems these days, caused by the population explosion, the advance of science, the new gadgets and the new techniques that are being used in business, and by our fellow citizens, not to think of radical changes in our transportation systems which are such a challenge to post office administrators and workers.

Notwithstanding these problems, and we must recognize that in whatever we undertake these days, we will have to face difficult problems, one thing should be clearly understood, that we propose to maintain this great system that serves the American people in so many vital areas, at maximum possible pitch of efficiency and usefulness, its basic functions adapted to modern developments, its leadership vigorous and progressive, its personnel well paid and efficient, cooperative and helpful to the patrons they serve, and the entire postal system of which we are so proud given that support by the Congress and the people which it is entitled to enjoy.

And on this occasion, too, appreciating this fine new postal building dedicated to the service of the people, it is a time to reaffirm our loyalty to the great government of which it is a part, and the ideals and principles for which it stands.

We live in a time of turmoil, trouble and strife and we are facing many dangers and many problems.

As in other instances when freedom was challenged and our security threatened, we are engaged in conflict, this time against organized World Communism and tyranny in Vietnam.

None of us can foretell what the future will bring, as our gallant boys fight ruthless aggression and tyranny, and as we earnestly, vigorously and unceasingly strive for peace for ourselves and for the world.

But let no one mistake our purpose to defend our priceless heritage of freedom, democracy and justice, and let no one ever doubt the loyalty, devotion and firm commitment of the American people to protect our country and our free way of life as we manifest our determination to defend against aggression, to defend our country and uphold the cause of human freedom and justice.

Let us hope and pray that the forces of World Communism will soon listen to our urgent appeals, so that the way may be open soon for justice and peace in the world.

Meanwhile, let us do our part as loyal Americans. Let us remain strong in every sense, militarily, economically and spiritually and unswering in our purpose to serve and protect our country and the truths, principles and blessings for which it stands.

It is up to us as proud loyal Americans to make sure that, no matter what our problems are we strengthen and defend our great, free enterprise system, our liberties and the individual rights that we enjoy as citizens of this great nation, so that no power on earth can ever deprive us of the precious birthright of freedom that we cherish so deeply.

The future destiny of this nation is in our hands. Let us make certain beyond any doubt that we will guard, protect and secure it from all enemies, foreign and domestic. That is our duty and our solemn commitment in this generation, so let us loyally unite, regardless of creed, color, race or station, for God and country, to guard and preserve our rich heritage for those of our generation and pass it overto our posterity, unsullied, untarnished and unimpaired, stronger, better, more prosperous and more responsive to the needs and high objectives of the people.

Thank you all for the high privilege of being with you today.

"Water Pollution," an Editorial by Philip H. Abelson in Science, May 20, 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD a most interesting editorial by Philip H. Abelson, editor of Science magazine, the weekly publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Mr. Abelson's editorial, which appears in the May 20, 1966, issue of Science, is addressed to a subject which is commanding increasing attention at this time, the pollution of our waters.

The editorial follows:

WATER POLLUTION

(By Philip H. Abelson)

A few years ago the Wisconsin State Board of Health reported the existence on the Mississippi River of a "wall of foam 35 feet wide, 300 feet long and 15 feet high." This was only one of many photogenic newsmaking incidents. Consequently, the issue of water pollution was publicly dramatized and oversimplified. Synthetic detergents were spotlighted as sources of the nuisance. The principal chemicals involved were alkyl benzenesulfonates, the alkyl group usually being a C_{12} branched-chain hydrocarbon. Biological degradation of this structure is slow. Threatened with congressional action, the detergent manufacturers abandoned production of the branched compounds, using instead a linear alkyl benezenesulfonate that is degraded more readily. This changeover (made at a cost of $150 million) was completed by June 1965. In hearings last week before a committee headed by Senator MUSKIE, a year of field experience with the new products was described. The input and output of detergents from several major sewage treatment plants have been monitored. As a result, it was possible to follow closely the consequences of the changeover. Part of the chemicals now are degraded on the way to the treatment plant, and the rest are more easily removed once there. When 90 percent of the other sewage is consumed, a similar fraction of the new detergent disappears.

In spite of this excellent experience with modern treatment plants, the manufacturers may yet face further pressures. Much of the sewage in this country is disposed of in cesspools or septic tanks. In well-designed systems the effluent flows into surrounding soil, where it is acted on by aerobic bacteria, and the new detergents are removed. However, if free oxygen is absent, the detergents are not degraded. Householders using wells many still find their water foamy.

The dramatic aspects of the detergent problem, however, seem solved, and this is good. Now our people and the Congress can turn to the substantive problems of water pollution. Only a minor fraction of the sewage from towns and cities is fully treated. Upstream communities show little enthusiasm for spending money for the benefit of communities farther down. Even in those cities that have "full treatment," performance is often poor. In most instances the storm drains and the sewage systems are interconnected. When a storm occurs, the treatment plant is bypassed. This occurs at a time when the scouring action of high-velocity flow dislodges large quantities of solids that have accumulated during low flow. The problem will not be quickly disposed of. The cost of separating storm and sanitary sewers has been estimated at $20 to $40 billion.

Water pollution is not one problem but many. Each watershed requires a different approach, depending on technical, economic, and political factors. A particularly instructive case to follow will be events at Lake Tahoe. This beautiful lake is threatened with degradation. Once relatively poor in algal nutrients, the water has been fertilized by effluent from treated sewage. The communities surrounding the lake now plan to pump their effluent out of the Tahoe watershed. However, even this practice may not suffice. It may become necessary to ban use of fertilizers on garden plots around the lake.

The problems of water pollution are many and complex. The greatest present difficulty is that, while the public favors pollution abatement, only a few politicians are providing imaginative leadership.

Navy Secretary Nitze States the Future of Oceanography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, at the national convention of the Navy League in Los Angeles, May 27, Secretary of the Navy Paul Nitze, articulately stated the Navy's position in undersea technology.

Secretary Nitze noted the difficulties encountered in recovering the H-bomb lost off the coast of Spain in January, pointing up the fact that the United States must advance its capability to work at the deeper extreme of the sea. The Secretary also described the need for teamwork as America enters the age of ocean exploration.

Secretary Nitze's remarks to the Navy League were highly significant. I include his remarks in the RECORD in order that they receive the highest possible readership:

REMARKS BY HONORABLE PAUL H. NITZE, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE NAVY LEAGUE ANNUAL BANQUET, BEVERLY HILTON HOTEL, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., MAY 27, 1966

Mr. Fitch, Admiral McDonald, General Leek, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I note that you have succeeded in covering practically all facets of naval operations in your 1966 National Convention. From the "Day in Vietnam" presentation on Wednesday, it was apparent that the Navy is involved in many phases of warfare and doing an outstanding job of it.

The theme for your convention—Oceanography—"Soundings of the Future"—is appropriate: (1) it is an interesting subject; (2) when combined with the activities around and in Vietnam, it gives you the opportunity to almost blanket current naval operations in one convention; and (3) the setting is ideal. What better location could you chose for an oceanography theme than Southern California? It has been over a year and a half since I last spoke publicly about oceanography, so, when combined with the local setting and your convention theme, I find that I cannot resist the urge to talk about one of my favorite subjects—Oceanography—in depth (no pun intended).

The successful recovery of the nuclear weapon lost off the coast of Palomares, Spain, dramatically demonstrated to the Nation and to the world a feat previously assumed not feasible. Undaunted by the lack of a previous capability designed to accomplish such a mission, the corporate effort of this Nation produced an international manifestation of American know-how and perseverance.

The response of the scientific oceanographic community, American industry, the Navy's research and development laboratories, and the operational Navy, was instantaneous and spontaneous.

The recovery of the lost nuclear weapon must be regarded as a significant milestone in our national security long-range plans.

The name ALVIN, known to only a few in the oceanographic field, was flashed to the world, proclaiming it as a hero at Palomares. Appropriately named, ALVIN is the busy little deep research vehicle operated by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. The effective use of ALVIN is but another demonstration of how the Navy's capabilities have been dependent upon our national ability to discover and exploit new knowledge in ocean science. As in this instance, oceanographers have always been immediately responsive to Navy problems.

This is a two-way street. There have been many instances in the past when the Navy and the ocean-science community have worked hand in hand to develop and advance our knowledge of the ocean depths. Through its Office of Naval Research, Navy has provided leadership and imaginative support to academic oceanography during the past 20 years. Also, Navy support of broad research in oceanography has provided substantial information about the ocean.

As at Palomares, many research tools developed for basic oceanography have served as prototypes for equipment operationally useful to the Navy. Naval personnel, both uniformed and civilians, by virtue of their support of oceanographic laboratories, have become sufficiently aware of these laboratory capabilities to call on them for early and effective assistance when an emergency arises.

As underwater detection and weapon systems become more sophisticated, the interaction between civilian scientists and the Navy will increase, since the Navy has been, and will continue to be, the major consumer of the manpower and scientific output of academic oceanography.

The Navy intends to continue its support of academic research related to the oceans. In fact, we will increase support to this field. Rear Admiral John Leydon, the Chief of Naval Research, is reexamining the particular importance of ocean science and technology to the Navy's basic mission. He has pulled together many of the activities of the Office of Naval Research to emphasize ocean science and technology.

A second relatively unknown cropped up at Palomares and received much fanfare. That was CURV, the acronym for Controlled Undersea Recovery Vehicle. CURV is a product of the Navy's own research and development laboratories. This remote cable controlled vehicle was initially purchased from industry and reengineered by the Naval Ordnance Test Station, Pasadena, as a necessary tool for the recovery of tropedoes.

One of the essentials in the development of underseas weapon systems is the means with which to recover components after tests, because specific data is necessary for rapid and efficient program progression. Thus, the necessity for CURV.

The Navy has many facilities designed primarily to test and evaluate underwater weapons systems and their components. AUTEC—the Atlantic Undersea Test and Evaluation Center in the Bahamas—is one such example. We have plans for additional undersea ranges to support R & D programs and to conduct evaluation of related operational systems.

In the near future, we will require an additional test range equipped with stations at various ocean depths in which concepts, components of systems, and materials can be tested in various situations. I propose that this test range facility be made available to other agencies of government and industry on a cooperative basis so as to reduce to a minmum the time required for development in their various programs. In short, this would be a national facility.

Thoughts and plans are relatively inexpensive. To put them into effect costs money. As the result of a recent study which proposed a plan for the Navy's future role in undersea technology, I have directed the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research and Development, Bob Morse, to include a new line item in the FY 1968 budget request, entitled "Deep Ocean Technology."

In addition to the CURV vehicle and other prototype items of hardware taken directly from our own research and development program, the SEALAB II team, which performed admirably off your California shore at La Jolla last summer, was made available to render any assistance in the search and recovery of the nuclear weapon off Spain. In cooperation with the Navy's regular undersea divers, they contributed significantly to the location, identification, and recovery of many pieces of aircraft wreckage in the offshore waters.

Of course, the real heroes of Palomares were Rear Admiral Bill Guest, commander of the on-scene naval operational group, and personnel in his Task Force 65. The determination, dedication, and professionalism exhibited by Bill Guest and his personnel resulted in the maximum utilization of many untried and untested items of equipment from all sources within the country. Bill Guest and his personnel, both military and civilian, put into operation many innovations, demonstrated amazing perseverance and remarkable seamanship.

The skill, knowledge, training, and devotion to duty of Task Force 65 were truly in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States naval service. I was a pleasure for me to award the Distinguished Service Medal to Bill Guest in my office just three weeks ago today.

We wish to pay tribute also to the now celebrated local fisherman at Palomares, Senor F. Simo-Ortis. Master of a local boat which was at sea when the air accident occurred, he reported seeing two parachutes with objects attached fall into the sea on the morning of 17 January. He subsequently directed USS PINNACLE by "seaman's eye" to a position at which be believed the parachutes had entered the water. This was one of the most significant bits of evidence used to locate the missing bomb. We give grateful recognition to the valuable contribution of this citizen of Spain.

The operation in Palomares confirmed the wisdom of the Chief of Naval Operations in establishing an operational Deep Submergence Group as a unit under the operational control of Commander Submarine Flotilla One, Captain Bob Satterford. This group presently comprises 17 officers and 33 enlisted personnel and will be augmented late this summer by three officers and 67 enlisted personnel. It is our intention to assign a Navy Captain, qualified to command submarines and well versed in the deep submergence program, to command this group.

Together, with the Supervisor of Salvage, the Deep Submergence Group will become the focal point for the Navy's operational capabilities in deep ocean search and object recovery, submarine rescue, deep sea salvage, and the man-in-the-sea requirements. By virtue of its inherent experience, this group will provide the necessary planning and direction for future deep ocean search and recovery operations. The equipment, facilities, and personnel assigned to the Deep Submergence Group, augmented as necessary by industrial assistance under contract, will provide the forces to carry out operational plans.

At Palomares, the United States' industrial community responded in the same manner as the scientific oceanographic community. Many items—commercial equipment, from one-of-a-kind development prototypes to off-the-shelf components—were obtained from industry.

To be specific, there were two underwater vehicles: one, Aluminaut, and the other, Cubmarine. Both of these were designed and built with funds from the private sector. Aluminaut was an effective search vehicle in deep water. It was able to carry six people, and carried considerable complex equipment on board. Her length does restrict her ability to search in narrow ravines. Cubmarine was a reliable, relatively shallow-water vehicle with no complex equipment on board. Both of these vehicles were used successfully within their operational capabilities.

The successful location and recovery of the lost nuclear weapon demonstrated the mutual benefits derived from close Navy-industry cooperative efforts, as well as between the Navy and the scientific community.

It is obvious that while pursuing military objectives, the Navy has an obligation to the national interest in ocean technology. We accept the responsibility for helping to develop the national technology needed for mastery of the sea—mastery in the military, economic, social, and political sense. But this, again, must be a corporate venture—a science, industry, Navy team.

In the interest of furthering the advancement of oceanography, I have directed that the security classification policy of the Navy Department be determined in such a manner that the balance favors rapid communication and diffusion of deep sea technology. The Navy will increase its efforts to make unclassified research and development information on ocean science and technology available to other federal agencies and the scientific and industrial communities in a timely manner.

The recently formed Ocean Science and Technology Advisory Committee (OSTAC) of the National Security Industrial Association has agreed to assist the Navy in making classified research and development information in the area of undersea sensor development available to federal and industrial communities. I am particularly pleased with the establishment of this Committee.

In reference to the OSTAC, Vice President HUMPHREY recently wrote to the President of the National Security Industrial Association, stating, and I quote: ". . . Industry's expanded role is welcomed by all thinking citizens—by Government, the academic community, labor—all of us. Recent events at home and abroad confirm anew that within the oceans lies so much of our hopes for an ever brighter, more plentiful, more secure future."

In the past, the development of undersea instrumentation has been primarily a cooperative venture among the scientific community, industry, and the Navy's development facilities. Most of this development has been funded by the Navy. In the future, we hope to see a growing financial cooperation on items which have mutual benefit in the exploitation of the sea.

On the advice of OSTAC, I have requested Rear Admiral "Muddy" Waters, Oceanographer of the Navy, to examine the Navy Oceanographic Instrumentation Center with the view of establishing this Center as a national facility.

Admiral Waters and the Director of the Deep Submergence Program, Dr. John Craven, have been encouraged to make maximum utilization of the people, facilities, and know-how of the private sector in achieving their objectives. As an example, Admiral Waters has chartered privately owned survey vessels for marine geophysical surveys in conjunction with the effective employment of new sonar systems.

In summary, I fully support Admiral Dave McDonald's statement of yesterday that the Navy will require improved capabilities in its undersea strategic forces, antisubmarine warfare forces, as well as the ability to perform undersea search and recovery operations. Improvement of the Navy's capabilities in these areas depends largely on our national ability to discover and exploit new knowledge in ocean science and our success in developing new and relevant ocean technology.

The ocean being the Navy's operating environment, we fully realize that all elements of naval strategy or tactics are significantly dependent upon oceanographic knowledge.

We have seen a new horizon emerging, centering on our capability to engineer the oceans. We now face problems attendant upon our ability to explore the oceans, to exploit the oceans, and to occupy portions of the oceans' bottom.

The Sealab experiments indicated the need for improvement in every sector of engineering, including development of new materials, sophisticated equipment and techniques, and the solutions to the many physiological problems attendant upon man's penetration of the deep sea.

At the launching of Aluminaut over a year ago, I stated I was convinced that the general area of ocean exploration and exploitation offers a challenge just as great as that posed by the current exploration of outer space, and that it will ultimately require a national effort and expenditure on a comparable scale. My earlier view that "inner space" has at least the potential of outer space has been reinforced in the passage of only a few months.

By way of conclusion, I wish to charge the Navy League with a task—a task which already coincides with your established program objectives. Oceanography—and in this reference it is used in its broadest sense to include ocean technology, ocean engineering, deep submergence—all things wet—is an integral part of sea power. I consider sea power to encompass many things nautical—naval power, merchant marine, fishing—anything involving the oceans which contribute to the Nation's health and wealth.

Our oceanographic programs are dramatic; they have captured the imagination of the public—foreign and domestic. To say the least, they are interesting—to you and to your friends—and can serve as a catalyst for extensive conversations on the broad subject of sea power. As Navy League members, you can literally get your feet wet by maintaining a general interest in the Navy's inner space programs. We are devoting a major effort in this regard, and we welcome you aboard. As the civilian voice of sea power, oceanography should be included in your education and discussion programs.

Your task is to keep informed and stand ready to pass on your information about what is happening in this exciting field. It should be clear that while the Navy is the leader in ocean technology, this is really a national project—again, a corporate endeavor—science, industry and Navy.

We must make certain that the United States, through both public and private enterprise, leads the world in working toward understanding and controlling the ocean depths.

Jackson's Attack on Pensacola Foreshadowed the Brilliant Future of Both Florida and the General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 16, 1966

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, Florida's outstanding pageant, the annual Fiesta of Five Flags, will be observed in Pensacola June 8 to 12. It is one of the most colorful portrayals of historic Florida to be seen anywhere. An interesting comment is carried in the Florida Times-Union of Sunday, May 29, from the pen of Joe Crankshaw. I submit it for reprinting in the Congressional Record:

Jackson's Attack on Pensacola Foreshadowed the Brilliant Future of Both Florida and the General

(By Joe Crankshaw)

A week from today, the annual, exciting and colorful Fiesta of Five Flags will open in Pensacola, and residents of that fine West Florida city will turn out to celebrate the long and colorful history of their town and to hail its bright future.

Pensacola, for the benefit of non-Floridians, can claim the title of being the site of the earliest attempted European settlement within the present boundaries of the United States because Tristan de Luna established a town of nearby Santa Rosa Island in 1559. Unfortunately it failed and was deserted.

Many people do not realize that Pensacola has played a vital role in the history of our nation. This is particularly true when one discusses military operations along the Gulf coast of this land.

One of the five flags which will be featured in Pensacola's fiesta is the British which flew both legally and illegally over that city. Illegal activities sometimes seem more exciting, and so this column deals with the time that the British seized Pensacola from the Spaniards and used it for a staging area for their disastrous attack on New Orleans in January 1815.

In August of 1814, a British force consisting of two 28-gun sloops, the Hermes and Caron, the 18-gun sloop Sophia, and the 16-gun brig Anaconda, 130 Marines and 600 sailors, plus a detachment of artillery, entered Havana harbor. The Marines and artillerymen were under the command of Lt. Colonel Edward Nichols, who is described as a blustering Irishman but a competent officer. The naval units were under a Scot, W. H. Percy, son of Lord Beverly.

The purpose of the visit, the two British officers told the Spanish, was to enlist aid in the attack on New Orleans and to gain permission to establish a base at Pensacola. Neither man mentioned the fact that the brig Orpheus had already landed a force near Apalachicola despite the fact that the land belonged to the nominally neutral Spanish.

Although the Spanish wanted to aggravate the United States, they did not give any aid and refused permission to land at Pensacola.

Undaunted by the refusal, the British sailed straight to Pensacola, landed, seized Forts Barrancas and St. Michael and dispossessed the Spanish governor, and immediately began recruiting Indians for an attack toward Mobile. There were a number of Creek Indians in the town who had been raiding in U.S. territory for the Spanish, and these found it very easy to accept British uniforms and pay and to prepare to attack toward Mobile Bay.

Colonel Nichols was waiting for reinforcements from Bermuda and the Bahama Islands. He knew that several regiments of Indian and black troops were on the way and he was gathering strength to join General Packenham before New Orleans. He did not let time pass idly, however, and sent Captain Percy with the Hermes and the Sophia to talk with the pirate Jean Lafitte in Barataria, a collection of lakes and passageways leading to New Orleans.

Nichols hoped to convince Lafitte to join him but the pirate refused and eventually joined with the American forces, for which he was given a full pardon.

Following Lafitte's refusal, the British landed 22,000 stands of arms at Pensacola, recruited 600 Indian allies and launched an attack on Fort Bowyer at Mobile Point. Although the fort's defenders were outmanned and outgunned, they beat off the attack and sank the Hermes. The British retired to Pensacola.

The attack on Fort Bowyer induced Major General Andrew Jackson to rally his volunteer army of Tennesseans for a lightning attack on Pensacola. He did not know that his venture would be a successful prelude to his moment in history but he moved forward boldly.

Jackson had in his command, the 3rd, 39th and 44th Infantry Regiments, the Tennessee militia and a battalion of Mississippi dragoons. The latter were mounted troops which he used for reconnaissance.

The Americans attacked in three columns along the beach toward the city. The middle column moved into the city and seized a Spanish artillery battery at bayonet point. The Spanish governor surrendered the town and agreed to let the Americans garrison Barrancas and St. Michael. The British commander of the latter fort demurred but finally gave in when a large detachment appeared and entered his gates.

The Spanish commander at Fort Barrancas succumbed to British blandishments, blew up his magazines and fled the harbor with the English. This suited Jackson for it left the Indians without allies and they had to give up their forays into the U.S. and it also denied the British a base for a second attack on Mobile and New Orleans.

Once Jackson was sure his ends were accomplished, he returned the city to the Spanish and quickly countermarched to New Orleans. He would return to Pensacola once more and make it an American city.

The incident foreshadowed the future of Florida and Jackson and is important to modern readers because it is a part of the exciting and glorious history of this most fortunate of peninsulas.

Reasons for Buying Savings Bonds?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 10, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, sometimes an individual is able, in a few words, to explain and express in simple direct terms the inconsistencies of present administration policy. One of my constituents, a most intelligent and astute gentleman, recently wrote to me commenting on a letter which he had received from the Vice President requesting cooperation in the program to increase U.S. savings bond buying.

Both Commissioner William B. Klee and I agree that investing in America is a most admirable and prudent way to handle one's money. However, we both disagree with the reasons the Vice President cites for buying these bonds. Commissioner Klee has stated the illogic of the situation so well that I place his letter along with that of the Vice President's in the Congressional Record:

Trumbull County,
Warren, Ohio, May 20, 1966.

Hon. J. William Stanton,
Congressman, 11th District,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bill: Enclosed is copy of letter addressed to the Chairman of the County Commissioners from Vice President Humphrey.

I think this warrants a few observations. There is no objection to any sensible means used to increase the sale of Government Bonds to individuals and I applaud the Vice-President for supporting this activity.

On the other hand, there is something extremely unhealthy when a Government asks individuals to divert cash from normal expenses to Government Bonds for the specific purpose of reducing the threat to inflation, when the danger of inflation is caused by Governmental policy and action. There are many schools of thought as to what forces create inflation; but all economists agree that no Government is ever free of responsibility for some, if not all, of a specific inflationary period.

In any event, I thought you might want this for whatever purpose it may serve.

Sincerely yours,
William B. Klee,
County Commissioner.

The Vice President,
Washington, April 25, 1966.

Dear Sir: In recent meetings with State Governors, city officials, business and labor leaders, the President has expressed his deep concern over the growing threat of inflation and has appealed to these groups to join with the Administration in fighting this trend by exercising restraint in spending and capital investment.

In furtherance of this appeal, I would like to suggest that county officials can assist in another very important way by using their influence to persuade more local citizens to buy United States Savings Bonds.

I know that many county officials are already taking an active role in the Savings Bond program in their respective communities but, if you have not done so, I urge you to join in their effort now. The attached sheet lists some specific actions you can take and I commend them to your earnest consideration. In particular, I hope you will make a special effort to increase participation in the Payroll Savings Plan by your own county employees and that you will actively encourage the businessmen of your community to undertake similar campaigns to enroll more of their employees in this program.

If you will sign the enclosed card indicating your desire to cooperate, I will see that a Savings Bond representative in your State gets in touch with you to furnish the necessary materials to get underway.

I am sure you appreciate the urgency of the present situation and the need for concerted national action now, and I will look forward to receiving your assurance that we can count on your help. Further, I would appreciate your writing me sixty days hence, advising me of what you have been able to accomplish in your county.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey.

Supersonic Transport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 27, 1966

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, recently there came across my desk a letter from Ives, Whithead & Co. of Washington, giving a synopsis of the bill introduced by our colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bow], H.R. 13266, to provide a means for raising funds to finance the research-and-development costs of a supersonic transport airplane. The estimated total cost will be $1.5 billion and so far approximately $500 million has been appropriated from public funds. The Bow plan would create a Government authority which would borrow money from the investing public to complete the balance of the development program and provide for the recoupment of these funds by the Federal Government.

The plan seems to have considerable merit, would save the taxpayers a billion dollars, would not delay the program in any degree, and would help avoid the perennial and inevitable lifting of the debt ceiling. I do feel that the proposal should be given an early and careful consideration by the appropriate committees of Congress.

The letter to which I refer follows:

Ives, Whitehead & Co., Inc.,
Washington, D.C., May 18, 1966.

Re H.R. 13266.
Hon. Howard W. Robison,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Robison: Recently, Congressman Frank T. Bow introduced subject bill which provides, among other things, for the establishment of the Supersonic Transport Authority, a wholly owned Government agency, to supervise and finance the development of the SST.

The principal features of this proposed legislation provide that:

(1) The administration of the Authority shall be vested in a Chairman, having two Deputies, each to be appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation.

(2) An Advisory Board of five members shall be established to advise the Chairman, each to be appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation.

(3) The continuity of the current design competition is assured without interruption, thus accelerating the over-all SST program.

(4) The Authority shall create and issue $1.5 billion principal amount of serial development bonds.

(5) The bonds shall be sold to the general public through usual investment marketing channels, and the proceeds used to contract out for the construction of a prototype(s) SST.

(6) The bonds shall not be bonds of the United States, but the United States will guarantee the payment of both the principal and interest thereof.

(7) The bonds issued and sold shall not be Government obligations and, hence, will not be subject to the Federal debt ceiling.

(8) The Authority shall determine the sources from which revenues will be obtained for the ultimate liquidation of its outstanding bond indebtedness.

(9) The sources of revenue may include those derived from profits resulting from the commercial production and sale of the SST; royalties on the sales prices of the SST; and service charges added to the established tariffs for SST flight users.

(10) The Authority shall oversee and effectuate the orderly transition from Government supervision and financing of the SST development, to commercial production and sale by private industry.

(11) The Authority shall insure that the services of the prime and principal tier subcontractors in the development phase be continued in the production phase.

(12) The Authority shall insure that all useable real and personal property residuals owned and released by the Authority during the development phase, will be utilized in the commercial production of the SST.

(13) The exclusive use of the patents, etc., shall be assigned to the industry group producing the SST commercially.

(14) The title to patents, patent rights, etc., created during the development phase, shall remain the property of the United States until liquidation of the total indebtedness of the Authority.

(15) The Authority shall insure that the investing public be afforded maximum possible participation in the financing of the corporate entity engaged in the commercial production of the SST.

Congressman Bow's bill permits the President to retain and direct full control of the project, and is non-partisan in character. It embodies good management features as recommended in the Black-Osborne report made to the President in December 1963; it epitomizes a responsible fiscal policy, and reflects sound and practical benefits to the country's economy.

Your favorable support of H.R. 13266 is strongly urged.

Sincerely,

W. S. Whitehead.

An Act of Civic Initiative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 26, 1966

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding example of an urban renewal program not only saving a community but actually renewing it is taking place in the East Liberty section of Pittsburgh.

A savings and loan association in that section of the city has played a key role in this effort. Under leave to extend my remarks I include an article in the May 1966 issue of Savings and Loan News at this point in the Record:

Pittsburgh Rebuilds a Market

Association mangers trying to grab the slippery key to urban renewal can take heart. It has been done.

In the East Liberty section of Pittsburgh, Pa., $73-million Friendship Federal Savings is developing as an expanded main office a new shopping plaza for quality retail outlets and at the same time is helping to lift one of the nation's largest combined redevelopment-rehabilitation projects into reality.

When the project is complete, Pittsburgh will have rebuilt its second largest in-city retail market area and restored hundreds of residential units to the "desirable living" category. In other words, it will have demonstrated the logic of urban renewal.

For Friendship Federal, located near the heart of East Liberty, participation in the project was both an act of civic initiative and a response to economic necessity.

"Years ago we saw East Liberty beginning to slip and slip fast," says C. Elwood Knapp, president of the association. "Soon it was obvious we would have to go the urban renewal route to climb back as a commercial center."

Friendship Federal has always maintained a position of leadership in the community. It was one of the first to build a new building after World War II, and it is among the first 10% to get construction underway in the present renewal project. In addition, President Knapp has been a prime mover in getting the business and residential community in the area to accept the need for urban renewal and to take on the long, tortuous task of doing something about it.

Knapp is quick to say, however, that the association's venturesomeness in developing Friendship Plaza, a 32,000 square foot shopping complex forming an "L" around the association's present building, was a response to necessity. "It became clear," says Knapp, "that if we didn't do something, they would take the association-owned, 40-foot-wide strip of land beside our office from us and redevelop it. Naturally, we much prefer to do it ourselves and thereby guide what goes into our immediate surroundings."

It is just this combination of far-seeing civic awareness, managerial hard-headedness and creative problem solving which has made Knapp, who is also a U.S. League past president, a tremendous force for progress in the East Liberty community.

The development of Friendship Plaza, then, illustrates the joining of public and private interests which is essential to the success of any major urban renewal project.

THE EAST LIBERTY COMMUNITY

Just after World War II East Liberty was a thriving commercial center, second in the area only to downtown Pittsburgh itself, and doing roughly $70 million annually in retail sales. Located about five miles east of downtown, East Liberty had a strongly middle-class population, branches of many of the major stores and, although unquestionably an in-city location, a pulling power for shoppers throughout a wide area.

The story of postwar population movements, housing deterioration and retail decline is the same for East Liberty as it has been in countless other city neighborhoods. Suburban shopping centers, expressways to downtown and increasingly inadequate local parking facilities all combined to hurt the East Liberty retailer, and annual business volume declined to a level close to $40 million.

The community retains certain strengths, however. First is a ring of solid, well-maintained residential neighborhoods within close time range of East Liberty *if there were adequate parking once they got there.* Knapp estimates that East Liberty has roughly the same market potential as a city of 100,000 population.

Second is the community's location at a midpoint between downtown and suburban shopping areas. East Liberty is a logical location for shopping for a great many people, if only it were convenient to do so.

Third is the long history of commercial and institutional success in the community which provides both the incentive and the leadership to do something about the area's problems. The local Chamber of Commerce, for example, is unusually strong and well organized, and has provided much of the stimulus which initiated the major renewal project now being executed.

This project, largest in the city, is also the first to stress rehabilitation, with structures of more than half of the 254 acres involved being retained. More than 740 properties to be cleared have been purchased by the Urban Redevelopment Authority, 538 have been torn down and 40 sites (not structures) have been sold or committed to developers for new construction. Some 584 families and 381 businesses have been relocated, being 68% and 78%, respectively, of the totals involved.

One-hundred acres are available for resale, including 35 designated for new, privately financed housing providing 1,600 units. Already $13.5 million of private capital has been invested in new and rehabilitated housing and buildings, while another $30 million in private improvements are anticipated during 1966–67. The city and its URA have added $4 million from local and federal funds in public improvements. The ultimate total for combined public and private spending in the project is expected to reach $90 million.

Much more important than dollar or acre totals, however, is the planning which is represented in the East Liberty project and which is intended to rebuild a market area. In addition to rejuvenating housing and office buildings, plans call for the construction of an inner and an outer traffic loop, conveniently distributed parking facilities and a pedestrian mall system linking the inner core of the shipping district. Recreational parks and squares will help make the area more attractive for those choosing to live in the community.

Already retail sales have climbed back to a $50-million annual level and the 1970 target (completion date for the renewal project) is upwards of $70 million in annual sales. Boosting these hopes is the fact that present development is working to link East Liberty with the Oakland section of Pittsburgh, which houses the University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Tech, a five-hospital health center, museums, concert halls and other institutions which spell economic and social strength to a community. Oakland itself is being renewed under a 10-year, private redevelopment and rehabilitation program.

Also legitimizing East Liberty's optimism is the "renewal" spirit which permeates Pittsburgh. First in the nation with an urban redevelopment project—the famous Gateway Center project in downtown Pittsburgh—the city is now seething with 20 different projects involving 1,600 acres. You cannot drive around the city or talk with a Pittsburgh resident without being struck by the impact on environment and morale which the program is having.

FRIENDSHIP PLAZA LEADS THE WAY

If Friendship Plaza was not alone, then, in venturing into the rough seas of urban renewal, it was very clearly demonstrating the spirit which is stirring Pittsburgh to rebuild itself.

The conecpt is really very simple. Incorporating its present office building into a larger structure wrapped around the association and linked to it by a court arcade, the association will lease retail space to quality specialty shops particularly selected to appeal to women. Ample parking space will be less than a block away and the shops will front on a half-acre city park to be created on cleared land.

The association thus achieves unified design and compatible commercial neighbors for its office and hopefully will be at the focal point of retail activity for customers who are also prime prospects for savings and loan business, too.

This is why the "solid residential ring" is so important to East Liberty's renewal success. "It provides a market we can draw on by providing attractive shopping facilities which are convenient to use," says President Knapp.

The Friendship Plaza building will cost $750,000 exclusive of land costs (estimated at $100,000) and is designed to present one unified exterior including the association's own office and the new retail shops. Special interior truck loading facilities are being incorporated, since the new street plans will not accommodate any exterior freight zone serving the shops.

Friendship Federal already has leased space for a book store and is carefully selecting other tenants to fit the "quality shop" image it wants to surround itself with. Happily the new construction need not interrupt normal business operations for the association, since its own structure will remain intact.

Although the concept of Friendship Plaza is simple, however, the execution has been anything but. The association began serious planning in the spring of 1964, began demolition in July 1965 and estimates completion by late atumn in 1966.

Along the way there have not only been such normal urban renewal negotiations as fitting the association's plan to an approved overall plan, but a myriad of special negotiations peculiar to the local situation. Parking waivers (to permit the lack of off-street parking) had to be obtained, as they do for every East Liberty project. A special ordinance was needed to permit the overhang of plaza marquees over city property (on the park side of the plaza. Special drainage arrangements had to be made for the rain runoff from the buildings onto city park land.

In addition, Friendship Federal had to assure itself that the city was going to make certain street improvements, that the park would be built and that peripheral parking would be provided as promised. For without these amenities, the whole concept of Friendship Plaza could be lost.

"You must know your way around the city government," admits Knapp. "Not only do you have to get all these things arranged, but you have to get them in the right sequence. For example, the city will not build the park until we have completed our work. In the meantime they allow us to use the city's land during construction."

The fact that Friendship Federal has been willing to pioneer redevelopment in East Liberty has not hurt the association in its dealings with the Urban Redevelopment Authority. "We probably have been given some extra 'coordination,'" says Knapp wryly.

WIDE-RANGING COMMITMENT

Friendship Federal's commitment to urban renewal as a solution for East Liberty's problems does not end with construction of the plaza, although that is certainly one of the most significant contributions any business has made in the area. The association has provided financing for rehabilitation of an apartment building and is considering taking on some more.

Outside East Liberty, Friendship Federal helped save an Action Housing town house project for middle-income groups in the East Hills section of Pittsburgh. Today President Knapp serves on the seven-man finance committee which guides Action Housing a private, nonprofit agency created to help improve housing and neighborhoods in Pittsburgh, spending and lending millions of dollars annually.

Knapp is also a past president of the East Liberty Chamber of Commerce and serves on a committee assigned to investigate the proper maintenance of malls—an assignment which has expanded into a fact-finding mission delving into every aspect of mall construction and preservation.

The description, however, belies the critical role Knapp has played in his community. Pittsburgh's Mayor Joseph M. Barr last year described him as a prime mover in the area's renewal from the beginning.

Said Barr, "As a business and civic leader, Mr. Knapp has been a spark plug of East Liberty renewal. Now as a private developer and investor [in Friendship Plaza] he continues to show the same deep sense of civic duty and community responsibility."

Knapp himself like to share this type of praise with the East Liberty business community, as embodied in the Chamber of Commerce. "The business community began to act even before the federal urban renewal program got under way," he notes, "and East Liberty was one of the first areas in the country to file plans under the program authorized in 1954."

He also credits the chamber with such things as negotiating a tax reduction for business property owners who were going to have to live through urban renewal, even though the area around them was being torn up and commerce was seriously disrupted.

THE KEYS TO SUCCESS

Knapp also cites the chamber as a primary vehicle for communicating the need for details of the East Liberty renewal plan and thereby helping to achieve overwhelming business and community support.

"There has been no organized resistance to urban renewal in East Liberty, largely due to the groundwork done in preparation by the Chamber of Commerce and the Citizens Renewal Council," says Knapp. The latter group—of which Knapp is also a member—appeals primarily to residents while the chamber deals largely with the businessmen.

"Officers of these two groups meet monthly and keep communications between the two open constantly. As a result, problems or differences of self-interest can be worked out before they get to be focal points of public controversy.

"Both the chamber and the council helped promote bond issues needed to enable the city to do its part in the program, and both groups have helped carry the burden of primary negotiations with the city," says Knapp.

If superior community communication is one key to East Liberty's urban renewal success, then, the ability to deal with complexity is surely another.

"You can't get this overnight," says Knapp. "The know-how to deal with a large bureaucracy is the product of a lifetime's activity." It is not so much a matter of clout, he points out, as knowing who has the authority to take the necessary action and how many other people (and who they are) have to be consulted.

"People in a smaller city have the advantage of having easier access to the officials concerned. On the other hand, urban renewal staffs in an area like Pittsburgh, which has a lot of renewal activity, develop a greater degree of expertise in arriving at solutions."

Knapp anticipates that the experiences gained in developing Friendship Plaza will yield business dividends in the future in that the association will be able to offer a developer going into a renewal project considerable guidance based on the association's own experience.

A third key to renewal success is a mature understanding of time. Events connected with urban renewal simply do not move in the time frame most businessmen are accustomed to dealing with, and so renewal frustrates them.

It has been 20 years since Pittsburgh launched its first redevelopment program, the Gateway Center project. Today they are still working on parts of it.

It has been more than a decade since East Liberty began planning its renewal effort, and today less than 10% of the project has reached the construction stage.

It has been two years since Friendship Federal started serious planning for its plaza, and completion is not anticipated until late this year.

What this means is that the business leader must not only have an unusual amount of patience, but he must also possess an uncommon degree of vision. The steps taken today may not bear fruit for five or 10 years, but just as surely, the opportunities missed today may not come to light until it is much too late to do anything about them.

Friendship Federal, for example, has had an unbroken line of growth during the past decade, more than doubling in assets, despite the continuing decline of its primary market area. It would have been fairly easy for management and the directors to justify turning their backs on the deterioration of the immediate community in which the main office is located.

By taking the longer view, however, Elwood Knapp and Friendship Federal have not only built a choice and commercially valuable image in the community, they have acted to rebuild the market which is ultimately essential for both their savings and lending success. They have shunned the ranks of public mourners and contributed mightily to the ranks of community builders. In so doing, they have rendered substantial private and public service.

"Johnson Accepts Hirshhorn Art"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Joseph Hirshhorn, in giving his collection to the Smithsonian, is honoring our Capital and our Nation.

His collection—one of the last great ones in private hands—will elevate our national concern and commitment for excellence in the arts.

The construction of the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden—at a site on the Mall bounded by Seventh Street, Ninth Street, Independence Avenue, and Madison Drive—will add significantly to Washington's cultural and artistic life. The museum and the collection will complement the existing works of art in the National Gallery and in the Freer and Corcoran Galleries.

The sculptures in the collection includes 53 works of Sir Henry Moore—the largest private holding of Moore's in the world—including the "King and Queen" whose grace and quiet dignity is unique. Other distinguished pieces of sculpture include the "Burghers of Calais" by Rodin, Brancusi's "Torso of a Young Man," "Ratapoil," a bronze sculpture by Daumier, and works by Jacques Lipchitz and Giacometti.

The painting collection contains "Homage to a Square," by Josef Albers, Jack Levine's "Reception in Miami," and works by De Koonig, Ben Shahn, Jackson Pollock, Andrew Wyeth, and Pablo Picasso.

Washington residents and visitors to the Capital will all benefit from Mr. Hirshhorn's generosity. Our Nation is the richer for having a truly public-spirited citizen in Joe Hirshhorn, who believes deeply in the creative artist and the importance of a living collection belonging to all Americans.

Under unanimous consent, I am inserting in the RECORD an article from the New York Times of May 18, entitled "Johnson Accepts Hirshhorn Art," as well as a profile of Mr. Hirshhorn:

[From the New York Times, May 18, 1966]

JOHNSON ACCEPTS HIRSHHORN ART—PRAISES COLLECTOR'S FINEST HOUR AND CALLS FOR MUSEUM

(By Milton Esterow)

WASHINGTON, May 17.—President Johnson formally accepted the Hirshhorn art collection today "on behalf of the American people" in a ceremony at noon in the Rose Garden of the White House.

The collection of 4,000 paintings and 1,600 pieces of sculpture, valued at between $25,-million and $50-million, is a gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn. Mr. Hirshhorn, 66 years old and the son of poor immigrants, sold newspapers and pretzels as a youngster on the streets of Brooklyn. He built a fortune in uranium in Canada and in nearly a half-century he assembled one of the world's largest and most important private art collections.

President Johnson today asked Congress to authorize the construction of a museum to house the collection near the National Gallery of Art. Legislators said that Congressional approval would be forthcoming soon.

A MAGNIFICENT DAY

"This is a magnificent day for the nation's capital and for millions of Americans who will visit Washington in the years to come," the President said, smiling at Mr. Hirshhorn at his side.

With them were Mrs. Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, Mrs. Hirshhorn, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, Stuart Udall, Secretary of the Interior; Roger L. Stevens, head of the National Council on the Arts, and S. Dillon Ripley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

"Throughout the world," the President said, Mr. Hirshhorn has "sought the great art of our time—those expressions of man's will to make sense of his experience on earth, to find order and meaning in the physical world about him, to render what is familiar in a new way.

"I know that Joseph Hirshhorn will go on seeking out the best in modern painting and sculpture for years to come. But he will never have a finer hour than this: For today he offers the fruit of a lifetime in the service of art to the citizens of a grateful nation. Few men have been privileged to make such a gift to their generation and to those that will come after."

HIRSHHORN IS PRAISED

The President added:

"Washington is a city of powerful institutions—the seat of government for the strongest nation on earth, the place where democratic ideals are translated into reality. It must also be a place of beauty and learning. Its buildings and thoroughfares, its schools, concert halls and museums should reflect a people whose commitment is to the best that it within them to dream.

"In the National Gallery collection, in the Freer and the Corcoran Galleries, in the museums of the Smithsonian, in the Kennedy Center that is to come, in the Pennsylvania Avenue plan—and now, in the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden—we have the elements of a great capital of beauty and learning, no less impressive than its power." The President concluded by describing Mr. Hirshhorn as "one of America's most distinguished philanthropists."

Mr. Hirshhorn, speaking softly, replied:

"I'm deeply touched. You know I'm an American and I'm giving this to the capital of the greatest nation in the world. I've been influenced by the President and his darling wife, by my wife, my attorney, by Justice Fortas, a darling and sensitive man. He said this was the place for it. I'm glad I'm able to do it."

The collection will be housed in the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden. It will be built just south of the Arts and Industries Building of the Smithsonian Institution. Across the Mall, about a block away, is the National Gallery of Art.

AN ADDITIONAL DONATION

The Hirshhorn Museum will be under the administration of the Smithsonian, which will operate it as a free public museum and supply funds for its operation. Mr. Hirshhorn has donated $1 million to acquire additional contemporary art.

No date has been set for the completion of the Hirshhorn museum. Mr. Ripley said that no architect had been selected, but that discussions have been held with Gordon Bunshaft.

Mr. Ripley said that the musuem would occupy about 700,000 square feet of the site. the sculpture garden will be set up on the Mall. The estimated cost of the museum is about $10 million. Abram Lerner, the 52-year-old curator of the collection since 1955, will be director of the museum.

At a press conference at the Smithsonian this afternoon, Mr. Hirshhorn, asked why he was giving away the collection said: "It doesn't belong to one man. It's gotten very big. It belongs to the people."

Will he miss it?

"I feel I've given away 5,600 children. But I'm going to live here and be close to them."

Mr. Ripley, with a smile, inquired: "You want to see them reproduce!"

"I want to see them grow," Mr. Hirshhorn replied.

Why had he decided to present the works to the United States!

"Well, a lot of people wanted it. . . . but I couldn't do what I did in any other country. What I did I accomplish here in the United States. It belongs here."

Will he keep any of the works!

"I'm not retaining a thing, except for a few things I bought my wife."

Did he have any comment about President Johnson!

"I told him I've adopted him. I love him."

Mr. Hirshhorn's collection is composed mainly of modern works, particularly from the United States, from the mid-19th century to the present. It is now housed in Mr. Hirshhorn's home in Greenwich, Conn.; in his apartment and office in Manhattan, in a Toronto office, in his villa on the Riviera and in various warehouses.

Included are paintings by Thomas Eakins, Willem de Koouing, Ben Shahn, Jackson Pollock, Stuart Davis, Milton Avery, Larry Rivers, Andrew Wyeth and Pablo Picasso.

Some of the highlights of the sculpture holdings include: Daumier, 42 works; Rodin, 17; Degas, 22; Giacometti, 23; Henry Moore, 53; Matisse, 21; David Smith, 22; Brancusi, 3; Jacques Lipchitz, 13, and Manzu, 26.

[From the New York Times, May 18, 1966]

Gift Protested in Canada

Ottawa, May 17.—Canada is a little disturbed at not receiving the $50-million art collection of Joseph Hirshhorn, who promoted uranium mines here. The Government however is not in the market for Hirshhorn art unless the wealthy collector wants to make "a donation."

Mr. Hirshhorn's donation of his collection to the United States has drawn mixed emotions, ranging from hurt pride to relief that Canada will not be confronted with the costly tasks of housing and exhibiting it.

Hard-Headed Collector: Joseph Herman Hirshhorn

If they ever reconstruct Williamsburg, Brooklyn, they would do well to concentrate on the street where Joseph Herman Hirshhorn, the immigrant boy from Latvia, lived somewhere along the way to his 24 art-festooned acres in Greenwich, Conn. His American success story reached a happy climax in Washington yesterday when President Johnson announced that Mr. Hirshhorn was donating his art collection, worth between $25-million and $50-million to the Government.

Mr. Hirshhorn is one of the country's great art collectors. He is also one of the country's great businessmen. He made his money on stocks and on Canadian uranium—some say he is worth more than $100-million, but he does not discuss it—and he spends it on art, all kinds, all styles, all schools.

A STERN REPLY

A dealer once tried to sell the 66-year old collector the work of a young talent; it would be sure to gain in value as time went by.

Mr. Hirshhorn drew himself up to his full 5 feet 4 and replied sternly: "Don't tell me how to make money. I don't collect art to make money. I do it because I love art."

Most of his art—4,000 paintings and 1,600 sculptures—is in warehouses. But there are works that adorn his Round Hill home in Greenwich where 100 large sculptures are on display. Others decorate his home on the French Riviera. Still more, some 200 paintings, are in a permanent circulating exhibition that belongs to the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation.

Lately, much of Mr. Hirshhorn's time has been taken up with art, although he appears at his small Park Avenue office from time to time to keep his business in hand. On his desk are several telephones and he is an expert at handling a number of them at once.

"He used to trade unlisted stocks in the nineteen-twenties, a live period," an associate remarked. "He knows how to handle phones."

MY MONEY, MY TASTE

The gray-haired, well-dressed financier is a witty, plainspoken man who has advisers but who makes his own decisions, usually in a way to clean things up quickly. When he works, he works hard. When he was traveling on business to Western Canada during the oil boom, he would land in Calgary at 5 A.M. and work until midnight.

Whether he is buying art or stocks, he is hard-headed in his dealings.

"This is my money and my taste," he once said, discussing his art purchases. "I've operated that way all my life—in my life and my business. I like to test my own judgment. I don't care if my grandfather or my friends like it."

On the other hand, his philanthropies amount to a formidable, unpublicized sum. He has helped young artists and older ones down on their luck. He discourages them from "gambling" when they ask for stock tips.

In the mid-thirties, some critics said that Mr. Hirshhorn bought art "wholesale" when, in reality, he was buying in volume to help artists he knew. In later years, he has restricted his buying in depth to those artists whose work he likes. He will not trade or sell his purchases.

Mr. Hirshhorn has never been a moth drawn to the flame of prestige. He does not collect to be in a social set. Abram Lerner, Mr. Hirshhorn's curator, recalled that when he started in his job in 1955, he found paintings in closets and even in the trunk of an automobile. Unlike a museum, which usually has a historical perspective, Mr. Hirshhorn has always bought according to his taste.

The collector was born Aug. 11, 1899 in Mitau, Latvia the twelfth of thirteen children. In 1905, his widowed mother brought the family to Brooklyn, where she worked long hours for $12 a week.

"Poverty has a bitter taste," Mr. Hirshhorn said years later, recalling how his mother was sent to the hospital when a fire gutted their tenement on Humboldt Street, and the family was dispersed to various homes in the neighborhood. "I ate garbage."

When he was 14, he went to work as a Wall Street office boy. He did not waste time polishing up the handle of the big front door; instead, he studied the market.

Three years later, Mr. Hirshhorn had made $168,000 on an initial $255 investment. He moved his mother to a home on Long Island and seemed to be on his way to permanent prosperity as a broker on the Curb Exchange. But, with the end of World War I, he guessed wrong on the market and found his fortune had shrunk to $4,000. Mr. Hirshhorn says he has always learned by his mistakes. At any rate, he was back on top in a few years and, intuitively got out of the market with $4-million just before it broke in 1929.

A URANIUM BONANZA

Mr. Hirshhorn was attracted to the possibilities of Canada, bought 470 square miles of land and, by 1950, was mining uranium. His biggest coup occurred in 1952. On the advice of Franc Joubin, a geologist who had little audience elsewhere, Mr. Hirshhorn secretly put together 56,000 square miles of claims in Ontario's Algoma Basin and struck a uranium bonanza in Blind River.

His interest in art was never a result of being rich, but its dimensions are rooted in money. When he was a child, Mr. Hirshhorn was attracted to the pictures on the Prudential Life Insurance Company's calendars. As a young market trader, he bought his first originals from an artist who made etchings of Wall Street near the exchange.

Mr. Hirshhorn lives with his fourth wife, Olga, in Greenwich. He is the father of six children, two of them adopted, and is a grandfather several times over. He is board chairman of the Callahan Mining Company and the principal stockholder in Prairie Oil Royalties, a Canadian concern.

He has been trying to follow doctor's orders to take it easy, but finds it a trial. When he appears at Parke-Bernet, the auctioneer knows that he has to keep a sharp eye for the little man with the expressive face who signals vigorously with his program. If there is any doubt, Mr. Hirshhorn lets the auctioneer know what he is up to. He calls out his bids in a loud, clear voice.

"He a tiger," an old, close friend said.

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